THE

HISTORY

OF

MANCHESTER

IN FOUR BOOKS.

BY

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Sold by Meff. DODSLEY in Pall-Mall, WHITE and LOWNDES in Fleet-ſtreet, PAYNE at the Mews-Gate, CADELL in the Strand, DAVIS in Holbourn, BAKER and LEIGH in York-ſtreet Covent-Garden, and BROTHERTON and SEWELL on Cornhill; by PARKER at Oxford, and the MERRIES at Cambridge; and by NEWTON, CLARKE, and HARROP at Manchester.

MDCCLXXII.

THE HISTORY OF MANCHESTER,

BOOK THE FIRST,

Containing the ROMAN and ROMAN-BRITISH Period.

V.

MANY coins have been occaſionally diſcovered about the ſtation in the laſt and preſent century, and many have been lately found in the precincts of the town. But none of the pieces were uncommon. And one of them was of that ſpecies of braſs coins or medals which have C. CAESAR DICTATOR upon one ſide and VENI VIDI VICI within a laurel wreath upon the other, the well-known forgery of modern craft, and the mintage of the famous Paduan.—A large Roman ring of gold has alſo been diſcovered at the ſtation [1].—And about fifty years ago was thrown up by the plough a large ſword of iron in very good conſervation, as it is delineated in the annexed plan, and five feet five inches and a quarter in length. The handle is eighteen inches and a quarter in length and four inches and a quarter in circumference, lined all round with ſome ſoft pieces of wood, and covered over with leather above; is terminated by a large round ball of iron, about a pound in weight, at one extremity; and is croſſed by an iron guard, twenty inches and a quarter in length, at the other. The blade, which is forty-ſeven inches in length, carries a double edge, is nearly two inches in breadth at the guard, and tapers gently away to a ſmall point. All the whole weapon, lighter than the ſtone-made Celt deſcribed before, and equally with the Celt deſigned to be wielded by both hands together, is ſeven pounds and eleven ounces in weight. The curioſity is undoubtedly Roman, is very like the ſword that is deſcribed upon a Roman monument diſcovered in London and repoſited at Oxford, and is now in the poſſeſſion of Thomas Birch Eſq. of Ardwick [2].

But while the whole area of the Caſtle-field was thus applied to a variety of uſes, the low level of the ground which is di-

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THE HISTORY OF MANCHESTER.

BOOK THE FIRST.

CHAP. I.

SECT. I.

AMID the various doubts and uncertainties with which ignorance and inattention have clouded the Roman geography of our iſland, no uncertainty has ever ariſen and no doubt has ever been ſtarted concerning the well-known claim of Mancheſter to the character of a Roman ſtation. A Roman ſtation has been acknowledged by all the antiquarians to have been planted in the neighbourhood of Mancheſter. A Roman ſtation has been acknowledged by all the antiquarians to have been conſtructed upon the bank of the Medlock and within the circuit of the Caſtle-neld. And the ſtation is confeſſed by all of them to have been the denominated Mancunium of the Roman Itinerary. But the origin of this Mancunium is not, as all the an-

tiquarians have equally agreed to ſuppoſe, derived merely and abſolutely from the Romans. The appellation by which it is denoted in the Roman Itinerary is obviouſly not Roman, is obviouſly deduced from the Britiſh language. And this plain circumſtance ſtrikingly ſuggeſts to the mind, that the name was originally impoſed by the Romans, that the name was actually impoſed by the Britons themſelves. And the Britons only could communicate a Britiſh name to a Roman fortreſs. But if the Romans had been the original conſtructers of the fort, they would certainly, they muſt neceſſarily, have given it a Roman name. If the ſite of the fort had lain totally undiſtinguiſhed from the waſte around it by any particular denomination till the Romans firſt fixed their ſtation upon it, it would neceſſarily have received a particular a Roman denomination from them. And when the Romans had given it a Roman name at firſt, they would certainly not have adopted any other name afterwards which the ſubjected Britons might have pleaſed to beſtow upon it. They would certainly not have inſerted that name in their formal Itineraries. And they would certainly not have ſuperſeded the original Roman name for ever by the new Britiſh one. Acting entirely upon a reverſed plan, they greatly affected to bury the Britiſh under Roman names, and to ſuperſede Durovernum by Cantiopolis, Durocobrivis by Forum Dianæ, Londinium by Auguſta, and Eboracum Deva and Iſca Silurum by the names of the reſpective legions that were quartered at thoſe places: The name of Mancunium therefore muſt have been communicated to the ſite of the Roman ſtation by the Britons themſelves, and before the Romans conſtructed their ſtation upon it. And as the name of Mancunium ſignifies a fortreſs or town in the language from which it is derived, the ſite of the Roman ſtation muſt have been previouſly the area of a Britiſh town or fortreſs. Till the ſite of it was thus or ſimilarly diſtinguiſhed, it could not poſſibly have received any denomination at all.—Till the ſite was thus, and thus only, diſtinguiſhed, it could not poſſibly have received the particular denomination of Mancunium. And, ſo diſtinguiſhed, it neceſſarily received that or ſome other name;

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a name expreſſive either of its particular uſe, or of its local circumſtances. The Roman geographers have pointed out to us a large variety of fortreſſes in the Britiſh unconquered iſle of Ireland [2]. And the Roman warriours appear to have met with as large a variety of fortreſſes in the reduction of Britain. They actually found more than twenty towns among two nations only upon the ſouthern ſhore of the iſland [3]. They actually found Camulodunum the capital of Cunobeline's kingdom, which they formed into a colony [4]. They actually found Verulamium a city of the Caſſii, which they modelled into a municipium [5]. They actually found Calleva or Wallingford, Durnovaria or Dorcheſter in the Weſt, Eburacum or York, Iſurium or Aldborough in Yorkſhire, and many others, which they afterwards converted into ſtations [6]. And finding the fortreſs of Mancunium at Mancheſter, as they had previouſly found others in the more ſoutherly and eaſterly parts of the kingdom, and fixing their own ſtation upon the ſite of it as they had previouſly fixed upon the ſites of others, they neceſſarily received, and therefore naturally continued, the original and Britiſh denominations of all, and only ſoftened them to the Roman ear by giving them a Roman termination.

This is a remark, ſo far as it is confined to Mancunium or Mancheſter in particular, which is ſuggeſted by the firſt reflection upon the Britiſh name of the ſtation in the Roman Itineraries. This is a remark, ſo far as it extends to our towns in general, and equally comprehends the cities of Britain and of Gaul, which is ſuggeſted by the mere review of their names in the ſame Itineraries. Many of the names in the Gallic and the Britiſh Itinera are Roman, moſt of them are Celtic, and ſome of them are both Roman and Celtic. Where the appellation is merely Roman, as Aquæ Sextiæ and Forum Neronis in Gaul or Prætorium and Villa Fauſtini in Britain, tho' the fortreſs which is ſignified by it may ſtill poſſibly challenge a Celtic origin, yet the preſumption certainly lies in favour of a Roman one. But where the appellation is purely Celtic, as Camulodunum, Vindomagus, and Condate, or even conſiſts of Roman and Celtic together,

together, as Londinium Auguſta; there the origin of the fort is evinced to be abſolutely Celtic. And to this rule there are only two poſſible exceptions, the one poſitive, and the other negative; the one reſpecting the Britiſh names of ſuch ſtations as are within five or ſix miles of each other, of which the fortreſſes that range along the line of Severus's wall are particular inſtances; and the other reſpecting the Gallic and Britiſh names of ſuch ſtations as are wholly denominated from the rivers upon which they ſtand, as Iliberis and Rhuſcinum in Gaul, or as Iſca Silurum and Iſca Damnoniorum, Alauna and Ad Alaunam, Tuæſis and Ad Tuæſim, Tameſis and Ad Sturium, in Britain. In the former ſeries of names, many of the forts cannot have been originally the fortreſſes of the primæval Britons; and their names are therefore to be referred to another cauſe, as will be more fully explained hereafter [6]. In the latter, none can fairly be reckoned for the ſites of ſuch fortreſſes, except there be ſome greater evidence of the fact than the mere report of the Britiſh name. And, under theſe two reſtrictions, this is a criterion as ſimple as it is deciſive, which has been never attended to by the antiquarian critick, but which muſt neceſſarily prove of conſiderable aſſiſtance to him, and is generally the only aſſiſtance that he can have, in his enquiries into the firſt and original commencement of our towns.

In the preſent Caſtle-field then, the ſite of the Roman Caſtrum, but before the conſtruction of the Caſtrum upon it, was the Britiſh town of Mancunium, all built upon the rocky height that forms the northern bank of the Medlock, and diſtinguiſhed among the Britons of this region by the general appellation of MAN-CENION, or The Place of Tents [7]. The ſingular nature of our towns in Lancaſhire before the enterance of the Romans into it was the neceſſary reſult of that life of hunting and grazing, which is the natural employ of man in the infancy of ſociety, and which in all the northern regions of the iſland, where the arts of agriculture were totally unpractiſed, was peculiarly the employ of the natives [8]. The towns of the Britons were not their places of perpetual and

general

general reſidence. They were only their places of refuge amid the dangers of war, where they might occaſionally lodge their wives their children and their cattle, and where the weaker might occaſionally reſiſt the ſtronger till ſuccours could arrive [9]. And as before the Roman invaſion they had known no other enemies than their own Celtic brethren, who like them were always eager to decide the conteſt by a battle in the field, neither the one nor the other could be expected to have any conſiderable ſkill in the ſcience of fortification. But the Britons certainly poſſeſſed a greater portion of it than our criticks are willing to allow them. Their fortreſſes were planted in the center of their woods, were defended by the natural advantages of the ſite, and were fortified by the falling of trees to obſtruct the advance, and by the formation of a bank and a ditch to prevent the irruption of an enemy. And they reſiſted the attacks of the beſt troops under the command of the beſt officers in the world, and even gained from the greateſt of the latter the repeated commendation of excellent fortifications [10].

It is evident from the Britiſh names in the Roman Itineraries, that at the firſt ſettlement of the Romans in the iſland, or about the year 50 of the Chriſtian æra, the Britons of the preſent England and Wales had above a hundred of theſe towns or fortreſſes in the woods, all conſtructed originally upon account of the various wars that were carried on betwixt their various tribes [11]. The eleven nations that lay to the ſouth of the Thames and the Severn had about thirty towns under their reſpective capitals Durovern, Regn, Calley, Vindom, Vent, Durin, and others. The ſeven tribes that poſſeſſed all the country betwixt the Thames, the Humber, the Severn, and the Merſey, had about forty towns under their capitals Uriconiu, Coriniu, Verulam, Vent, Camulodun, Rageu, and others. The three tribes that peopled the hilly regions beyond the Severn and the Dee had about twenty towns under their ſeveral capitals Menap, Vent, and another. And the Brigantes, who enjoyed the extenſive region that is now divided into the five counties of Durham, York, Weſtmoreland, Cumberland, and Lancaſter, poſſeſ-

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ſing the two firſt counties by the right of prior poſſeſſion, and the three laſt by the right of a ſucceſsful invaſion, owned at the ſame period about the ſame number of cities in ſubjection to Iſeur their metropolis [12].

Since the iſland was originally poſſeſſed from the ſouth, the poſſeſſors muſt have gradually carried their ſettlements into the North, as they admitted other communities of their brethren into the iſland, or as the numbers of their own were augmented within it. Kent, the neareſt to the continent, muſt have been firſt inhabited from it, and in all probability about a thouſand years before the nativity of Chriſt [13]; and all the long range of the ſouthern coaſt immediately afterwards. Having thus extended their ſettlements from the eaſtern to the weſtern ſea, the Celtic coloniſts would begin to advance towards the north, and muſt at laſt reach the ſouthern borders of Lancaſhire. But the marſhes of Cheſhire, which extended to the eaſt of Norton, and the unfordable depth of the Merſey, along the margin of which they extended, would effectually prevent their entrance into the county from the ſouth-weſt. They muſt have entered it betwixt the village of Norton on one ſide and the hills of Yorkſhire on the other; and the pariſhes of Aſhton, Mancheſter, Flixton, Eccles, and Warrington muſt have been the firſt-inhabited parts of the county. And this memorable event muſt have happened a conſiderable time before the invaſion of the Brigantes, which was made about the beginning of the Chriſtian æra. At this period, the lengthening line of the Celtic ſettlements appears from that invaſion to have been now carried on to the utmoſt limits of the preſent England. This memorable event muſt have happened even before the numerous colony of the Belgæ, three hundred and fifty years preceding that æra, paſſed over the narrow boundary of the ſea, and ſettled, like the primitive poſſeſſors, along the ſouthern coaſt of the iſland [14]. At this period, many of the native inhabitants, relinquiſhing their antient ſeats to the Belgæ, found all the central and northern parts of England already occupied, and therefore tranſported themſelves into the uninhabited iſle of Ireland [15]. At this

this period therefore the county of Lancaſter in general, and the pariſh of Mancheſter in particular, had certainly received a colony of the Celtæ.

And they could not have received one very long before it. The gradual progreſſion of the Celtæ along the broad baſe of the triangle which the iſland forms, and afterwards acroſs the wide plane to the tapering ſummit of it, muſt have been the labour of many ages. The population of England was compleated before the abovementioned æra: and it could not have been compleated long before it. Had the inhabitants of Galloway in particular been ſeated in that country for a conſiderable time before the Belgæ arrived on the ſouthern coaſt of England, ſo very near as the coaſt of Ireland was to them, they could not have left the firſt plantation of that iſland to their brethren of the South [16]. And that they did leave it is as ſtrong an argument as we can have, that the ſettlement of the ſouthern regions of Scotland had not been long compleated at the arrival of the Belgæ. The county of Lancaſter therefore in general, and the pariſh of Mancheſter in particular, muſt have been firſt planted about one hundred and fifty years before that arrival, and about five hundred before the Chriſtian computation, about the æra of Darius's expedition into Greece, the reſtoration of the democracy at Athens, and the inſtitution of the conſulate at Rome.

Thus ſettled in the woody region of Lancaſhire, the coloniſts received the appropriate name of Setantii, Siſtantii, or Siſtuntii, as the ſettlers who took poſſeſſion of Cumberland and Weſtmoreland received the appropriate title of Voluntii or Volantii. The name of the former was expreſſive of their maritime ſituation. It is compounded of SE, TAN, TIU or S, IS, TAN, TIU, ſignifies either ſimply THE COUNTRY OF WATER or diſcriminately THE INFERIOUR AND SOUTHERLY COUNTRY OF WATER, and expreſſes the particular poſition of Lancaſhire with reſpect to the Volantii and the ſea. Setantii muſt have been the original appellation of the original coloniſts; and Siſtantii or Siſtuntii muſt have been afterwards conferred upon them, when new coloniſts had taken poſſeſſion of Cumberland and Weſtmoreland, and

when accuracy was obliged to diſtinguiſh the one from the other [17]. And from the beautiful altar which was diſcovered at Elenborough in Cumberland, and which is inſcribed VOLANTI VIVAS, Elenborough appears to have been originally denominated Volantiu, and was therefore aſſuredly the original capital of the Volantian towns [18]. But the Siſtuntii had the towns of Coccui, Bremetonac, Rerigon, Veratin, and our own Mancenion; all acknowledging the firſt to be, what the name of Coccui or ſupreme undeniably imports it to have been, the Britiſh metropolis of Lancaſhire. Such was the principality of the Siſtuntian Britons, ſubject to its own capital, and governed by its own regulus [19].

The neighbouring tribe of the Brigantes had been hitherto confined within the counties of York and Durham. But overcharged in all probability with a numerous youth about the commencement of the Chriſtian æra it detached a ſtrong party of them acroſs the long barrier of hills which extends from Derbyſhire to Scotland, and into the countries of the Siſtuntii and Volantii beyond them. Theſe, apprehenſive of the coming invaſion, and providing againſt the common danger, ſeem to have wiſely entered into a very ſtrict and intimate alliance. They entered however in vain. Unable with their united forces to reſiſt the vigour of the Brigantian arms, they were obliged to ſubmit, and received the general appellation of Brigantes. Coccui and Volantiu were deprived of their little ſupremacies. And both they and our own Mancenion were reduced under the ſupremacy of the Brigantian capital [20].

The appellation of Britain has been for ages tortured, racked, and diſmembered by the antiquarians, in order to force a confeſſion of its origin and import from it. And erudition, running wild in the mazes of folly, has eagerly deduced it from almoſt every word of a ſimilar ſound in almoſt every known language of the globe. But the Celtic muſt obviouſly be the only one that can lay any competent claim to it. And the Celtic muſt obviouſly challenge it all for her own. The name muſt certainly have been either aſſumed to themſelves by the Celtic ſettlers on the iſland, or commu-

communicated to them by their Celtic brethren on the continent. And the import of it may be as eaſily aſcertained as its origin. It, and that appellation of Brigantes which our anceſtors received from their conquerors, is derived from the original and common appellation of all the tribes of Britain. The firſt denomination of the iſland was Albin or Albion [21], a name that was evidently conferred upon it before it was ever inhabited, and while its Alb-in Alb-ion or high rocks were only viewed at a diſtance from the oppoſite ſhore of Gaul. The ſecond denomination of the iſland was Breatin, Brydain, or Britain [22]; a name not applied to the region, but beſtowed upon the inhabiters [23]; a name not previouſly borne upon the continent by the original ſettlers of the country, but aſſumed or received upon the firſt removal of them into the iſland. And this name is derived from a Celtic word denoting ſeparation and diviſion. This is a particular which in the natural language of the continent has always characteriſed the inhabitants of this iſland. This is a particular (as I ſhall afterwards ſhew) which has equally given denomination to the tribes of Ireland, to the nations of Caledonia, and to two or three iſlands upon our coaſts [24]. The original word is ſtill retained in the Welſh Brith and the Iriſh Breact any thing divided or ſtriped, and in the Iriſh Brioth a fraction or diviſion, the Iriſh Briſead a rupture or diviſion, and in the Welſh Breg a diviſion or breach. The original word was equally pronounced Brict or Brit (as the Ictius of Cæſar is the Itium of Strabo), Bris, and Brig, and appears with this variety of termination in the uſual appellation of the iſlanders Britanni, in the preſent denomination of the Armorican Britons Brez and Brezonec, and in this the name of the Brigantes. Brit is enlarged into Brit-on, Brit-an, Brit-an-ec in the plural, and ſo forms the appellation Brit-on-es, Brit-an-i, and Brit-an-ic-i [25]; as Brig is either changed into Brig-es in the plural, and forms Allo-brig-es or Allo-brog-es, the appellation of a tribe upon the continent and of all the Belgæ within the iſland [26], or is altered into Brig-an and Brig-ant, and forms the denomination Brig-ant-es. And as we find the name of Brigantes ap-

plied once by a native Briton to the whole body of the Caledonian Britons [27], so we see the name of Britannia actually applied by Ravennas to the country of the Brigantes, and our own Sistuntii expressly declared to possess a third part of this Britannia [28].

[1] SEE Appendix No. I. and Iter. I. &c. — [2] See b. I. ch. xii. sect. 4. of this work. — [3] Vespasianus — in Britanniam translatus — duas validissimas gentes, *superque viginti oppida* — et insulam Vectem Britanniæ proximam, in deditionem redegit (Suetonius p. 240. Oxon.) — [4] Dio p. 759. Hamburgi 1750, and Tacitus Annal. lib. xii. c. 32. — [5] See b. I. ch. ix. sect. 1. — [6] See b. I. ch. vii. sect. 4. — [7] Baxter's Gloss. and Antiq. Britan. — [8] Cæsar p. 89. Clarke, Glasgow, Interiores plerique frumenta non serunt, sed lacte et carne vivunt — [9] Cæsar p. 92. Oppidum Britanni vocant — quò, incursionis hostium vitandæ causa, convenire consueverunt; and Tacitus in Agric. Vitâ. c. xxvii. Britanni conjuges ac liberos in loca tuta transferrent. — [10] Cæsar p. 92. Cognoscit non longe ex eo loco oppidum Cassivellauni abesse, sylvis paludibusque munitum; quò satis magnus hominum pecorisque numerus convenerit. Oppidum autem Britanni vocant quum sylvas impeditas vallo atque fossâ munierunt — Locum reperit egregiè naturâ atque opere munitum. — p. 87, Se in sylvas abdiderunt, locum nacti egregiè naturâ et opere munitum, — quem — jam ante præparaverant; nam, crebris arboribus succisis, omnes introitus erant præclusi. — See also Strabo p. 306. Amstel. 1707. and more particularly Dio p. 227. — [11] Cæsar p. 87. Locum egregiè et naturâ et opere munitum, quem, domestici belli, ut videbatur, causâ, jam ante præparaverant. — Cæsar p. 88. Mela l. iii. c. 6. and Richard p. 6. See a full account of this author in b. I. ch. iii. sect. 1. — [12] Richard p. 17—27, and his and Antonine's Itinerary. (See Appendix No. I.) — [13] Richard p. 50, and the subsequent History of the Population of Britain and of Ireland b. I. ch. xii. sect. 4. — [14] Compare Cæsar's expressions Antiquitus transductos

transductos p. 33. and Memoriâ proditum p. 88. with Richard p. 50.—[15] Richard p. 50. And in p. 42. he says, Certissimum est that the other tribes of Ireland came in postea, after these Britons.—[16] See also b. I. ch. xii. sect. 4.—[17] Ptolemy; Richard p. 47; Gale on Antoninus p. 155; and b. I. ch. v. sect. 1. Ravennas calls them Sistuntiaci (Gale, p. 146.); and Baxter, with his usual wantonness of criticism, alters their name Setantii into Segantii.—[18] Horseley, p. 282.—[19] More Roman inscriptions have been found at this Volantium or Elenborough than perhaps in any one city besides through the whole extent of Roman Britain (Horseley p. 279). And as the inscription upon the plane of the above-mentioned altar was evidently in honour of Peregrinus, and in memorial of his building or restoring the houses and temple of the Decuriones, so the inscription upon the capital of it, *Volanti vivas*, was evidently a wish in honour of the same person; a wish aptly corresponding with the dedication of the above-mentioned houses and temple to *the Genius of the place*; a wish that Peregrinus might always live at the town to the inhabitants of which he had been so great a benefactor, and to the Genius of which he had been so pious a votary.—[20] Richard p. 27. Propriè sic dicti Brigantes, gens numerosissima, toti olim provinciæ leges prescribens; and Ptolemy, though he places the Sistuntii on the western sea, yet carries the Brigantes from sea to sea.—Richard p. 27. Volantii Sistuntiique arctiori fœdere conjuncti—And Tacitus Agric. Vit. c. xvii. Brigantum civitatem quæ numerosissima totius provinciæ perhibetur.—[21] Pliny lib. iv. c. 16. and Richard p. 1. Veteres Britanniam primùm Albionem—cognominaverunt.—[22] Pliny and Richard ibid.—[23] Richard p. 1. Vocabulo gentis suæ Britanniam cognominaverunt.—[24] B. I. ch. xii. sect. 2. and 4.—[25] So Sistuntii is formed by Ravennas into Sistuntiaci (Gale p. 146.), and Pœni Punici and Phœnices are one and the same name.—[26] Richard p. 18. and 20.—[27] *Brigantes* (says Galgacus), femina duce, exurere coloniam &c. (Agric. Vit. c. xxxi). And see also B. I. ch. xii. sect. 5.—[28] Gale p. 146.

II.

CATTLE were the great riches of the Britons in general [1]. And it was a common practice among the tribes to keep large herds of their cattle upon the uninhabited grounds that ſkirted the borders of their country. They retained under their own care as many as they could conveniently furniſh with paſtures, and they detached the reſt into the borders under the care of their ſervants. And theſe they ſometimes called Cheangon or retainers from their condition, and ſometimes denominated Paruis, herdſmen, or Gabrantic, goat-herds, from their employ. The proper Brigantes had their Pariſi or Gabrantuici inhabiting all the Eaſt-riding of Yorkſhire for the benefit of its extenſive wolds [2]. The Ordovices of North-Wales had their Cangiani or Cangani inhabiting along the ſea-coaſt of Carnarvonſhire from Brachy-Pult Point in the South nearly to Bangor in the North [3]. And the Siſtuntii of Lancaſhire kept their cattle and their Cangii among the numerous mountains that fill up all the ſouth of Weſtmoreland, and that then formed the northern barrier of their country. The Siſtuntii alſo, like their brethren of Yorkſhire and North-Wales, naturally provided for the ſecurity of theſe Cangii and their charge by the erection of fortreſſes among their paſtures. Such plainly appears to have been the Petuaria of the Pariſi, the Segontium of the Cangani, and the Concangii of the Siſtuntians. Such the two firſt are evinced to have been by their ſites and the names of the tribes to which they belonged. And ſuch is the laſt made plainly evinced to have been by its own name as well as by its own ſite. Its name imports it to be the capital of the Cangii. And its proximity to Lancaſhire, being ſeated at Water-crook in the Vale of Kendal, ſhews thoſe inhabitants to be the Cangii of the Siſtuntians [4]. The whole county of Weſtmoreland muſt have been originally appropriated to the feeding of cattle; and muſt for this purpoſe have been partitioned equally betwixt the Siſtuntii and the Volantii, the adjoining

adjoining barony of Kendal being aſſigned to the former, and the contiguous barony of Weſtmoreland being allotted to the latter. The whole county of Weſtmoreland certainly remained wild and uncultivated in general to the late period of the Saxons. And the whole county therefore acquired from the Saxons the appellation which it retains at preſent, which the ancient unnoticed pronunciation of the A has hitherto diſguiſed to every critical eye, and which is nothing more than the waſte moor land or the uncultivated region [5].

The little armouries of the Siluntii, like the armouries of their brethren in the other diſtricts of the iſland, muſt have been furniſhed with helmets, coats of mail, ſhields, and chariots, and with ſpears, daggers, ſwords, battle-axes, and bows. The helmet, the coat of mail, and the chariot were confined to the chiefs; and the common ſoldiers fought always on foot, provided with ſhields for their own defence, and with ſpears, ſwords, daggers, bows, and battle-axes for the offence of an enemy [6]. The ſhield was like the target of our preſent Highlanders, ſlight, generally round, and always boſſy [7]. The ſword was like the broad ſword of the ſame mountaineers, large, heavy, and unpointed [8]. And the dagger was like their preſent dirk [9]. But ſome inſtruments have been diſcovered in Scotland, Yorkſhire, Lincolnſhire, and the iſle of Angleſey, in Eſſex, Hampſhire, Wiltſhire, Cornwall, and Staffordſhire, and near Marton mere in Lancaſhire, which the antiquarians have generally attributed to the Celtæ, and which they have therefore diſtinguiſhed by the general appellation of Celts [10]. Such an one was alſo diſcovered about fifty years ago in one of our Mancunian moſſes, and was immediately repoſited in our Mancunian library. There has it ſince lain, mingled with the lumber of petty curioſities, the cuſtomary trifles of every library, and is ſtill exhibited among them as an oddly formed chiſſel or an outlandiſh wedge. The wedge-like form of theſe inſtruments is ſufficiently known. In that particular nearly all of them agree. And they differ only in this, that ſome have no handle and are therefore hollow in the blade, and others have an handle

and

and no hollow. Of the latter ſort is our Mancunian Celt. Its blade, which is fluted a little at the upper end, is three inches in length, three quarters of an inch in breadth, and half an inch in thickneſs at the fluted end, and thence widens to the breadth of one inch and a quarter at the edge. And the brazen loop at its ſide is nearly half an inch in breadth and three quarters in length. But the ſocket, which is of the ſame metal, is two inches and a half in length, nearly one inch in breadth at its conjunction with the blade, and more than three quarters at the other extremity. And it has a ſmall hollow on both ſides for its whole extent, which is channelled in the middle, and is bordered by a ſlight molding for more than one inch and three quarters from the blade. Such is the juſt deſcription of this brazen inſtrument, by which it undeniably appears to be what ſcarcely any of the antiquarians have ſuppoſed it to be. Not an axe-head for the cutting of trees, not a chiſſel for the working of ſtones, as is plainly evinced by the too great narrowneſs of its edge and the too great ſoftneſs of its metal; not a druidical hook for the cutting of miſletoe, as is evident from the ſmallneſs of the blade and the obtuſeneſs of its edge; not the head of an halbert, as is evident from its ſmall ſize and its too great levity; and not the point of an arrow, a ſpear, or a javelin, as is clear from the roundneſs of its edge and its too great ſize; it was plainly the head of a light battle-axe[11]. The hollow of the ſocket and the raiſed molding on either ſide are plainly calculated for the reception of a wooden handle in the ſame line with the blade; and in a braſs Celt which was lately diſcovered among the hills of Saddleworth, and which is now in my own poſſeſſion, the remains of a wooden handle were found actually inſerted in the cavity of the hollow blade[12]. The termination of the molding three quarters of an inch from the end evinces that part to have been inſerted into the ſtock of the handle and in a right angle with the blade. This inſertion united firmly the head and the handle of the battle-axe; and the union was ſtrengthened by a pin in the ſocket. That did not paſs through the ſubſtance of the ſocket, but was received into a ſmall

a ſmall orifice upon one ſide of it, and, as appears from the largeneſs of the cavity within, was there ſecured by an infuſion of melted metal. And the whole appears from the loop at the head to have been ſlung acroſs the ſhoulder or ſuſpended at the ſide by a leathern thong. Thus does this brazen inſtrument appear to have been originally the head of a light battle-axe; and it is very like in the formation and ſize of its blade to the light axes of the American Mohawks. And this and all the reſt are very plainly the heads of Britiſh battle-axes. Some of theſe brazen weapons have been actually found in the ſepulchers of the Britons upon the Downs of Wiltſhire and within the region of Caledonia [14]. And as other inſtruments have been diſcovered in Wiltſhire, Warwickſhire, Staffordſhire, and Cheſhire, which were ſhaped in the ſame manner and muſt therefore have been deſigned for the ſame uſes, which however were not compoſed of braſs but were formed of ſtones [15]; the rude ſimplicity of theſe axes, their correſpondence with the arrow-heads of flint which have been ſo often diſcovered in Scotland, and the frequent diſcovery of the ſame ſort of axes in the ſepulchers of the Gauls and of the Britons [16], inconteſtably evince the Britons to have been the original proprietors of all. Such a ſtone-formed head of a Britiſh battle-axe I have now in my own poſſeſſion, a great curioſity in itſelf, as very few have been found in the kingdom, a greater, as it is the firſt that has been found in Lancaſhire and the ſecond that has been diſcovered in the North [17]. This was thrown up by the harrow in one of the fields that are immediately upon the left hand of the road to Throſtleneſt. This is a ſtrong heavy Celt, molded with great regularity from a large ſtone, and ground neatly to an edge, and is remarkably different from the flint-made axes of Warwickſhire and Staffordſhire. Thoſe were all of them ſmall, and moſt about four inches and a half only in length. But this is twelve inches in length, and three inches and three and a half in breadth. About three inches and an half from the broad and blunted end, the breadth of the ſtone is perforated for the inſertion of an handle, as the thickneſs of the

ſtone

ſtone is left greater for an additional ſtrength. But the eye is made wider at the extremities than in the middle, that the handle may be faſtened within it by little wedges of wood upon either ſide. And the whole Celt, even without the handle, which muſt certainly have been proportionable to it, is not leſs than eight pounds and four ounces in weight [17].

The uſe of this, as of the military car-rhod, wheeled car, or chariot, muſt have been derived to the Britons from their Gallic anceſtors, and have been firſt introduced into the iſland with the firſt inhabiters of it. Nor had the Gauls at the firſt invaſion of Britain by the Romans entirely forgotten the uſe of the chariot. Some tribes ſtill retained the car of their anceſtors, and uſed it equally for the journey and the fight [18]. But in Britain the uſe of it was univerſal at this period, and particularly diſcriminated the tribes of the Britons from all the other nations of Europe [19]. Theſe chariots the Britons diſtinguiſhed by the two denominations of Eſſedom or ſeats and of Covini coffins or vehicles [20]. And theſe chariots had their wheels ſometimes furniſhed with ſcythes, were always drawn by two horſes, and carried ſometimes two perſons, the driver and the warrior, and ſometimes only one [21].

[1] Caesar p. 88: and Mela lib. iij. c. 6. — [2] Ptolemy, and Richard p. 27. Gabr makes Gabr-ant in the plural and Gabr-ant-ic in the relative adjective. — [3] Ptolemy, and Richard p. 23. See alſo b. I. ch. v. ſect. 1. — [4] Notitia for Concangii. The name is Con Cangii the head or chief ſeat of the Cangii. So Segontium is Se Cond Ty or the head abode. — [5] So Moorland in Staffordſhire. — [6] Tacitus in Ann. lib. xii. c. 35; Dio p. 1280; and Herodian lib. iii. c. 47. Oxon. 1678; compared with Oſſian's Poems p. 37, 50, 51, 54, &c. (vol. I. quarto), Pegge's Coins of Cunobeline claſs 4. 2, Mela lib. iii. c. 6. Gallicè Armati, and Pegge's Coins claſs 4. c. claſs 5. 4. and claſs 6. 2. The Poems of Oſſian carry in themſelves ſufficient proofs of their own authenticity.

British Battle-Axes.

Fig. 1.

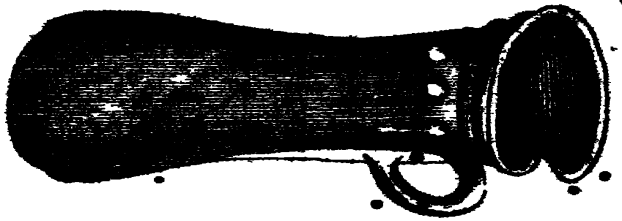


Fig. 2.

Fig. 1. This belongs to Manchester Library.
Fig. 2 & 3. Those I have represented in the Museum of A. Lever Esq.r

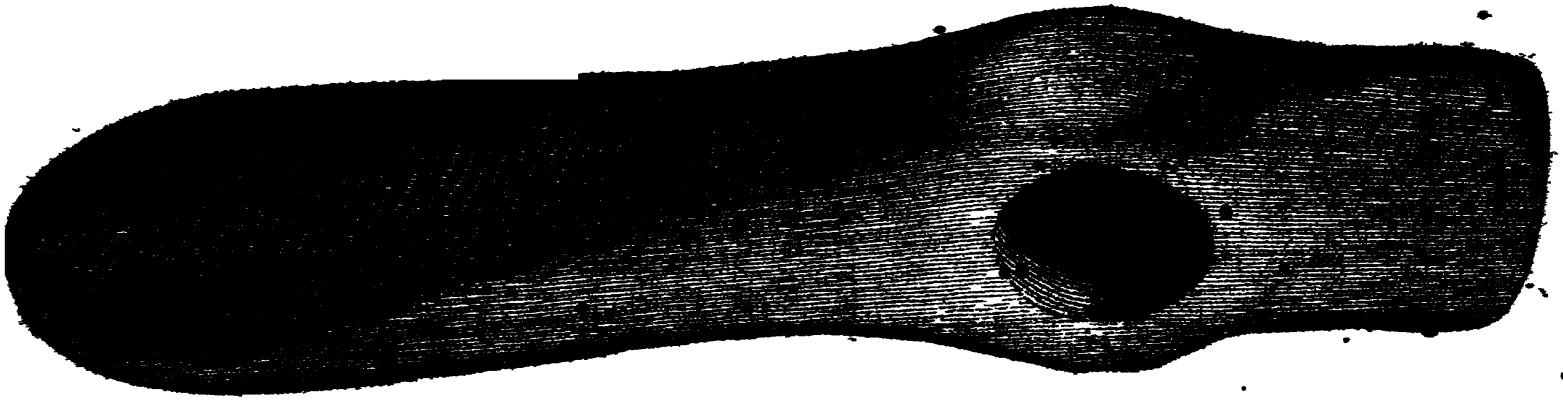


Fig. 3.

All three by a Scale of One half.

J. June. Sculp.

Inscribed to ASHTON LEVER Esq.r of Alkrington?

ticity.[6] But ſee this confirmed by a variety of external teſtimonies in Dr. Blair's Critique on Oſſian, 2d edit. The whole body of the Highland Scots are living witneſſes of their authenticity.—[7] Quis rotundam facere cetram nequit? Varro; Herodian lib. iii. c. 47; Tacitus Agric. Vit. c. 36; Oſſian's Poems vol. I. p. 206; and Statius Silv. lib. v. hunc regi rapuit thoraca Britanno. Each ſpear (ſays Dio p. 1281) had a brazen apple at the end, which was ſhaken in order to terrify the enemy with the noiſe. I have converſed (ſays Dr. Macpherſon in Crit. Diſſ. p. 144. Lond. 1768) with ſome old Highlanders who have ſeen ſpears of that conſtruction. The apple was called Cnapſtarra, a boſs of braſs; and the ſpear was denominated Triniframma, the Framea probably of the Germans.—[8] Agric. Vit. c. 36.—[9] Gordon's Itin. Sept. p. 52. and Plate, and Horſeley's Scotland No. 3.—[10] Hearne's Leland vol. I; Mona Antiqua p. 86. 2d edition; Plott's Staffordſhire p. 403; Leigh's Lancaſhire b. I. p. 18; Stukeley's Abury p. 27; and Borlaſe's Cornwall b. III. ch. xiii. Dr. Borlaſe derives the name of Celt from Cælo to engrave: Unde (ſays he) Cæltis vel Celtis, quaſi An Engraving Tool, p. 283. edit. 1760. Such are ſometimes the little fooleries of learning.—[11] See Hearne's Leland and Plott's Staffordſhire ibid., Stukeley's Stonehenge p. 46, Carte's Hiſtory vol. I. p. 75, and Borlaſe b. III. ch. xiii.—[12] The wood ſeemed to be yew. And ſee ch. vi. ſect. 2. and ch. iv. ſect. 1. of b. I.—[13] Camden c. 1263. Gibſon for the head of a brazen axe found in a cairn, and Stukeley's Stonehenge p. 46.—[14] Dugdale's Warwickſhire p. 778. edit. 1ſt, Stukeley's Itin. Cur. p. 54, and Plott's Staffordſhire p. 397.—[15] See the battle-axe of a Gaul mentioned by Plutarch vol. I. p. 315. Bryan's edition: and ſee vol. II. p. 514. But in Montfaucon's l'Antiquité Expliquée, tome cinquieme, p. 194 and 195, is an account of a plainly Gallic monument opened in France, in which were found about twenty ſculls, and as many ſtones ſhaped into axes under them. One was an oriental ſtone ſtudded with ſilver. And ſtone-axes are alſo found frequently in other parts of France (p. 196 and 197); as ſtone-weapons in general are often diſcovered in Germany (p. 198). And ſharp

and formed flints have been found with human bones at the Britiſh temple of Abury. (Stukeley p. 33[5]. — [16] One found at Tabley Cheſhire, Itin. Curioſ. p. 54. — [17] Dugdale p. 778, and Plott p. 403 and plate. A Celt of braſs, one inch longer than this, was found in a Britiſh barrow upon Saliſbury Plain; as a large braſs weapon like a pole-axe, and twelve pounds heavier than this, was diſcovered in another (Stukeley's Stonehenge p. 46). And in the Muſæum at Oxford are fourteen or fifteen of theſe axes, three or four in ſtone, and the reſt in braſs, but all ſmall and light. — [18] Strabo p. 306, and Diodorus p. 352. — [19] Cicero Epiſt. ad Fam. lib. vii. E. 6, 7, and Cæſar p. 79 and 80. — [20] Cæſar ibid. and Tacitus Agric. Vit. c. 35 and 36. — [21] Mela lib. iii. c. 6, Oſſian p. 11. vol. I, and b. I. ch. ix. ſect. 2; and Cæſar p. 79 and Diodorus p. 352. compared with Tacitus c. xii. Agric. Vit. and Oſſian and this Work ibid.

III.

WHEN the Siſtuntii firſt ſettled in the county of Lancaſter, they would naturally erect no towns becauſe they could dread no invaders, and the area of our Caſtle-field muſt have been left covered with the oaks of its native woods. They could fear nothing from the Britons of Cheſhire, of whom they muſt have been a colony, or by whom they muſt have been permitted to march through their country into Lancaſhire. They could fear nothing from the more ſoutherly Britons, for whoſe ſuperfluous numbers there were all the uninhabited counties of the North, and to whoſe colonies they were ready to afford a peaceable paſſage through their country. And when the Belgæ of the ſouthern coaſt, about one hundred years before Chriſt, extended their encroachments into the interiour regions of the iſland; the many refugees retired not into the more northerly counties, and either gained a ſettlement by allowance or ſecured one by violence among them, but paſſed over immediately to their brethren in Ireland. The political fears of the Siſtuntii muſt have been firſt excited, and their political precautions firſt taken, upon an incident

incident of a more alarming nature and upon encroachments in a nearer diſtrict. About half a century before Chriſt the Britons of Cheſhire, as I ſhall ſhew hereafter, burſt from the narrow confines of their own dominions, and attacked over-ran and ſubdued three or four of the adjoining counties on the South [2]. Such an act of hoſtility among the natives of the North, the firſt that we know to have been committed amongſt them, would neceſſarily awaken the jealouſies of all the neighbouring ſtates, and would particularly induce the Siſtuntii to erect one or more fortreſſes upon the line of their ſouthern borders. Then muſt the area of the Caſtle-field have been cleared of its oaks, and then the well-watered fortreſs of Mancenion have been conſtructed by the Siſtuntians. The fortreſs could not well have been conſtructed before this period. And it muſt neceſſarily have been conſtructed at it. Thus the rude ſtation of Mancenion, one of the firſt towns in the county of Lancaſter, a little prior to all the more northerly forts, and the firſt faint outlines of the preſent Manchester, was originally formed about half a century before Chriſt, about the æra of the war ſucceſſfully carried on by the ſoutherly Britons againſt the encroaching Belgæ, or about the æra of Cæſar's expedition againſt both [3].

The dimenſions of Mancenion are ſtill very diſcernible. It filled the whole area of the preſent Caſtle-field, except the low ſwampy part of it on the weſt [4], and was twelve acres three roods and ten perches in extent. Terminated by the windings of the Medlock on the ſouth ſouth-eaſt and ſouth-weſt, it was bounded on the eaſt by a foſſe, on the weſt by the preſent very lofty bank, and on the north by a long and broad ditch. The natural advantages of the river and the bank were great inducements with the Britons to ſelect this particular ſituation. But the principal inducement muſt have been one of which the Britons could not readily be ſuſpected, but upon which they appear to have very frequently acted. Moſt of the Britiſh fortreſſes appear to have had ſuch a particular ſite ſelected for them as the area of the Caſtle-field preſented and the coldneſs of our climate required, one that by its poſition on the northern bank of the ri-

ver, and its gentle declivity to the ſouth or its collateral points, would give the Britons the whole undiminiſhed reflected warmth of our Britiſh ſuns. And ſuch are almoſt all the Britiſh fortreſſes mentioned in the Itinerary of Antoninus[1]. Surrounded as the Britiſh fortreſſes muſt conſtantly have been with the ever-hovering damps of the neighbouring woods, ſuch a poſition was naturally dictated by prudence. And for this reaſon, and for this only, muſt the area of the Caſtle-field have been preferred by the Britons to the ſite of the preſent church and college, the latter being ſuperiour to the former in all the common requiſites of a fortreſs, but being greatly inferiour to it in this.

On the eaſt and north were the advantages of ſituation loſt, the level of the area within being even with the ſurface of the ground without. Here therefore the Britons muſt have ſunk a ditch and raiſed a rampart. And at the ſouth-eaſtern angle of the Caſtle-field, and upon the lower margin of the Medlock, was actually a deep and narrow gulley that was cut through the ſolid rock, and exiſted to the year 1765. This was originally formed in all probability at the original formation of the Britiſh fortreſs, a part of its eaſtern boundary. And from this point the ditch ſeems pretty plainly to have mounted directly up the little garden that now lies along the eaſtern ſide of the Caſtle-field, the rocks on the right of the garden appearing evidently to have been cut away ſloping towards the weſt, and the earth of it appearing as evidently from the rubbiſh, that to the depth of ſeveral feet is mingled with it, to be merely adventitious, and muſt have terminated (as I ſhall immediately ſhew) a little beyond the upper end of the garden. The northern ditch continues for the greater part of its original courſe, being carefully preſerved in general by the Romans afterwards. And the extraordinary aſpect of its weſtern termination, ſo much more formidable than that of the Roman ditches, does of itſelf ſufficiently beſpeak the whole to be Britiſh. The eaſtern part of it, which muſt have been terminated by the ridge that runs along the margin of the preſent road, has been long filled up by the Romans, and no traces of it appear at preſent. But where the

preſer-

preſervation of this ditch became afterwards neceſſary to the defence of the Roman ſtation, there the courſe of it ſtill plainly appears, the ground gently ſloping away in moſt places for fourteen or fifteen yards to the north, and then riſing up more ſharply as many. Along the greateſt part of this line the ditch has been conſiderably levelled, the earth of the banks having been long thrown down into the hollow. At preſent the terminating ſlope of the ditch on the eaſt commences within forty yards from the road, and the large hollow of the foſſe ſpreads about thirty-four yards in breadth and ſinks gradually about one and an half in depth, falling gently away to the weſt. For the next twenty yards it is only about thirty broad and one deep, the ſouthern bank gradually growing all the way. For the next ſixty it is about thirty-four broad and one and an half deep. For the next ſixty it is leſs deep, but is about forty yards in breadth; and the ſouthern bank is ſcarcely viſible. The foſſe now begins to aſſume its formidable aſpect, and gradually riſes in grandeur as it proceeds towards the weſt. The ſouthern bank all at once falls away in a long ſlope towards the north, and all at once becomes what the northern had hitherto been, the great ſtriking ſignature of the foſſe. At the end of forty yards the northern bank has no perceptible fall, but the ſouthern carries a ſharp deſcent of about twenty yards to the foot of it. At the end of ten more, where the northern ſlightly ſlopes away for eighteen yards, the ſouthern deſcends as many yards much ſharper than before to meet it. At the end of ten more, the northern preſents to us a gentle fall of twenty, and the ſouthern a ſteepy fall of eighteen. And both this and the other mount with a very ſteep aſcent of twenty for the remaining twelve, as the channel, cutting the thick bank in two, deſcends with a quick fall to the weſt.

On the weſt was the natural barrier of a lofty bank, forming a ſharp ſlope of fifty yards to the ſwampy ground below it. This is the ſouthern point of that long bank which extends beſide the ground immediately to the north of the Britiſh city. And where this natural barrier turned curving in an obtuſe angle to the ſouth-eaſt, the line of the Britiſh fortification, not curving with-

with it, was continued directly to the river, and the rampart ſtill appears along the deſcent to it, and ſtill carries a large appearance and an elevated creſt. Beneath this bank and rampart ſpread out an impracticable moraſs about one hundred yards in breadth and three hundred in length, beginning at the margin of the Medlock on the ſouth, extending betwixt the foot of the bank and the channel of a rill to the north-weſt of the Britiſh city, and giving it a full ſecurity upon that quarter [6]. But directly upon the margin of the Medlock the edge of the moraſs remained to the preſent period ſufficiently practicable and hard, and obliged the Britons to continue the bank to the river.

Theſe were the natural and artificial barriers of the Britiſh Mancenion on the eaſt the north and the weſt. And, for greater ſafety on the ſouth, the winding bank of the river was carefully ſcarped by the Britons. The long ſtrokes of their large pickaxes appeared in 1764, for the whole compaſs of the bank, upon the face of the rocks which are below the preſent edge of the water, and deſcended nearly to the original ſurface of it, within a yard and an half from the ſtony bed of the river. The continuance of this ſcarping along the whole compaſs of the margin evinces it plainly to be Britiſh, as it was evidently performed at a period when the whole area of the field was a fortification. It was evidently performed when the whole area of the field was not merely a temporary fortification, uſed occaſionally for a few weeks till a regular ſtation could be conſtructed within it, which was probably the caſe in the time of the Romans; but when it was a fixed a ſtated fortification, which was certainly the caſe in the time of the Britons only. And accordingly, deep in the artificial ſoil with which the face of the bank has been ſince covered, were found in 1765 and 1766 a Roman fibula, a Roman urn which ſhall be deſcribed hereafter [7], a Roman coin, which had .... REDVCI upon one ſide and .... AN AVG COS upon the other, and a Roman lachrymatory of black glaſs, depoſited in a little hollow upon the rock and half-filled with tears, the cork-ſtopple being nearly conſumed by time, and

the liquid retaining a conſiderable degree of ſaltneſs.

Along one particular part of the margin; from the eaſtern boundary of the field beyond the mouth of the ſubterraneous tunnel, the only part in which the upper point of the bank has been hitherto cut down or laid open, the ſame effects of the Britiſh œconomy in war have regularly appeared upon the front both of the rocks and of the ſoil which are above the preſent edge of the water, wherever the adventitious earth has been accidentally removed from the face of either. Both upon ſuch a removal have appeared clearly to have been formerly cut down, either into a very ſharp deſcent, or into an abſolute perpendicular. Both therefore, as we have every reaſon to conclude, muſt have been ſo cut down, not only for this particular extent, but along the whole ſemicircular margin of the river. And about twenty yards to the eaſt of the ſubterraneous tunnel, upon the point of a projecting rock and beneath the ſame artificial ſoil, appeared in 1766 a large flight of rude ſtairs leading down to the river, being ſeven ſteps about three yards in length, from three quarters of a yard to a foot in breadth and from ten to four inches in depth, and very viſibly worn away near the middle. Theſe ſtairs, formed as they muſt have been becauſe of the ſteepneſs of the ſcarped bank and for an eaſier deſcent to the current, and formed as they pretty certainly were betwixt the original conſtruction of the fortreſs and the advance of the Romans into Lancaſhire, would naturally upon the firſt alarm of the latter be thought to afford too ready a paſſage into the town. And the lower part of them had been actually cut down into an abſolute perpendicular.

Such were the boundaries of this Britiſh city. The principal enterance into it muſt have been near the north-eaſtern angle of the field, and in the large vacancy betwixt the commencement of the eaſtern foſſe and the concluſion of the northern ditch. This ground was opened in 1765, and the ſoil appeared plainly to have been never ſhifted at all. And the area incloſed within the whole the Britons muſt have filled with houſes for themſelves and with hovels for their cattle. Both of them muſt have been habitations more ſtrongly built than their temporary huts

huts of reeds or turf. The former particularly were deſigned to be the regular barracks of the garriſon, and muſt therefore have been conſtructed in the ſuperiour ſtyle of Britiſh architecture. They muſt have been great round cabins built principally of timber upon foundations of ſtone, and roofed with a ſloping covering of ſkins or of reeds [9]. But the latter ſeem to have been conſtructed in a ſomewhat different form, to have been not rounded at all but nearly ſquared, and to have contained about ſixteen yards by twelve within. Such at leaſt was the ground-work of a building which was diſcovered within the area of the Caſtle-field in 1766, and which was laid in a manner that clearly beſpoke it to be Britiſh. About half a yard below the ſurface of the ground was a layer of large irregular blocks, ſome hewn from the quarry of Collyhurſt, and others collected from the channel of the river. And below it were three layers of common paving-ſtones, which were not compacted together with mortar, but were bedded in the rude and primitive cement of clay. Such was the architecture of this ſecret foundation, which was about two yards in breadth and about one in depth. And, as ſuch, it appears to have been very antient. As ſuch, it muſt have been laid before the preparation of lime for the purpoſes of building had been introduced among us, and conſequently before the Siſtuntii had been ſubdued by the Romans. The knowledge of that preparation was firſt communicated to us by the Romans. This appears plainly from the preſent remains of the Britiſh buildings in the iſle of Angleſey in the Hebrides and in Wiltſhire, which are all, like the more regular ſtructures of the free Peruvians, conſtructed entirely without the aſſiſtance of mortar [10]. And the ſame ſort of foundations has been actually diſcovered about thoſe huge obeliſks of the primæval Britons near Aldborough in Yorkſhire, which are ſo ſimilar to the obeliſks frequently erected without their circular temples. A foot beneath the ſurface of the ground, a courſe chiefly of boulders has been found at one of them laid upon a bed of clay, four or five courſes of clay and boulders ſpreading ſucceſſively beneath it, and the whole rude ground-work regularly

buttreſſing

buttreſſing the baſis of the ſtone around ". This Britiſh foundation, upon which a ſtrong broad wall of timber had been undoubtedly erected, could not have been the baſis of a cabin for the Britiſh warriours, becauſe it was modelled in a ſquare form. It muſt therefore have been the ground-work of an hovel for the Britiſh cattle. And the opinion is ſtrongly confirmed by the nature of its ſituation. It was placed upon the ſlope of the bank, and about the mid-way betwixt the great tunnel and the preſent road; as the floor of it had a ſtrong inclination to the ſouth, and the large door-way took up one whole ſide of it and was oppoſed to the north. And the ſame ſort of foundations was diſcovered in 1765 and 1770, a few yards lower in the field, and running for thirty or forty yards together, a ſingle layer as it then appeared of ſmalliſh paving-ſtones bedded equally in clay; reſting upon the plane of the rock below, and covered with rubbiſh to the depth of a couple of yards above. The cabins perhaps were diſpoſed into two or three rows or ſtreets, courſed in right lines from eaſt to weſt, and poſſeſſed the whole extent of the higher ground. This the gracefulneſs of a regular arrangement and the neceſſity of regular walks would naturally occaſion. And the hovels perhaps were all placed in two or three lines behind the moſt ſoutherly of the rows, and along the inclining margin of the river. This the conveniency of the neighbouring water and the requiſite attention to neatneſs would obviouſly ſuggeſt. And the diſcovery of many blocks of Collyhurſt ſtone in the foundation evinces the Britons of Mancenion to have ſkirted along the woody area of the preſent town with their cars, and to have repaired to the quarry of Collyhurſt. The whole clough or woody hollow of Collyhurſt appears clearly upon a ſurvey to be nothing more than the ample cavity of a great quarry, which firſt began on the ſouth-weſt, and which had its firſt road of enterance from it. And of this quarry our Britiſh fathers muſt have been the original openers, and muſt have borrowed from it the foundations of their Mancunian cabins and the ground-work of their Mancunian hovels.

During the continuance of this Britiſh fortreſs in the Caſtle-field, the whole extended country around it muſt have been one large wood, which began immediately on the outſide of the barriers, and diffuſed itſelf for a conſiderable ſpace around them [12]. And the popular denomination of the wood among the Britons of this region will hereafter appear to have been Arden [13]. This was the common appellation of foreſts among the Britons in general, from the wildly extenſive one which covered more than half the county of Warwick, and the ſite of which ſtill retaineth the name of Arden, to the much ſmaller one that ſurrounded Mancenion. This was equally the common appellation of foreſts among their brethren of Flanders and of Scotland, and was originally written Arduen or Ardven [14]. And this original mode of writing the name demonſtrates it to be compounded, not of Ar the præpoſitive article in Celtic and the ſubſtantive Den, as the great oracular interpreter of the Roman-Britiſh appellations ſtates it to be [15], but of Ard an adjective and Ven the ſame as Den. The meaning of the name therefore is not, as Baxter renders it, ſimply the hills, or, even as the ingenious tranſlator of Oſſian renders it, the high hill. Ard ſignifies either high or great, and Ven or Den imports either an hill or a wood [16]. And had they ſignified the former ideas only, neither could have been ever applied to the ſite of the Warwickſhire and the Flanders foreſts, which have ſcarcely an hill, and have never an high hill, within their whole extent. Arduen Ardven or Arden [17] ſignifies the great wood. Hence the name was applied to the Arden of Oſſian, a part of which is ſynonymouſly denominated Morven or the great Ven, and the whole of which is characterized as uncommonly woody [18]. Hence, and hence only, the name became applicable to ſuch very different ſites as the plains of Warwickſhire and Flanders and the hills of Scotland. And hence the name became applied, not only to the moſt conſiderable foreſts, to that which was the greateſt in Gaul, or to that which was ſo great in Britain, but to many that were conſiderable only within their own contracted diſtricts, to the foreſt of Morven and to the wood of Mancenion. The latter muſt have particularly

cularly covered all the ſite of the preſent Mancheſter. And all along the preſent ſtreets, inſtead of the chearful voice of induſtry and the numerous retainers of commerce, muſt have then exiſted the gloom of foreſts and the ſilence of ſolitude. So circumſtanced muſt have then been the whole buſy circuit of the preſent town, the ſolitude and ſilence being never interrupted but by the numerous reſort of ſoldiers to the fortreſs in war, by the occaſional viſits of hunters in peace, and by the hollow hum the dying murmurs of the garriſon converſing at a diſtance in the Caſtle-field. And a mind tolerably romantic might long amuſe itſelf with the reflection, that the boar and the wolf, then (as will hereafter appear [19]) the inhabitants of this gloomy region, were for the moſt part the only proprietors of theſe ample confines, and that they ſlumbered perhaps in ſecurity by day on the well-wooded bank of the preſent church-yard, and roamed perhaps in companies by night over the well-wooded area of the preſent market-place [20].

[1] CAESAR p. 34. Noſtrâ memoriâ, and Richard p. 50. and 42. See alſo b. I. ch. xii. ſect. 4.—[2] See b. I. ch. iv. ſect. 2.—[3] Richard p. 50. and Cæſar p. 88. See alſo b. I. ch. xii. ſect. 2.—[4] The ſides of the Caſtle-field and the Roman fort do not quadrate exactly with the four cardinal points. But clearneſs and brevity oblige me to ſpeak as if they did.—[5] Horſeley p. 109 and 131.—[6] Cæſar p. 89. Oppidum Caſſivellauni—ſylvis paludibuſque munitum. And this lately continued ſo bad a moraſs, that even in the dry ſummer of 1765 horſes ſunk up to the belly in it.—[7] B. I. ch. ii. ſect. 3.—[8] Cæſar p. 92. Oppidum Caſſivellauni,—quò ſatis magnus hominum pecoriſque numerus convenerit.—[9] Mona p. 89; Strabo of the Gallic houſes p. 301; Cæſar, Edificia ferè Gallis conſimilia (p. 88); Man-cenion literally the place of ſkins; and Pliny lib. xvi. c. 36.—[10] And the Germans in general were equally ignorant of lime: Nè cæmentorum quidem apud illos uſus (Tacitus De Mor. German. c. xvi.)—[11] Gale's Eſſay on the four great roads in Leland's Itin.—[12] Cæſar p. 92. Oppi-

dum Britanni vocant quum ſylvas impeditas vallo atque foſsâ munierunt. P. 87. The Britons ſe in ſylvas abdiderunt, locum nacti egregiè et naturâ et opere munitum.— [13] B. I. ch. x. ſect. 3. — [14] Cæſar p. 84. and 126, Tacitus Ann. lib. iii. c. 42, and Oſſian vol. I. p. 38 &c.— [15] Baxter's Gloſſar. See alſo Camden. p. 426. edit. 1607. — [16] Dictionaire Celtique tom. I. p. 281 and 293. — [17] So Ruthven is pronounced Ruthen at preſent.— [18] Oſſian vol. I. p. 32, 39, and 97. Hence the great wood to the weſt of the Severn is ſtill denominated Dean or The Foreſt. — [19] B. I. ch. x. p. 3.

[20] ——— Paſſimque armenta videbant
Romanoque foro, et lautis mugire carinis. Æneid. lib. viii.

IV.

THIS muſt have been the ſtate of the Britiſh Mancenion in the Caſtle-field, this muſt have been the condition of all the extended country around it, when the Romans firſt advanced into Lancaſhire. And the former had been now conſtructed a little more than a century. In the regular progreſs of their arms from the ſouth, the Romans attacked the powerful and numerous tribe of the Brigantes in the year 72 or 73. This attack was made under the command of Cerealis, but was confined by him to the proper Brigantes, the inhabitants of Yorkſhire and Durham. In conſequence of it, and after ſeveral bloody engagements, equality of valour gave way to ſuperiority of diſcipline, and the proper Brigantes reluctantly ſubmitted [1]. Thus were the Siſtuntii of Lancaſhire and their northern allies accidentally freed by the Romans from the dominion of the Brigantes. But weakened as perhaps they ſtill were by their ſtruggle with that warlike tribe, and conſcious of their inability to make an effectual oppoſition to the ſubduers of their conquerors, they muſt every moment have expected and dreaded an invaſion from the Romans. And in this ſtate of impotence and fear they continued to the year 79 [2]; when one of the ableſt officers in the

Roman Annals, Julius Agricola, entered their country at the head of a powerful army.

The only Britons that now remained unconquered by the Romans, within the preſent kingdom of England, were ſuch of the Carnabii as inhabited Cheſhire, the Siſtuntii and the Volantii, and a part of the Gadeni and Otadini beyond both. Theſe therefore, the three firſt of theſe at leaſt, muſt neceſſarily have been the nations which Agricola attacked in his ſecond campaign, and the names of which his hiſtorian moſt unaccountably ſuppreſſes.

As Agricola led his troops directly from the Ordovices of North-Wales, he muſt previouſly have ſubdued the Carnabii of Cheſhire; and have invaded Lancaſhire from the ſouth. Victorious over the Ordovices and the Carnabii, early in the ſummer of 79 did he lead his troops to the conqueſt of Lancaſhire. And he would naturally direct his march in two diviſions, and enter the country in two places at once. The main body appears to have advanced by the way of Warrington, defeated the reſiſting Carnabii of the north-weſtern marſhes, and attacked the very defenſible fortreſs of Veratinum [3]. And a conſiderable party was moſt probably detached from the army at the ſame inſtant, croſſed the Merſey at the indefenſible paſs of Stretford, marched along the fields of Trafford and the margin of the Irwell, and advanced up to the fortreſs of Mancenion [4].

In this exigence, the conduct of the Siſtuntii and their allies was very different from the behaviour of the Brigantes. They wiſely reſolved to hazard no encounter with the Romans in the open field. They confined themſelves within their woods, ever hovering upon the ſkirts of the Roman army, and ready to ſeize every opportunity of attacking it in the many defiles of their foreſts and moraſſes and in the many paſſages over their æſtuaries and rivers. But their wiſdom was ineffectual to ſave them. In the long march which Agricola made through the extent of their country, he did not afford them a ſingle opportunity of attacking him to advantage. His ſmaller detachments conſtantly ſcoured the woods and moraſſes that flanked the army on its

march,

march, and perpetually attacked the numerous parties of the enemy that were lurking in them; while the larger detachments or the main body puſhed into the inmoſt receſſes of their foreſts, ſtormed their fortifications, and ſacked their cities [4]. Of theſe the city of Mancenion from its ſoutherly poſition muſt have been very early expoſed to the fury of the Romans. And in vain did it preſent to their arms the ſteep and ſcarped mound of its rivulet, the riſing eminence of its bank, and the broad extent of its deep ditch. Terrified by the vigour with which Agricola purſued the war, and allured by the kind offers which he made them of peace, the Siſtuntii and their northern neighbours ſubmitted, and gave up ſome of their chieftains as hoſtages [5].

[3] TACITUS Vit. Agric. c. xvii. Magnam Brigantum partem aut victoriâ amplexus aut bello. In this author, who wrote only a little while before Ptolemy, Magna Brigantum pars muſt refer to the whole of the proper Brigantes, who are mentioned only as a part in relation to the weſtern or ſubject Brigantes.— [4] See Horſeley p. 47. — [5] See b. I. ch. v. ſect. 4. — [4] Tacitus Vit. Agricolæ c. xx. Loca caſtris *ipſe* capere, æſtuaria ac ſylvas *ipſe* prætentare, et nihil *interim* apud hoſtes quietum pati quò minùs ſubitis excurſibus popularetur; atque ubi ſatis terruerat, parcendo rurſus irritamenta pacis oſtentare. The word interim oppoſed to ipſe plainly implies ſome operations diſtinct from thoſe of the main army; as the clauſe, Nihil apud hoſtes quietum pati quò minùs ſubitis excurſibus popularetur, repreſents the Siſtuntii to have confined themſelves to the woods and moraſſes, and to have been there attacked by Agricola's detachments. And the word æſtuaria connected with ipſe plainly ſhews the operations of the main army to have been directed along the coaſts.— [5] Tacitus c. xx. Ubi ſatis terruerat, parcendo rurſus irritamenta pacis oſtentare. Quibus rebus multæ civitates quæ in Hiberniam ex æquo egerant datis obſidibus iram poſuêre.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

I.

THE Siſtuntii of Lancaſhire being ſubdued in the ſummer of 79, Agricola immediately reſolved to eſtabliſh forts and to plant garriſons in ſeveral parts of their country [1]. He accordingly eſtabliſhed the forts Ad Alaunam and Bremetonacæ in the north, Portus Siſtuntiorum in the weſt, Rerigonium and Coccium about the center, Colanea on the eaſt, and Veratinum and Mancunium on the ſouth. Some fortreſſes were abſolutely neceſſary to the maintenance of the Roman conqueſts in the county, and muſt always have been regularly erected by the Romans as they extended their conqueſts. Six of theſe in particular are mentioned by the earlieſt accounts which we have of the Roman ſtations in Lancaſhire, and five of them by one account that was drawn up about ſixty years only after the reduction of it [2]. Having been five of them originally Britiſh fortreſſes, they were now changed into ſtationary camps. And ſmall garriſons, conſiſting principally of the infirm and the raw ſoldiers [3], were lodged in them, while Agricola with the reſt attacked the more northerly Britons in the following ſummer.

In the ſelection of ſites for their ſtationary camps, the Romans generally pitched upon ſuch as had previouſly been the ſites of Britiſh fortreſſes. The fact is abundantly ſhewn by the Britiſh names of the ſtations in the Roman Itineraries, near three-fourths of the ſtations bearing Britiſh names, and thereby evincing themſelves to be erected upon the ſites of Britiſh fortreſſes. The latter were generally planted upon ſuch ground as an intimate knowledge of the country recommended, and ſuch therefore as the policy of the Romans could not but approve. The latter I have previouſly ſhewn to have been generally planted upon ſuch ground as the Britiſh Mancenion naturally afforded, and the woody condition of Britain particularly required; ſuch as by

its

its poſition on the northern bank of a river, and by its gentle declivity to the ſouth or its collateral points, would give the Romans the whole undiminiſhed reflected warmth of our Britiſh ſuns [4].

On theſe united reaſons Agricola muſt have firſt lodged a garriſon in Mancenion, in order to ſecure the new-taken fortreſs and to awe the neighbouring Britons from it, while he advanced into the center of the county with the reſt of his forces. On theſe united reaſons Agricola muſt have afterwards commanded a regular ſtation to be conſtructed upon the Britiſh Mancenion, when the ſucceſsful campaign was terminated, and the Siſtuntii and their allies ſubdued.

The Roman garriſon of Mancenion muſt have begun the conſtruction of their ſtation in the autumn of 79. The compaſs of the intended fort, being marked out by the metator, the ſoldiers allotted to the buſineſs muſt have left their ſhields and their knapſacks in the center of the area and in circles about their reſpective ſtandards, and have repaired in centuries to the poſts which the præfectus aſſigned. And the reſt of the garriſon muſt have been ſtationed at the extremities of the field, to defend the labourers and themſelves [5].

Adopting the Britiſh mode of building without the Britiſh neceſſity for it, the Romans founded their vallum as the Britons had previouſly founded their hovels, upon paving-ſtones bedded in the primitive cement of clay. This I diſcerned on making inciſions into the ſtationary wall in two different parts of it. I cut down the wall from the ſurface to the center and from the center to the baſe, in order to ſee the curious conſtruction of it within and below; and I found all the lime-laid parts of the wall in both riſing from two courſes of paving-ſtones cemented with clay. And the ſame extraordinary proceſs in building has been diſcovered in other walls of the Romans. At the Roman town of Boroughfield on the Foſſe in Leiceſterſhire, have been diſcovered the foundations of walls that were ſtones ſet edgewiſe in clay, and that had had a ſtructure of lime-mortar upon them. At the Roman ſtation of Aldborough in Yorkſhire, the walls of

the

the town appear to have been built upon layers of large pebbles laid upon a bed of blue clay four or five yards in depth[6]. And the ſame ſort of foundations remained very common in the kingdom for many centuries afterward, the old ſteeple of the church at Prees in Shropſhire being very lately found to be reared upon a courſe of boulders and clay immediately above the natural rock. But the wall of the Roman Mancunium was not founded uniformly upon the ſame ſort of clayey cement. The foundation of the weſtern vallum was laid on two beds of blue well-worked clay, the lower being nearly a foot in depth and remarkably ſtiff and ſolid. But the foundation of the ſouthern was laid in two courſes, not of actual clay, but of clay-mortar, clay and ſand incorporated together, and both lying upon a deep bed of fine river-ſand that ſtill retained a little of its original moiſture. And as clay-mortar actually remained in uſe among us at Manchester within theſe thirty or forty years, ſo the neighbouring church of Preſton was diſcovered in 1769 to have been conſtructed upon a layer of looſe paving-ſtones laid in ſand.

The old materials of the Britiſh banks the Britiſh cabins and the Britiſh hovels muſt have ſupplied the Romans ſufficiently with ſtones. And with theſe they conſtructed the high ſtrong wall of their caſtrum, heaping them together in a very irregular manner, and only ſloping the face of the rampart a little. And as the wall was gradually raiſed from the breadth of ſeven or eight feet at the baſe, and was narrowed to one or two at the creſt, they copiouſly poured their boiling mortar upon it. This from its fluidity inſinuated itſelf into the many openings and hollows of the work, and from its ſtrength bound all the irregular pieces of ſtone into a ſolid compacted wall. And the whole courſe of the vallum muſt have been gracefully terminated with the line of a platform within and with a coronet of battlements above[7].

In the formation of the Roman mortar, the ſand appears to have been mingled with the lime unrefined by the ſieve, and charged with all its looſe gravel and large pebbles. Some of the mortar appeared actually on breaking to have been mingled with pounded brick, the ſmall fragments of brick very prettily

chequering the ſurface of the mortar and being thoroughly incorporated into the ſubſtance of it *. And the lime was not derived either from the hills of Buxton on one ſide or from the heights of Clitherow on the other, which have long ſupplied the preſent town with that neceſſary foſſil. The Roman lime is eſſentially different from both in its colour, being of a much ſhadier and browner hue. Nor would the Romans have collected their lime at ſo great a diſtance from the ſtation, when it might have been eaſily found in the neighbourhood of it. A long vein of limeſtone ſtretches regularly acroſs one region of the pariſh, and along the confines of Bradford, Newton, Ardwick, and Mancheſter townſhips. There, in the townſhip of Mancheſter, was it diſcovered many years ago, and the diſcovery was briſkly purſued for a ſhort period. And there, in the townſhip of Ardwick, has it been again diſcovered within theſe four or five years; and the proprietor, Thomas Birch Eſq; of Ardwick, actually obtained from it a block of ſtone ſo elegantly veined and ſo varicuſly clouded, that he ordered it to be poliſhed, and it now forms the curious chimney-piece of one of his bed-rooms. But for a long time dubious whether he ſhould break it up for marble or for lime, he finally reſolved upon the latter, and has ſtrangely neglected it ever ſince. This quarry breaks out in many places near the Ancoats, many ledges of limeſtone going athwart the channel of the Medlock, and various fragments being occaſionally looſened from them by the force of the current. The fragments appeared lately very numerous in the channel. The fragments, upon any long intermiſſion in the gathering of them, would appear very numerous again. They muſt therefore have been particularly frequent at the conſtruction of the Roman ſtation, and muſt many of them have lodged in the channel at the foot of the Caſtle-field. And, in their neceſſary enquiries after veins of limeſtone, the Romans would ſpeedily diſcern theſe brown and marbled fragments in the Medlock, and would find in them a ſupply of lime ſufficient for all their uſes and immediately adjoining to their ſtation.

The

The whole figure of the caſtrum was an irregular parallelogram. The parallel ſides were equally right lines and equally long. But the corners were rounded. The Romans particularly affected the parallelogram in the configuration of their camps. And they eſteemed thoſe as the moſt beautiful of the ſort which were juſt by one third longer than they were broad [9]. But they ſeldom rounded the angles of ſuch camps; and Ivelcheſter, Dorcheſter, Cheſterford near Cambridge, Little Cheſter near Derby, and our own at Mancheſter are ſome of the few ſtations in the kingdom where they have [10]. The area of the Roman caſtrum was much ſmaller than the compaſs of the Britiſh town. And while the latter contained nearly thirteen acres of our ſtatute-meaſure, the former included only about five acres and ten perches, or 24,500 ſquare yards.

The eaſtern ſide, like the weſtern, is one hundred and forty yards in length. And, for eighty yards from the northern termination, the nearly perpendicular vallum ſtill carries a creſt of ſix and ſeven feet in height. It is then lowered to form the great enterance, the porta prætoria of the caſtrum [11], the earth there riſing in a ridge and ſloping up to the creſt of the bank about 10 yards in breadth. Then riſing gradually as the ground falls away, it has a creſt of ten feet in height for three or four yards at the ſouth-eaſtern angle. And the whole range of this eaſtern vallum is fringed with a broken line of thorns above, ſhews the white mortar here and there peeping from under the green coat of turf, and near the ſouth-eaſtern angle bellies forth with a thick buttreſs of earth continued for ſeveral yards along it.

The ſouthern ſide, like the northern, is one hundred and ſeventy five yards in length. And the vallum ſinks immediately from its height of ten feet at the eaſtern termination, ſucceſſively declining till about fifty yards from the termination it is now reduced to the inconſiderable height of only two or three feet. And about ſixty-ſeven yards from it there appears to have been a ſecond gateway, the ground particularly ſloping up to the creſt of the bank for four or five yards at the point. The Roman caſtra had conſtantly about

the age of Agricola a gateway on the ſouth and north as well as on the eaſt and weſt [c]. And ſuch a gateway was particularly requiſite in this caſtrum, in order to afford a ready paſſage from the ſtation to the river, and the only one that could be ſecure in a ſiege. But about fifty-five yards from the ſouth-weſtern angle, the ground betwixt the ſtation and the river falling briſkly away to the weſt, the vallum, which continues in a right line along the ridge, neceſſarily riſes, till it has a ſharp ſlope of twenty yards in height at the angle. And the whole range of the ſouthern vallum appears half-fronted half-creſted at firſt with a broken hedge of thorns, a ſlender oakling riſing from the ridge of the wall, and rearing its little head conſiderably over the reſt, and runs afterwards in a ſmooth line nearly level for ſeveral yards with the ground about it, and juſt perceptible to the eye in a ſmall rounded eminence of turf.

At the ſouth-weſtern point of the caſtrum the ground ſlopes away on the weſt towards the ſouth as well as on the ſouth towards the weſt. And the weſtern ſide ſtill runs from it nearly as it ran at firſt, having an even creſt about ſeven feet in height, an even ſlope of turf for its whole extent, and the wall in all its original condition beneath. About forty yards from the north-weſtern angle was the Porta Decumana of the ſtation, the ground viſibly ſloping up the aſcent of the wall in a large ſhelve of gravel, and running in a ſlight perceivable ridge from it. And beyond a level of forty-five yards, that ſtill ſtretches on for the whole length of the ſide, it was bounded by the weſtern boundary of the Britiſh city, the ſharp ſlope of fifty yards to the moraſs below it.

On the northern ſide are ſeveral chaſms in the original courſe of the vallum. And in one of them, about forty-eight yards from the eaſtern termination, muſt have been another gateway opening into the ſtation directly from the great road to Ribcheſter. The remaining parts of the wall ſtill riſe five, ſix, and four feet in height, lined all the way with a thick uninterrupted hedge of thorns above, and exhibiting a broken chequered ſcenery to the eye below. Various parts of the rampart have been

been fleeced of their facing of turf and ſtone, and now ſhew plainly the internal ſtructure of the wall; preſenting to the eye the rough undreſſed ſtones of the quarry, the angular pieces of rock, and the ſmooth round flints of the river, all bedded in the ſtrong mortar, and united by it into one. And the white brown patches of lime and mortar ſtand ſtrikingly contraſted, on a general view of the wall, with the green turf that entirely conceals the level line of the rampart, and with the green moſs that half ſkins over and half reveals the projecting points of the vallum.

The great ditch of the Britiſh city the Romans preſerved along the courſe of their northern wall, for ſeveral yards beyond the eaſtern end of it, and for the whole beyond the weſtern. They preſerved it for more than thirty yards beyond the eaſtern end of their wall, and, as the preſent appearances of the ground fully teſtify, terminated it by an high bank, which was raiſed upon the courſe of the ditch, and which was ſloped away into the former part of it.

The conſtruction of the Roman caſtrum upon a ſmaller ſcale than that of the Britiſh town occaſioned the former to recede from the eaſtern and weſtern barriers of the latter. The garriſon therefore carried on a new ditch from the north-weſtern and north-eaſtern angles of their vallum in order to ſecure both. And, as the ſoldiers proceeded in the work, the centurions appointed to ſuperintend it muſt have regularly examined the line of the ditch, and carefully meaſured the depth of the channel, with their ten-feet rods [14]. The north-weſtern ditch was made to ſlope away north and ſouth, becauſe the Britiſh bank and the moraſs below it were a ſufficient defence on the weſt. But the north-eaſtern, having no ſuch defence of a bank and a moraſs before it, was ſloped away eaſt and weſt, and for the ſame reaſon was ſunk to a much greater depth than the other. This ſinks about five feet in depth, and That only about two and a half. Both however were carried on along a part only of their reſpective ſides. The north-weſtern return was continued only about thirty-five yards in breadth, and filled up in length the whole ſpace between the Roman rampart and the Britiſh bank.

And

And the north-eaſtern was extended as many yards in breadth and about ſeventy-five in length, even up to the great road of enterance into the ſtation.

[1] TACITUS c. xx. Civitates—præſidiis caſtelliſque circumdatæ. Here the word Circumdatæ plainly ſhews the common opinion to be falſe, which fixes the generality of theſe forts along the line of Hadrian's future wall.—[2] See b. I. ch. iii. ſect. 1. &c.—[3] Vegetius lib. iii. c. 3. edit. 1670. Veſſaliæ Clivorum in 2 V. [4] Horſeley p. 159. But this was not (as Horſeley ſuppoſes it to be) peculiar to the Romans as natives of Italy. More than half of the Romans in the iſland were natives of colder countries than Italy, as the Gauls the Batavians the Frieſlanders &c. &c. (See Horſeley's inſcriptions). And the human conſtitution, as ſuch, muſt have naturally affected a ſoutherly poſition in the cold bleak and wooded ſtate of our iſland at that period.—[5] Vegetius lib. iii. c. 8. and Cæſar p. 90.—[6] Itin. Cur. p. 100. and Camden c. 875. —[7] Vegetius lib. iii. c. 8. Super quem ad ſimilitudinem muri et pinnæ et propugnacula componuntur.—[8] See alſo Camden p. 624. for cæmentum lateritiis fruſtulis intritum at Ambleſide, and ſee Itin. Curioſ. p. 96. for the other.—[9] Vegetius lib. iii. c. 8. —[10] Plates in Itin. Cur. See alſo Horſeley p. 145. and Phil. Tranſ. 1759. p. 13, &c.—[11] Vegetius lib. i. c. 23.—[12] Grævius tom. x. c. 944.—[13] Vegetius lib. iii. c. 8.

II.

THE new-erected fort in the Caſtle-field now became a ſtationary caſtrum of the Romans, and the Romans now ſettled a garriſon within it. The new-erected fort in the Caſtle-field ſtill retained the name of the antient fortreſs upon it, and Mancenion was only changed into MANCUNIUM [1]. And this ſmall change in the appellation muſt obviouſly have reſulted from a particularity in the pronunciation of the name among the Britons, as the name of the town upon the river Kennet was ſimilarly

changed into Cunetio by the Romans, and as the Kennet itself is ſtill popularly denominated the Kunnet among the inhabitants of the neighbouring region [2].

The garriſon appears to have once conſiſted, and we may therefore reaſonably preſume it to have ordinarily conſiſted, of a ſingle cohort. Amid the period of uninterrupted peace which the Romans of Mancunium enjoyed to the time of their departure, there muſt always have been the ſame reaſon for keeping the ſame number of troops in the garriſon. And in the Notitia we find ſeventeen different cohorts forming ſeventeen different garriſons in the kingdom.

The cohort which was ſtationed at Mancunium was Cohors Prima Friſinorum, an auxiliary cohort belonging to ſome legion, and the firſt which had been raiſed among the natives of Frieſland. This cohort appears from an inſcription which was diſcovered in the Caſtle-field [3] to have been in garriſon there. This cohort therefore we may reaſonably preſume to have reſided there, as it certainly continued in the iſland [4], even to the final departure of the Romans from the ſtation. The Romans ſeldom ſhifted the quarters of their troops within the iſland, as is clear to a demonſtration from the hiſtory of the twentieth and the ſixth legions and the firſt wing of the Aſti. The firſt of theſe appears to have garriſoned Deva for nearly two centuries ſucceſſively. And the two laſt appear to have reſided at Eburacum and Condercum for nearly three [5].

The auxiliaries of a legion conſiſted both of infantry and of cavalry. The cavalry of the auxiliaries, which was double in number to the cavalry of the legion, was thrown into independent troops of four or five hundred men. The infantry of the auxiliaries was exactly the ſame in number with the infantry of the legion [6], and like it was divided into ſeveral cohorts. But the cohorts of the legion were ten in number [7], and the cohorts of the auxiliaries only eight. The eight cohorts of the Batavi are expreſsly mentioned by Tacitus as the auxiliaries of the fourteenth legion [8]. And, upon a ſubject ſo minute in itſelf and ſo little explained by the Romans, ſuch a

mention,

mention, unoppoſed by any other evidence, muſt carry a deciſive authority with it. And none of theſe eight cohorts was diſtinguiſhed from the reſt, as one of the legionaries conſtantly was, by the title of primary and a double complement of men. Each was diſtinguiſhed only by the name of the people of whom it conſiſted, and by the order of ſucceſſion in which it had been raiſed among them. Each muſt have contained nearly the ſame complement of men. And as the whole amount of the ten legionaries in infantry during the ſecond, third, and fourth centuries was exactly ſix thouſand one hundred men [9], and the amount of the eight annexed auxiliaries was exactly the ſame, each cohort of the latter muſt have had ſeven hundred and ſixty-two men. If therefore the firſt-raiſed cohort of the Friſians had, as we have every reaſon to ſuppoſe that every corps of Romans in the iſland ordinarily had [10], its entire complement of men, the garriſon of Mancunium muſt have ordinarily conſiſted of ſeven hundred and ſixty-two foot-ſoldiers. But ſince about three hundred and fifty of theſe muſt have been regularly abſent from the ſtation, and have been fixed upon duty at ſome diſtance from it, as I ſhall ſhew hereafter [11], the real garriſon could have been only about four hundred men. And eight men out of every century in it, thirty-two in all, muſt have continued upon guard in the Caſtle-field from ſix in the evening to ſix in the morning; being fixed at their poſts within the caſtrum by the ſound of the trumpet, being relieved every third hour by the ſound of the horn, and being kept alert at their poſts by the appointed walkers of the rounds [12].

The whole compaſs of the area within muſt have been filled with cabins conſtructed of timber upon foundations of ſtone, and roofed with tiles, ſhingles or ſtraw [13]. The prætorium, or the pavilion of the commandant, muſt have been erected in a ſuperiour ſtyle. The barracks of the reſt muſt have been raiſed in regular lines on each ſide of it. And the ſeveral cabins of the centurions, and the ſtandards of the centuries, muſt have riſen regularly over the whole [14]. Each cabin of the ſoldiers was large enough to contain a band of eleven men, and eleven were quartered

tered in each, ten under the government of one, and the latter denominated the dean or the head of the band [15]. Each cabin muſt have been large enough to have contained more, as it is evident from ſeveral inſcriptions, and as it would be evident without them, that the Romans in general, the common ſoldiers as well as the officers, had their wives and children along with them. And the number of cabins in Mancunium muſt have been about fifty or ſixty in the whole, including the hoſpital for the ſick, the workhouſe of the armourers, the magazine for the corn, and the repoſitory for arms. Formed by theſe, one principal ſtreet muſt have croſſed the area obliquely from eaſt to weſt, and another, a ſubordinate one, obliquely from north to ſouth. The former muſt have begun at the prætorian gate, have led to the front of the prætorium, and have terminated obliquely behind it at the decuman gate. The latter muſt have commenced at the water-gate, and have ſtretched away to the gate which opened into the road for Ribcheſter. And both theſe ways muſt have been particularly narrow. Such actually was the way which Mr. Horſeley meaſured exactly from one range of ſtructures to another, betwixt the very viſible foundations of the barracks at the ſtation of Amboglanna or Burdoſwald in Cumberland. The outer walls of the barracks were abſolutely twenty-eight inches in thickneſs. And the clear opening between them was only thirty-two in width [16].

[1] The name is differently read in Antoninus. Some MSS exhibit Mamucium, ſome Manucium, and others Mancunium; and the agreement of Richard (ſee b. I. ch. iii. ſ. 1.) with the MS. that preſents the laſt reading ſhews Mancunium to be indiſputably the right appellation. — [2] Itin. Curioſ. p. 60. — [3] See ſ. 3. — [4] See b. I. ch. xii. ſ. 5. — [5] Cheſhire No. 3. in Horſeley, and Antonine's Iter 2.; Ptolemy and Notitia for York; and Horſeley p. 211. and Notitia. See alſo ch. vi. ſ. 4. and ch. xii. ſ. 5. b. I. — [6] Horſeley p. 87. — [7] Vegetius l. II. c. vi and vii. where he ſpeaks expreſsly of the Ordinatio Legionis Antiquæ. — [8] Hiſt. lib. I.

lib. I. c. 59.— [9] Vegetius l. II. c. vi. and vii.— [10] See b. I. ch. vi. ſect. 4.— [11] B. I. ch. vi. ſ. 2.— [12] Vegetius lib. III. c. viii.— [13] Vegetius l. II. c. xxiii. and Tabernacula vel Caſæ l. II. c. x. and Horſeley p. 152.— [14] Vegetius l. II. c. xiii.— [15] Vegetius ib. See alſo Grævius tom x. c. mxxviii.— [16] Horſeley p. 152.

III.

THE open ground of the Caſtle-field, which extended itſelf on three ſides around the barriers of the Roman ſtation, muſt have been applied to a great variety of purpoſes. Immediately without the vallum, and perhaps along the weſtern level, muſt have been the ſtables of the officers and the ſlaughter-houſes of the garriſon [1]. And all around the vallum many of the Roman officers and ſoldiers appear to have been interred. In the beginning of the laſt century was diſcovered a ſtone, which was the ſepulchral monument of one of the officers, Candidus Fideſius, a centurion of the garriſon that died here in his 21ſt year [2]. It is delineated in the plate, and was inſcribed

Dis Manibus	To the Shade
Centurionis Candidi Fideſii	Of the Centurion Candidus Fideſius
Annorum 20	Aged 20 years
Menſium	..... months
Dierum 4.	And 4 days.

About ſeventeen years ago a labourer collecting gravel near the eaſtern boundary of the Field, and on the upper edge of the ſlope, found an urn ſtrongly bedded in the gravel and containing a quantity of bones. This was compoſed of fine clay, was neatly glazed both within and without, and, under a ſlight moulding which encompaſſed the upper part of it, had ſome unmeaning circles and ſome ill-wrought figures embolſſed upon it. It had no inſcription. But from the appearance of the bones, which were extremely ſmall and even as little as thoſe of a chicken, the contents of the urn could never have belonged to

any

any human being, and could have been the remains only of a favourite bird. And such remains have been equally found in an urn at a place which I shall hereafter shew to have been the antient Cambodunum of Yorkshire [3], the bones being extremely small and yet evidently entire. An urn so filled is a singular discovery in itself, and is almost the only one of the kind that has been made within the island. And such an act of regard to a little favourite was never perhaps very common among a people, whose general genius was too much steeled to all the finer feelings of humanity by the regular philosophy of a perverted patriotism, the regular practice of a relentless heroism, and the regular attendance upon sanguinary diversions [4].

In the spring of 1765 was found another sepulchral vessel at the same extremity of the Field, though on the lower part of the declivity, and among the artificial soil that had been heaped upon the perpendicular face of the natural ground. It was discovered about seven feet below the surface, at the bottom of a little hole, the diameter of which was little more than that of the vessel, and which had been filled up again with the shifted earth. There it rested on the rock, covered with a lid of the same and placed within two other vessels of much coarser materials, and containing a quantity of ashes. All were unwarily fractured before they were discerned, but nearly the whole of the former was preserved. This is a small urn, and not quite equal in capacity to a quart, containing only fifty-four solid inches and an half within. This must therefore have inclosed merely the ashes of a child. The above-mentioned circumstances of attentive care demonstrate the ashes to have been the child of a considerable officer in the garrison. And I have previously observed, that the Romans in general, the common soldiers as well as the officers, had their wives and children along with them. This sepulchral vessel however is not formed in the usual figure of an urn, but exactly on the model of a modern bason. Urns of such a configuration are a little uncommon, but have been discovered at London, in Cornwall, and in other places. This is composed of very fine clay, and is similar to,

but more brightly coloured than, the brown china of Staffordſhire. This and the other urns we muſt obviouſly preſume to have been fabricated where they were found, there being in all probability a pottery more or leſs conſiderable at every ſtation. And our pottery at Mancunium, which might be ſupplied with proper clays from many places in the precincts of Manchester, ſeems plainly from this ſpecimen of its ſkill to have been a very conſiderable one, and to have had very conſiderable artiſts engaged in it [5]. This coral-coloured veſſel is ornamented with various figures and devices, all equally fanciful and unmeaning, and has the name of the maker embоſſed upon it. Upon the bellying part of the bowl, and juſt above the little circle on which it ſtands, is written in ſmall Roman capitals ADVOCISI. And it is plainly the Romanized name of a foreigner, and pretty certainly the name of the Friſian maſter-potter to the Friſian garriſon [6].

Other or the ſame parts of the ground were employed in the ſupport of military diſcipline, by the erection of honorary monuments and the infliction of diſgraceful puniſhments upon them. The infliction of puniſhments muſt have been confined to the ground which lies on the weſtern ſide of the ſtation, the military delinquents being conducted through the Porta Decumana of the camp, and puniſhed immediately without the weſtern vallum [7]. And at the execution of ſuch puniſhments as were capital the muſicians of the garriſon aſſiſted, and continued all the time ſounding the charge of war [8]. But the erection of honorary monuments was probably confined to no part. Few probably were erected in any. And only one has been diſcovered. It was diſcovered in the beginning of the laſt century, but was removed or deſtroyed before the middle of it [9]. The inſcription however had been previouſly copied by the learned Warden of the Collegiate Church, and was inſerted in the laſt edition of the Britannia as I have delineated it in the plate. This inſcription obviouſly mentions the firſt cohort of the Friſians, and inconteſtably proves it to have been ſtationed in the Caſtle-field. This, the important part of the inſcription, is

certain

certain. The reſt is not ſo. The former part of it is thus read by Horſeley, Cohors Prima Friſinorum, and thus by Ward, Cohortis Primæ Friſinorum; as the latter part is thus read by both, Centurioni Marco Savonio Stipendiorum 23[o]. But both are miſtaken in part. Neither has remarked the very remarkable vacancy betwixt the letter P and the figures xxiii. There ſomething has been evidently eraſed by time which muſt be ſupplied in the reading. And as that erazure cannot be ſupplied by the word Stipendiorum at large, becauſe it is either expreſſed by the abbreviature SP or was not expreſſed at all, it muſt be ſupplied with ſome other word which will agree with the figures xxiii. The interpoſition of ſuch a word betwixt the letters and the numerals muſt have entirely precluded any connection betwixt the one and the other. And the former can never be conſidered as the abbreviature of Stipendiorum at all. They can be conſidered only as the initial letters of two diſtinct words, and as put for Sepulchrum poſuit. And both theſe words occur in inſcriptions upon the ſepulchral ſtones of the Romans among us [a]. Nor is the name of the centurion, as the above-mentioned criticks have given it, Marcus Savonius, but, as the inſcription undeniably ſhews it to be, Marcus Savo. And the critick has ſurely no right to ſuppoſe a corruption when there is no reaſon to make a correction, or an abbreviation when there is no occaſion for an addition. Thus ſtated, the former part of the inſcription muſt be thus read, Cohors prima Friſinorum Centurioni Marco Savoni ſepulchrum poſuit, The firſt Cohort of the Friſini placed this ſepulcher for Marcus Savo the Centurion: and the latter part muſt be thus ſupplied, Vixit annos 23, He lived 23 years. And, thus inſcribed, the ſtone appears to have been neither a monument of honour to the living nor a cenotaph to the dead. It appears to have been an honorary monument erected over the grave of Marcus Savo, who was a young Friſian officer in the firſt Friſian cohort, and who died in his twenty-fourth year. And it appears to have been erected by the common act of the garriſon, in an honourable regard to the memory of an hopeful though ſubordinate officer.

[a] See

[1] See Patricius in Grævius tom. x.—[2] Britannia edit. 1607. p. 611.—[3] See b. I. ch. iv. ſect. 1.—[4] Auguſtus raiſed a tomb over his horſe, Pliny lib. viii. c. 42; and Hadrian buried his hunter Boryſthenes, Dio p. 1159. See alſo an account of a tomb with an inſcription to a mule diſcovered at Rome, in Montfaucon's Italian Diary p. 83. Henley's 2d edit. And ſee an inſcription taken from Fabretti to a Roman buried with his hunting-nets, hunting-ſpear, two dogs, a boar, a ſtag, and a wolf, in Horſeley p. 340.—[5] See b. I. ch. ix. ſect. 2.—[6] See alſo Wren's Parentalia p. 266.—Among many fragments of veſſels that have been diſcovered upon the oppoſite bank of the river and on the ſite of Mr. Walford's houſe, was an unglazed fragment of a maſſy Amphora, having VABEO, the name of another potter, inſcribed rudely upon its handle: and we have Phœbio upon a veſſel at Rome in Montfaucon's Italian Diary p. 99. and Vibia on a ſepulchal inſcription in Horſeley p. 328.—And within the circle on which the Mancunian veſſel ſtands are ſome characters rudely ſcratched with a ſharp tool, and ſeeming to form Avittii, perhaps the name of the perſon whoſe aſhes the urn contained. And in Phil. Tranſ. 1759. p. 13. we have a tin Patera thus rudely inſcribed with a tool. The veſſel is preſerved at the manour-houſe of Worſeley.—[7] Vegetius lib. i. c. 23.—[8] Vegetius lib. ii. c. 22.—[9] Mr. Hollingworth's MS. in the publick library of Mancheſter p. 3, a rude Eſſay towards an Hiſtory of the Town, and written about the year 1650.—[10] Horſeley p. 301 and 351.—[11] See Sepulchrum in an inſcription No. 8. Weſtmoreland, and Poſuit and Ponendum curavit in p. 273, p. 303, p. 274, p. 322, and Oxfordſhire, in Horſeley.

IV.

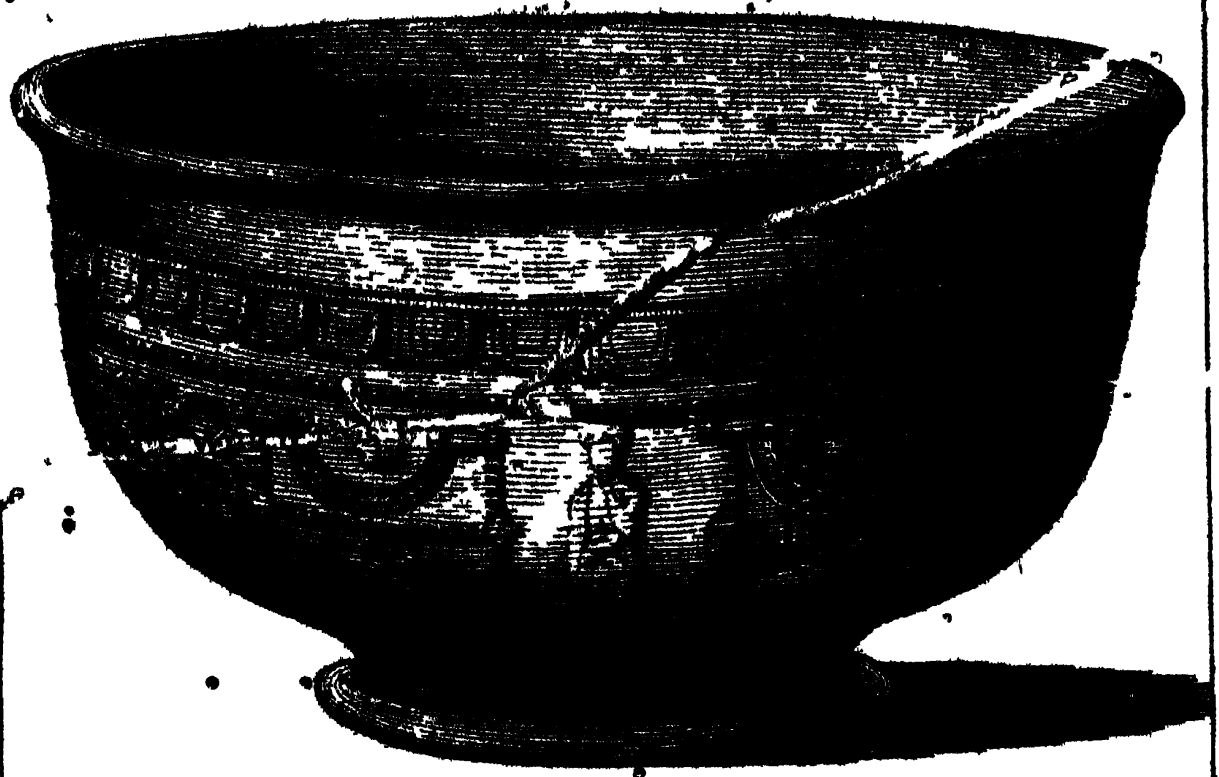
The Roman garriſon of Mancunium had undoubtedly ſome particular ſtructure ſet apart for the periodical ſervices of religion. This however muſt have been within the walls of the ſtation, and merely a cabin of the ſame conſtruction with the

Three Roman Inscriptions found at Manchester.

From Camden.

ↄ CAN·DIDI.
FIDES. XX.
IIII.

The Bowl at Worsley.



By a Scale of three-fourths.

COHO.I.FRISIN
ↄ MASAV·ON·IS
P. XX·III.

H Clarke del. From Camden. I Taylor sculp.

Inscribed to the Rev.d Mr. Ashton, Fellow of Christ-College Manchester.

reſt, but appropriated entirely to the offices of publick devotion. This muſt have been near to the great pavilion of the commander and the great ſtandard of the garriſon, the latter being always planted cloſe to the former [1]. Near to both was regularly a temple or chapel in every ſtation. And in it ſeveral altars were erected and religious rites performed [2].

But in every ſtation private altars were occaſionally raiſed as private gratitude for paſt or private ſupplication for future favours directed. Theſe ſeem never to have been erected within the area of the ſtation. There was never any room for ſuch erections within. They were fixed without, and in ſuch places as fancy or convenience recommended.

But of theſe, or of ſuch as ſtood within the temple, only one has been diſcovered at Mancunium [3]. And that has a curious inſcription upon the plane of it, which may be ſeen in the annexed plate. It was erected, as the inſcription witneſſes, by Lucius Senecianius Martius, a centurion of the ſixth legion, and of that particular brigade in it which for its gallantry was ſurnamed the Victorious, which paſſed over from Germany to Britain about the year 120 [4], and which marched into Scotland before 140 [5].

The route which this legionary brigade muſt neceſſarily have taken into Scotland from the ſouth was either by London to Lincoln York and Bincheſter on the eaſt, or by London to Litchfield Manchester and Penrith on the weſt. Theſe were the only roads which the Romans then had into the north [6]. And by theſe the legionaries muſt have marched in ſeveral diviſions. The garriſons of the larger ſtations muſt otherwiſe have been diſtreſſed, and the garriſons of the ſmaller muſt have been rendered utterly unable, to afford them the requiſite quarters. And while one of the diviſions perhaps halted at Mancunium, a centurion of the corps took the opportunity of erecting this altar.

Such I apprehend to be actually the date of the altar, more antient perhaps than any other altar, more antient almoſt than any other monument, in the whole compaſs of Roman Britain. And to ſo high a date every circumſtance in the inſcription perfectly

fectly accords, the ſtructure of the letters in general, the punctuation and complication of ſome of them, and the centurial mark in the middle. The letters are well-cut and well-rounded, and better in both reſpects than the generality of the characters in the inſcriptions of Antoninus Pius [7]. I mention not the inſcriptions of Hadrian or any preceding Emperor, becauſe the only two that are certainly coeval with Hadrian, and the only three that are certainly previous to him, have been all ſo inaccurately copied, that we cannot judge concerning the ſtructure of their characters at all. The points alſo, being merely the round dots or periods, certainly beſpeak an higher antiquity than the angular triangular and leaf-like points of Antoninus's inſcriptions; as the uſe of the periods only in the former has certainly more the caſt of antiquity, than the mixture of all four in the latter [8]. And the complications for UN in the firſt line and for VA in the ſecond are certainly as little involved and modern as thoſe for NT for DR and for IO in the inſcriptions of Antoninus [9].

The centurial mark indeed may ſeem by its uncommon form to fix a late date to our inſcription. So thought at leaſt a conſiderable critick in antiquities [10]. But ſo he thought for want of ſufficient attention. The centurial mark muſt have been originally CENT, CEN, or CE; and the letters of the laſt were often inverted to diſtinguiſh it from the ſignatures of prefix names. The centurial mark therefore thus inverted became ƆE, and the moment that complications began was formed into a common character that partook equally of both, the very character which appears upon the Mancunian altar. This is certainly older, becauſe it is certainly nearer to the original mark, than ⊃ the centurial mark of Antoninus [11]. This occurs not upon any other inſcription within the iſland, but occurs with ſome little variation upon many on the continent [12]. Within the iſland we have no inſcriptions, except the ill-copied five which I have previouſly mentioned, that carry any higher date than the reign of Antoninus. And if this centurial mark had been the invention of a later age, it muſt neceſſarily

ceſſarily have appeared upon ſome of the many inſcriptions that we have of thoſe ages.

Erected then about the year 120, this altar was conſecrated by the centurion to Fortune, in grateful acknowledgement to the Divinity that had ſo often preſerved him in the hour of danger. To this Deity have ſeveral altars been erected in Britain by the hand of miſtaken piety. We have three conſecrated to Fortune alone, a fourth to Fortune and other Deities, and a fifth to the Fortune of the Emperor, and all five in ſupplication of future favours. And we have three others erected in gratitude for paſt, the Mancunian altar, and one which was diſcovered about thirty years ago at Netherby in Scotland, being inſcribed to Fortune the Preſerver, and another which was diſcovered in Cumberland being inſcribed to Fortune the Redux or Re-conductor [13]. And it is a very remarkable particular, that four of theſe were erected by perſons who were or had been of the ſame corps, and even of this the ſixth legion, the above-mentioned altar at Mancheſter, another lately diſcovered at Cambodunum [14], a third erected by Julius Ralticus, and a fourth by Audacius Romanus; and that the two firſt and the laſt of theſe were erected by centurions of that legion [15].

But it is more obſervable in this altar, though it has never been obſerved by any of the numerous deſcanters upon it, that it has no focus for the ſacrificial fire. It is evident therefore, that no victims were deſigned to be conſumed, no libations to be poured, and no incenſe to be burnt upon it. Two others only of the ſame nature have been diſcovered within the iſland, the one dedicated to Jupiter and the Emperor at Dorcheſter in Oxfordſhire, and the other, like this, to the Goddeſs Fortune at Carrawbrugh in Cumberland [16]. And all theſe three muſt have been entirely appropriated either to the oblation of prayers from them, or to the preſentment of the fruits of the ground upon them, or to both.

Erected upon one of theſe deſigns, the Mancheſter altar ſeems to have ſtood near the eaſtern extremity of the Caſtle-field, and perhaps on the edge of the avenue that led up to the eaſtern

gate of the camp. Thence certainly it had been thrown down the rocky bank of the river into the channel below. Luckily it fell into a ſoft part of the channel, and was not broken by the fall. And there it lay undiſturbed and unknown for many ages, the lettered ſide lying upon the ground, and an oak ſpreading out its roots above it. In that ſituation was it found in the year 1612 [17]. The ſtone is twenty-ſeven inches and a quarter in length, fifteen and a quarter in breadth, and nearly eleven in thickneſs; and, what is a full argument of the haſte with which it was originally formed, and remarkably coincides with the ſuppoſition concerning its date before, it has neither capital nor baſe, and only a large plane in front bordered on either ſide by a molding. It is charged with a common præfericulum on the left edge and with a common patera on the right. And it is now carefully preſerved by the worthy and learned George Lloyd Eſq; in the neighbouring hall of Hulme.

[1] Grævius tom. x. c. 1044. compared with Vegetius lib. iii. c. 8.— [2] Grævius c. 1044.— [3] Dr. Stukeley has converted this altar into two, Itin. Cur. p. 55.— [4] Gale's Antonine p. 47.— [5] Horſeley Scotland No. 4. and p. 79.— [6] See b. I. ch. v. ſect. 4. [7] Horſeley Scotland Fig. 1, 3, 16, 25, and 26.— [8] Horſeley Scotland Fig. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5.— [9] Horſeley Scotland Fig. 2 and 25. and Northumberland Fig. 7. See alſo the Imperial Inſcriptions in Gruter and Reineſius.— [10] Horſeley p. 189. and plate No. 1. p. 189.— [11] See Horſeley Northumberland No. 71.— [12] See Urſatus, where it alſo appears in its natural poſition.— [13] Phil. Tranſ. 1763. p. 134. and Horſeley Northumberland Fig. 32. p. 240, and Cumberland Fig. 68. See alſo a bath or an altar in it dedicated to Fortune in Yorkſhire (Horſeley Fig. 1. and p. 352).— [14] See b. I. ch. iv. ſect. 3.— [15] Horſeley Northumberland Fig. 55 and 78.— [16] Horſeley Northumberland Fig. 32, p. 218, and Oxfordſhire Fig. r. p. 537.— [17] See Mr. Hollingworth's MS. p. 3.

V. MANY

and in Antonine, that went from Kinderton to five ſtations at Warrington at Wigan at Penwortham at Garſtang and at Lancaſter (p. 63). Of aſſertions without argument, and of ſuppoſitions without warrant, the multiplication is eaſy and the fate obvious. And had Mr. Percival been left to the guidance of his own untutored genius in antiquities, he would have ſtocked Lancaſhire with an infinite variety of ſtations, and every Saxon caſtle, every modern chateau would have been fancifully aggravated into an actual Caſtrum. That the one only determinate characteriſtic of a ſtation is the appellation of Caſter affixed to the place or the concurrence of Roman roads at the point, has never yet been ſufficiently attended to by the antiquarian critick. And, for want of ſuch a deciſive ſtandard, the antiquarian mind has been left to brood fondly over its own ungrounded ideas, and to multiply ſtations at the random ſuggeſtions of the fancy.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

I.

THE only accounts that had deſcended to us concerning the Roman ſtations and the Roman roads within the iſland in the year 1757 were the Geography of Ptolemy, the Itinerary of Antoninus, the Imperial Notitia, and the Anonymous Chorography. But in that year the ſcience of Roman antiquities received an extraordinary illumination from the diſcovery of a work, which contains a very curious account of Roman Britain, and exhibits to us a new Itinerary for the whole of it. And, what infinitely enhances the value of the work to a Roman-Britiſh antiquarian, the Itinerary is more antient than that of Antonine, is more extenſive in its deſign, and is more circumſtantial in its execution.

This appears to have been the ſurpriſing collection of a monk in the fourteenth century, who, having the ſpirit to travel, had the good fortune to meet with and the good ſenſe to preſerve theſe invaluable remains. But in an age when general curioſity was little awake and antiquarian curioſity had ſlumbered on for ages, being perhaps originally confined within a few MSS, thoſe being moſt probably reduced to one, and that tranſported out of the kingdom to which alone it had any relation; the work was in the moſt imminent danger of periſhing for ever. In this ſtate Mr. Bertram an Engliſh gentleman diſcovered it at Copenhagen in 1747, and immediately acquainted Dr. Stukeley with the diſcovery. Struck with the nature of the work, a copy of which had been tranſmitted to him, and with a copy of the hand-writing, which Caſley the Keeper of the Cottonian Library pronounced to be of the fourteenth century, the Doctor ſollicited and Mr. Bertram made a publication of it. In 1757 Dr. Stukeley publiſhed a tranſlation of the Itinerary with a comment in quarto from the tranſcript. And in the beginning of the ſubſequent

year

year the whole was printed at Copenhagen from the original MS, and a few copies of the work were immediately ſent as preſents into England [s].

The collector was Richard, a native of Cirencester but a monk of Weſtminſter, and the author of many other hiſtorical and theological pieces. That the work is genuine, needs no proof. All the embodied antiquarians of the fourteenth and the three ſucceeding centuries could not have forged ſo learned a detail of Roman antiquities.

Whence Richard collected it, we know not; or whether he found his authorities in England or at Rome, to which latter place he had a ſpecial licence to travel [t]. He has thought proper to ſay nothing of either. He only refers, and he refers frequently, to his vouchers, to Ptolemy and his cotemporary writers, the tradition of the druids, antient monuments, documents, and hiſtories [u]. And the Itinerary in particular he declares himſelf to have collected from ſome remains of records which had been drawn up by the authority of a certain Roman general, and had been left by him for the uſe of ſucceeding ages [w].

The date of theſe records muſt be the date of Richard's Itinerary. Dr. Stukeley carries the æra of both to the period of Agricola's command in the iſland, whom he ſuppoſes to be the Roman officer here ſpoken of, and to whoſe time he thinks the general aſpect of the Itinerary to look [x]. But theſe are ſurely reaſons of too feeble a nature to ſupport ſo weighty a concluſion. And the many parts of the work, as many there are, which are certainly later than the age of Agricola, directly refute the ſuppoſition.

The eighteen Itinera which Richard has preſented to us all obviouſly unite to form an entire Itinerary. No ſingle part ſtands forth of a different texture from the reſt. One uniform

[s] The title of the book is Britannicarum Gentium Hiſtoriæ Antiquæ Scriptores tres, Ricardus Corinenſis, Gildas Badonicus, Nennius Banchorenſis; and at the cloſe it is ſaid to be printed Hafniæ, Typis Ludolphi Henrici Lillie, Anno ſalutis 1758, Menſe Januario: and Dr. Stukeley's Tranſlation and Comment was printed for C. Corbet in Fleet-ſtreet, 1757. One copy was ſent to the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

colour.

colour plainly tinctures over the whole. And the whole Itinerary plainly refers itſelf to one period [5]. It was certainly compoſed after the wall of Hadrian, and even after the vallum of Antoninus, were erected, becauſe it expreſsly mentions both [6]. This neceſſarily reduces the date of the Itinerary below the year 138, the firſt of Antoninus's reign. It was certainly compoſed when the Romans retained their ſtations on Antoninus's wall, when they retained their ſtations beyond it, and when they had proſecuted their roads and their conqueſts along the eaſtern coaſt of the iſland as far as Inverneſs. Two of the eighteen Itinera traverſe all the country betwixt Inverneſs and the friths. And as ſuch a road could not have been proſecuted or ſuch an Iter drawn up in the days of Agricola, who plainly advanced very little beyond the river Tay [7], ſo could neither have been done much later than the reign of Antoninus Pius. We have the poſitive authority of the ſame author, who ſpeaks undoubtedly from records, and whoſe particular mention of the year is a full argument that he does, that in the year 170 the Romans deſerted all the country which lay to the north of Antoninus's vallum [8].

This reaſoning therefore confines the date of the Itinerary within a ſmall circle of years. Drawn up certainly after the year 138, it was as certainly drawn up before the year 170. And this neceſſarily obliges us to aſſign the conſtruction of the roads beyond the Tay, and the compoſure of an Itinerary for them, to the only one that could poſſibly execute either, Lollius Urbicus, the well-known governor of the iſland under Antoninus Pius. This officer, being ſent into the iſland in 140 [9], immediately paſſed the former bounds of the empire, and invaded the country that lay to the north of the two friths. Betwixt the friths Agricola had formerly erected a line of forts [10]. Theſe had not been deſtroyed; and Lollius immediately joined them together by a long vallum [11]. Agricola raiſed his prætentura of forts before he advanced beyond the Tay to the Grampian mountains [12]; and Lollius ſeems to have acted in the ſame manner. He ſeems to have erected his wall in the year 140 [13],

and

and then to have extended his conqueſts beyond it. And theſe he appears to have proſecuted along the eaſtern coaſt of the iſland as far as Inverneſs.

Hiſtory, or Time the deſtroyer of Hiſtory, has been very unjuſt to the memory of this gallant officer, and has ſcarcely given us any intimation of his ſignal victories. But that Lollius gained conſiderable advantages over the northern Britons, is plainly evinced by the teſtimony of Richard, who expreſsly mentions the glories that he gained by his victories in Britain, and by the concurrent teſtimony of Capitolinus, who ſays that he conquered the Britons [14]. Theſe victories alſo were eſteemed ſo important and honourable by Antoninus, that he aſſumed the name of Britannicus upon his coins [15]. And that Lollius extended his conqueſts to Inverneſs, may be eaſily ſhewn. He only to the days of Ptolemy can be ſuppoſed to have paſſed the limits of Agricola's conqueſts, and to have fixed a garriſon at Inverneſs. And he did it; a Roman ſtation being actually there in the days of Ptolemy, and expreſsly mentioned by him under the name of Πτερωτὸν Στρατόπεδον or the winged camp. That this is Inverneſs, the Geography of Ptolemy more darkly ſuggeſted [16], and the Itinerary of Richard moſt clearly evinces [17]. And here, as at the utmoſt boundary of the Roman empire and the moſt northerly point of acceſſible ground, Ptolemy or ſome of the Roman officers made the aſtronomical obſervation which he has given us in the ſecond chapter of his eighth book.

To Lollius the Romans owed the ſubjection of moſt of the countries beyond the friths, and Ptolemy the opportunity of having an aſtronomical obſervation made at Inverneſs. To Lollius the Romans owed the continuation of their military roads from the former to the latter, and we the Itinerary which meaſures thoſe roads and which Richard ſo happily preſerved. And in this Itinerary Lollius has left an uſeful monument to poſterity; uſeful to the memory of his own actions, which it has been the means of reſcuing from oblivion and of which it will be now a perpetual record, and very uſeful to the antiquarian critick. The very diſcovery of a new Itinerary would have been of conſider-

able

able importance to the ſcience of antiquities, had it been of as late a date as Antonine's confeſſedly is, and even as much later as from the mention of Conſtantinople and Maximianople it actually appears to be[17]. The very diſcovery of a new Itinerary would have been of conſiderable importance to the ſcience of antiquities, had it been even as ſhort as Antonine's apparently is in its notices and as uncertain as that in its numerals. By the collation of one with the other, much that was wrong might have been rectified, and much that was doubtful might have been aſcertained. But we have it with almoſt every poſſible advantage. The numerals are in general exact, the notices given in it are many and curious, and the date of it is equally certain and early. It was drawn up as early as the middle of the ſecond century, in a period when we have ſcarce any informations concerning the iſland from the Roman hiſtorians, and when the Roman empire within it was in its greateſt glory and at its fartheſt extent; when the Romans had two walls ſtretching acroſs the iſland; when they poſſeſſed all the north of it to the two friths, and all the north-eaſt up to Inverneſs; and when they had one great road that nearly traverſed the whole iſland from Inverneſs to the Land's-end [18].

This Itinerary has thrown a particular luſtre upon the Roman antiquities of Lancaſhire, and has acquainted us with one whole road, a part of another, and two or three ſtations, that we were ignorant of before. Under the guidance of this and the other Itinerary, and with the occaſional aſſiſtance of Ptolemy the Notitia and Ravennas, I ſhall now endeavour to point out the ſites of the Roman ſtations in general within the county, to deſcribe ſuch in particular, whether within or without the county, as were the firſt ſtages from Mancunium, and, only mentioning the roads that iſſue from the former, carefully trace through our own pariſh the roads that extend betwixt the latter [20].

[17] Stukeley's Comment p. 6.—[18] P. 3, 4, 18, 24, 28, 29, and 32.—[19] p. 35. Ex fragmentis quibuſdam a duce quodam Romano conſignatis et poſteritati relictis.—[20] P. 12 and 71.—[1] The only diſſonant

parts

parts are these, which sufficiently of themselves betray the interpolating hand of Richard: Iter 1, Verolamio municipio 12 [unde fuit Amphibalus et Albanus Martyres]; Iter 3, Camolodunó Colonia 9 [Ibi erat templum Claudii, Arx triumphalis, et imago victoriæ Deæ]; Iter 4, Eboraco Municip. [olim Colonia Sexta]; Iter 11, Isca Colonia 9 [unde fuit Aaron Martyr]; &c.— [6] See No. 1. Appendix 4, 9, and 10 Itinera. — [7] Tacitus Vit. Agric. c. 24, 29, and 38. — [8] P. 52; and see b. I. ch. xii. § 2. [9] Richard p. 52. — [10] Tacitus c. xxiii. — [11] Horseley p. 158. — [12] Tacitus c. xxiii and xxix. — [13] Horseley p. 203 and 52. — [14] Richard p. 52. and Hist. Aug. Scriptores p. 19. Paris 1620. — [15] P. 50 of Casaubon's remarks upon Capitolinus ibid. — [16] Horseley accordingly conjectured it to be a little to the north of Inverness. — [17] Iter 9 and 10. — [18] P. 9, a Constantinopoli usque &c. and p. 20. Bertius's edition. See a mistake therefore in Gale, Horseley, and others, who merely from the title of the work, and in direct contradiction to these passages, have supposed it to be written by one of the emperours that bore the name of Antoninus, and particularly under Caracalla, the last of them. — [19] In Richard is a Map of Britain drawn up by himself (as he says) secundum fidem monumentorum perveterum. This Mr. Bertram thinks superiour to all the rest of Richard's Commentary for the curiousness and antiquity of it (Preface). This is a great curiosity undoubtedly, being the oldest map of the island that is now extant, and the only old map of Roman Britain. Maps of the island however were not uncommon in Richard's time. He himself speaks of some as recentiore ævo descriptas and generally known (p. 3). And this is but of little value. It is frequently inaccurate. It frequently contradicts its own Itinerary. — [20] Richard also drew up an History of England under the title of Speculum Historiale de gestis regum Angliæ. The hope of meeting with discoveries as great in the Roman-British and in the Saxon history as he has given us concerning the preceding period induced me to examine the work. A MS. copy is preserved in the publick library at Cambridge, Ff, 1, 28, containing 516 pages. But my expectations were greatly disappointed.

The learned ſcholar and the deep antiquarian I found ſunk into an ignorant novice, ſometimes the copier of Huntingdon, but generally the tranſcriber of Geoffrey. Deprived of his Roman aids, Richard ſhewed himſelf to be as ignorant and as injudicious as any of his illiterate cotemporaries about him.

II.

To delineate the Britiſh and Roman-Britiſh geography of the iſland, has frequently attracted the attention and frequently engaged the application of our antiquarians. But their attention and application have been hitherto exerted to little purpoſe. A cloud has ſettled deep and dark upon the general face of our iſland in thoſe antient days. And the few ſcattered rays with which it has been hitherto enlightened have only ſerved to make the darkneſs more viſible to us. The Commentary of Richard however has now happily diſpelled the thicker part of the gloom. The poſition of each Britiſh tribe, and the extent of each Roman-Britiſh province, may now be aſcertained with ſufficient preciſion. And the whole interiour diſpoſition of Roman-Britain, before as well as after the conqueſt of the Romans, may now be ſketched out with a pretty accurate hand. Some little darkneſs muſt always be expected to infold the antiquarian in his ſearches. And he muſt always oblige himſelf to the taſk of thinking over his work.

The Roman conqueſts within the iſland were divided in general into higher or weſtern and into lower or eaſtern Britain, the one being ſeparated from the other by a line that was carried through the length of the iſland. The Roman conqueſts in the iſland were divided in particular into the ſix provinces and diſtinguiſhed by the ſix denominations of Britannia Prima, Britannia Secunda, Flavia, Maxima, Valentia, and Veſpaſiana. And a regular Itinerary, the firſt perhaps of Britain, appears to have been drawn up by Lollius for the whole.

[a] Britannia Prima comprehended all the country that lies to the ſouth of the Thames and the Severn, and of a line drawn from Creeklade or its vicinity upon the one to Berkeley or its neighbourhood upon the other, included eleven nations of the Britons, and contained about thirty-ſix ſtations ſubject to Rutupæ or Richborough the provincial capital. The Cantii generally poſſeſſed the exact compaſs of the preſent Kent, being bounded by the Thames on the north [b] and the Lemanus or Rother on the weſt [c], and acknowledging Durovernum, Cantiopolis, or Canterbury for their capital; but once croſſed the boundary of the Thames, and annexed London and all the ſouthern regions of Middleſex to their dominions [d]. The Regni reſided in Suſſex and Surrey; and Regnum, Regentium, or Chicheſter muſt have been their metropolis [e]. Immediately to the north of theſe were the Bibroces or Rhemi; who originally occupied only the ſouth-eaſtern parts of Berkſhire, from the Lodden or its neighbourhood on the weſt to the current of the Thames on the eaſt, and had Bibroicum, Bibracte, or Bray for their capital; but who afterwards ſubdued the Regni, and made Noviomagus, a town of the Regni in Surry, their metropolis [f]. Contiguous to theſe on the weſt were the Attrebates, ſpreading nearly over all the remainder of Berkſhire; were bounded by the Lodden or its neighbourhood on the ſouth-eaſt, by the curving bank of the Thames on the north-weſt and weſt, and by the hills of Eaſt-Ilſley Lambourne and Aſhbury or their vicinity on the ſouth; and acknowledged Calleva or Wallingford for their chief city. The Segontiaci inhabited the little remainder of Berkſhire and the adjoining north of Hampſhire, the Cunetius or Kennet flowing through their dominions in the former, and their principal town being Vindomis Vindonum or Silcheſter in the latter. The Proper Belgæ enjoyed the reſt of Hampſhire, held all Wiltſhire except a ſmall diſtrict upon the north-weſt, and had Wincheſter for their Venta or head-town. But the Proper Belgæ appear to have attacked the Segontiaci before the Roman arrival, and to have ſeized their dominions, all the poſſeſſions of the latter being pretty plainly attributed to the former by Ptolemy. The Durotriges

or

or Morini lived in Dorſetſhire, and had Durinum, Durnovaria, or Dorcheſter for their capital. The Hædui filled all Somerſetſhire to the Æſtuary Uxella, Bridgewater Bay, or the river Ivel on the ſouth, the ſouth-weſt of Glouceſterſhire to the hills of Wotton-Under-Edge or its vicinity, and the north-weſt of Wiltſhire to the Avon and to Creeklade [8]. Theſe however appear evidently from Ptolemy to have been ſubdued by the Belgæ, their country being expreſsly aſcribed to that people by Ptolemy [9]. The Cimbri extended over the reſt of Somerſetſhire, except a ſmall part to the eaſt of the Thone [10], and along the north of Cornwall as far as the river Cambala, the Camel, or Padſtow Harbour [11]. The Carnabii ſpread over the remainder of the north of Cornwall, and over all the ſouth-weſt as far as Falmouth Haven [12]. And the Damnonii poſſeſſed originally the reſt of Somerſetſhire [13], the reſt of Cornwall, and all Devonſhire. But before the coming of the Romans the Damnonii had ſubdued both the Carnabii and Cimbri, and had uſurped their dominions [14].

[15] Britannia Secunda comprized all the country that lies beyond the Severn and the Dee, contained three tribes of the Britons, and reckoned about twenty ſtations under Iſca or Caerleon its capital. The Silures inhabited originally the counties of Hereford Radnor [16] and Monmouth, and the ſmall portion of Glouceſterſhire which is to the weſt of the Severne, and acknowledged Caer Gwent in Monmouthſhire for their metropolis; but afterwards conquered both the Ordovices and the Dimetæ that bordered upon them. The Ordovices at the Roman invaſion poſſeſſed all North-Wales, the counties of Montgomery Merioneth Caernarvon Denbigh and Flint, except a ſmall part of the laſt county adjoining to Banchor, and belonging to the Carnabii; but previouſly poſſeſſed ſome adjoining regions of Flavia which ſhall be ſpecified hereafter [17]. And the Dimetæ inhabited all the reſt of South-Wales, the counties of Cardigan Pembroke Caermarthen Glamorgan and Brecknock; and Muridunum or Caermarthen was their capital.

[18] Flavia, or (as it was firſt denominated) Cæſarienſis [19], or (as it is therefore called in the Notitia) Flavia Cæſarienſis, took in all

all the central regions of the island, was limited by the two other provinces on the south and west, and by the Humber the Don [20] and the Mersey on the north, and had about eight tribes and fifty stations within it. The Trinobantes resided in the counties of Middlesex and Essex, Londinium or London being their metropolis [21]. Beyond the Stour were planted the Iceni [22], consisting of two tribes. Of these the Cenomanni inhabited the counties of Suffolk and Cambridge, perhaps the north of Bedfordshire to the Ouse on the south, certainly the south of Northamptonshire to the Nen on the north, and absolutely the whole of Huntingdonshire and Norfolk, being limited on the north by the Nen, and having Caster near Norwich for their Venta or first city. Of these the Coritanni occupied the remainder of Northamptonshire, all Leicestershire (except a narrow line of it on the west, which belonged to the Carnabii), the whole of Rutland Lincoln Nottingham and Derby counties, and the little portion of Yorkshire which is to the south of the Don [23], and acknowledged Ragæ or Leicester for their metropolis [24]. The Cassii were originally masters only of all Hertfordshire, all or the rest of Bedfordshire [25], and the adjoining parts of Buckinghamshire [26], having Verulam in all probability for their capital; but before the Roman arrival extended their dominions, seized the kingdom of the Trinobantes and the country of the Dobuni [27], and made Camulodunum or Colchester in Essex their capital [28]. The Dobuni or Lowlanders appear from their name to have first possessed only the south of Gloucestershire, and had Corinium or Cirencester in it for their capital; but afterwards extended their authority over the north of Gloucestershire and the south-west of Warwickshire, over all the extent of Worcestershire and Oxfordshire, and over the remainder of Buckinghamshire, reaching up to the western frontier of the Cassii [29], and still retaining Corinium for their capital. The north of Gloucestershire and the whole of Warwickshire and Worcestershire were pretty certainly occupied by a people whom I shall mention hereafter [30]; so the whole of Oxfordshire and the greatest part of Buckinghamshire were in all probability possessed by the Anca-

Ancalites [30]. And the Carnabii ſpread over the reſt of Flavia, and had Uriconium or Wroxeter for their capital [31].

[32] Valentia inhabited all the country that was bounded by the two walls and the two ſeas, contained five tribes, and had ten ſtations under its capital. The Ottadini inhabited the whole extent of Northumberland, except the ſmall region that was to the ſouth of the wall, all Mers, half of Tweedale, and all Lothian, being bounded by the wall of Antoninus on the north, the wall of Hadrian on the ſouth [33], and the Tweed on the ſouth-weſt, and having Bremenium or Riecheſter in Readſdale for their capital. The Gadeni occupied the little region of Cumberland that was beyond the wall, Tiviotdale, Tweedale up to the Tweed, and Cluydiſdale as far at leaſt as Lanerk on the north-weſt, having Curia, or Corsford by Lanerk, for their capital. The Selgovæ held all Anandale, Nithiſdale, and Galloway up to the Dee, and perhaps the ſouth-eaſtern ſide of Kyle and the ſouth-weſtern of Cluydiſdale. Beyond the Dee reſided the Novantes, ſpreading over all the reſt of Galloway, and having Leucophibia or Whitern for their capital. And to the north of three of theſe tribes, the Novantes the Selgovæ and the Gadeni, were the Damnii, poſſeſſing all Carrick Cunningham and Renfrew, the reſt of Kyle, and the remainder of Cluydiſdale; a chain of mountains, formerly denominated Montes Uxelli or the Uchel Hills, running all along the ſouth, the barrier betwixt them and their ſouthern neighbours; and the vallum of Antoninus ranging along their northern border.

[34] All the region then which was bounded by the two ſeas, the wall of Hadrian on the north, and the Merſey the Don and the Humber on the ſouth, and which contained the whole counties of Durham Lancaſter and Weſtmoreland, all Yorkſhire except a very ſmall portion on the ſouth, all Cumberland except a little angle on the north, and a narrow ſlip of Northumberland on the ſouth, was entitled Maxima or (as the Notitia and Richard's Itinerary call it) Maxima Cæſarienſis [35]. It comprized the Brigantes the Volantii and the Sifuatii. It included about thirty ſtations, beſides the line of the forts at the wall, and acknowledged

knowledged Eburacum for its metropolis. The Siſtuntii inhabited the whole compaſs of our own county and the ſouthern region of Weſtmoreland. The Volantii poſſeſſed the remainder of Weſtmoreland and Cumberland. And the Brigantes enjoyed the whole of Durham, and all Yorkſhire to the Don and the Humber. The ſixth legion appears to have been ſettled at York as early as the year 140. And Eburacum appears to have been raiſed as early to that dignity under the Roman government which Iſeur or Aldborough had previouſly enjoyed under the Britiſh [r].

[r] Dio p. 794 and 795 compared with Ptolemy and Antonine. Mr. Camden, p. 111. edit. 1607, makes the higher part of Britain to be the ſouthern and the lower to be the northern, carrying the former to about the Humber or the Merſey. But Mr. Horſeley inverts the plan, and makes the ſouthern the lower and the northern the higher, for this one good reaſon, becauſe Cæſar expreſly calls the ſouthern the lower; p. 307 and preface p. 22. The true diviſion is certainly into eaſtern and weſtern, the legions at Caerleon and Cheſter being placed by Dio in the higher Britain, and the legion at York in the lower. And ſo Pliny places Ireland ſuper Britanniam (lib. iv. c. 16). And Roman Britain is naturally broken into eaſt and weſt Britain, a chain of hills running from the highlands of Scotland, and joining to the peak of Derby, the moorlands of Staffordſhire, the range of Edge-Hill in Warwickſhire, and the Chilterne in Buckinghamſhire.

[s] Richard, p. 15, 17, 18, 19, and 20. In the delineation of this province Richard's map is pretty accurate in general. Dr. Stukeley's, prefixed to his comment upon Richard, which very falſely pretends to be an exact copy of the other, has totally omitted one tribe which appears in Richard's map and which ought to appear in both, the Carnabii of Cornwall, and has equally omitted the dotted lines that divide the kingdoms.—[t] See alſo Iter 1. of Richard.—[u] Somner's Roman forts in Kent p. 40, &c.—[w] Ptolemy. He carries the Cantii to or nearly to the

the Attrebates, and places the Regni to the ſouth of the Cantii. —[6] Ptolemy. See Regnum in Iter 15 of Richard and 7 of Antoninus.—[7] Ptolemy. The whole country of the Bibroces and of the Regni is given to the latter by Ptolemy and to the former by Richard, both conſidering them as one people after the conqueſt of the other, and Richard more accurately naming them by the appellation of the Conquering tribe.—[8] Richard p. 20 and 24. Quæ intermiſſione Uxellæ amnis Heduorum regioni proteſſditur, and, Thameſis per fines Heduorum—in oceanum—influit.—[9] Iſchalis and Aquæ Calidæ—So alſo Ptolemy places the Durotriges, not ſouth-weſt, as he is generally tranſlated, but to the ſouth and weſt, of the Belgæ, απο δυσμων και μεσημβριας, the Durotriges being to the ſouth of the Belgæ of Somerſetſhire and to the weſt of the Belgæ of Hampſhire.—[10] Uxella urbs is given to the Damnonii by Richard.—This Uxella is given to the Hedui by the map, in expreſs contradiction to the account.—[11] Richard's map.—[12] Cenia urbs and Cenius fluvius given to the Damnonii by Richard.—[13] Uxella urbs, Richard.—[14] Ptolemy and Richard p. 20. Damnonium Promontorium. The Damnonii are δυσμικωτατοι or the moſt weſterly tribe.—[15] P. 21 and 22. In this province Richard's map is faulty, carrying the Ordovices into Radnorſhire and giving them Magna. Dr. Stukeley has corrected the miſtake, but has made others. He has at once inſerted and miſplaced the Heriri Montes, he has placed the Dimetæ to the ſouth of the river Stuctia when he ought to have carried them beyond it to the Dovy, he has entirely omitted the Dovy, and he has neglected the dotted lines that limit the three kingdoms.—[16] Civitas Silurum-Magna—[17] Richard p. 21.—[17] B. I. ch. v. ſ. 3.—[18] Richard p. 15, 24, 25, and 26. In this province Richard's map has committed two or three miſtakes, giving Forum Dianæ to the Coitanni (or Coritanni) which belonged to the Caſſii, and giving them alſo Bennonæ which belonged to the Carnabii, and Durnomagus which belonged to the Cenomanni. And Dr. Stukeley's is ſo confuſed, for want of the defining lines of the original, that it would be idle to criticize upon it.—[19] Richard p. 25.—[20] Richard Iter 4. [21] Richard p. 25. and Iter 3. Ptolemy, who places the Cantii

in all the ſouth of Middleſex, places the Trinoantes in Eſſex only, more eaſterly than the Iceni and along the æſtuary of the Thames. But as the Trinoantes once certainly reſided in Middleſex (ſee Richard p. 23), Ptolemy's account of the Cantii and the Trinoantes muſt certainly be taken from records of two different dates, and muſt therefore be referred to two different periods. See b. I. ch. xii. ſ. 2.—[22] Richard Iter 3.—[23] Richard Iter 4. And in Richard Iter 18. is a ſtation ad Fines, meaning undoubtedly Graveſborough upon the Don, the limits of Maxima and Flavia, and the borders of Yorkſhire and Derbyſhire.—[24] See b. I. ch. v. ſ. 3.—[25] Ptolemy, Salenæ.—[26] Richard's map.—[27] Dio p. 958. B. I. ch. ix. ſ. 1. and Richard p. 24.—[28] Dio p. 959. This tribe is alſo called Cattieuchlani in Ptolemy, a name that has greatly puzzled the etymologiſts, but which is only Catieu-chlan-i the clan of the Catti or Caſſii.—[29] Finitimi Dobunis Caſſii—Richard p. 24. And ſee Richard's map.—[30] B. I. ch. v. ſ. 3.—[31] Cæſar p. 92.—[32] See b. I. ch. iv. ſ. 2.—[33] Richard p. 15, 28, and 29. In this province Richard's map is inaccurate in one particular, and Dr. Stukeley's in many. In the former the Gadeni are carried greatly too far to the north, quite up to the Frith of Forth; and the Damnii are placed to the north of the Novantes and Selgovæ only, not to the north of the Gadeni as well as them. In the latter, the Ottadini, who ſhould be extended along the ſea from Severus's wall to the Frith of Forth, are placed to the north of the Tweed, and the Gadeni who lived to the weſt are placed directly to the ſouth of them, and betwixt them and the wall. Coria the capital of the Gadeni is given to the Ottadini. And Bremenium the metropolis of the Ottadini is conſigned to the Gadeni. The Selgovæ, who lived entirely to the eaſt of the Dee, are even carried to the weſt of that river. And the Damnii are placed to the north of the Novantes only, being thruſt up into Cunningham and Renfrew.—[34] Ptolemy (corrected) places the Novantæ on the weſt, the Selgovæ to the eaſt of them, the Damnii to the north and weſt of them, the Gadeni to the eaſt of the Selgovæ, and the Ottadini to the eaſt of the whole; aſ-

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ſigning thereby all Mers and Lothian to the Ottadini. And ſo Richard's map carries the Ottadini up to the Frith of Forth.—[35] Richard p. 15 and 27. The map of this province in Richard is very inaccurate. It places the Siſtuntii along the ſea-coaſt of Lancaſhire Weſtmoreland and Cumberland, and ſettles the Volantii at the back of them and at the foot of the hills. Such a poſition is abſurd in itſelf. And it is refuted by the poſition of Volantium or Elenborough on the margin of the ſea. But the map is ſtill more inaccurate, placing Rerigonium not far from the mouth of the Alauna and a very little to the ſouth of it, fixing Coccium a good way to the ſouth and eaſt of Rerigonium and to the north of the Beliſama, and ſettling Portus Siſtuntiorum at the mouth of the Alauna. For the abſurdity of theſe poſitions ſee the following chapters. And Dr. Stukeley has added two other miſtakes, extending the Alpes Peninæ through half of Valentia, confining the Siſtuntii to Cumberland, laying the Voluntii at the back of them, removing Rerigonium nearly from the mouth to the ſource of the Alauna, omitting the Beliſama entirely, and putting Merſeia fiu: for Seteia.—[36] Iter 4.—[37] Ptolemy—and Richard p. 27.

III.

IN the comprehenſive hiſtory of that remarkable people the Romans, there are few particulars which ſo ſtrongly betray their native grandeur of ſoul as the roads which they proſecuted over all the ample extent of their empire. They girt the whole globe as it were with new zones and new zodiacs in every poſſible direction [1]. And the tables of Peutinger and the Itinerary of Antonine preſent us with a magnificent diſplay of the whole.

The Romans, on their invaſion of this country, muſt have certainly found ſeveral roads in the ſouthern parts of the iſland, and among the Belgic colonies that lined the ſouthern coaſt of it. Theſe muſt have been previouſly laid out, though rudely,

for the public uſe. Theſe muſt have been previouſly adapted, though indifferently, to the conveyance of the native commodities of the iſland to the ports, and to the introduction of foreign commodities from them. And this commercial intercourſe, as well as the roads by which it was proſecuted, ſeem to have been extended much farther into the iſland than the higheſt ideas of our hiſtorical critics concerning its interior condition would allow us to apprehend. They ſeem to have been extended from the ſouth-weſt into Suffolk on one ſide, and from the ſouth-eaſt into Cheſhire on the other.

From the joint teſtimony of Richard's Itinerary and Bede's Hiſtory it appears, that the Roman road which reaches from Sandwich to Caernarvon was diſtinguiſhed among the Romans by the Britiſh name of Guetheling or Watling-ſtreet[a]. This has been hitherto ſuppoſed to be not the original but a poſterior name, and has long baffled all the analytical powers of etymology. But it is plainly derived, as Dr. Stukeley formerly conjectured it to be[b], from the ſame principle which gave name to the Ikening-ſtreet. Both were denominated from the people to whom they were carried, the latter confeſſedly from the Iceni of the eaſtern coaſt, and the former clearly from the Guetheli or Gatheli of Ireland. As the Ikening-ſtreet ſignifies the way which led to the Iceni, ſo the Watling-ſtreet imports the road which led to the Guetheli. And this Britiſh appellation of the road among the Romans atteſts it to have been previouſly a Britiſh road. Had it not been a Britiſh before it was a Roman road, as it could have had no name at all when the Romans took poſſeſſion of the country, ſo could it never have adopted a Britiſh name afterwards among them. Had it not been a Britiſh before it was a Roman road, it could not poſſibly have adopted among them the particular appellation of Guetheling, as the inhabitants of Ireland were never known to the Romans at all by the appellation of Guetheli. The Guetheling or Watling ſtreet muſt have originally been denominated by the Britons Sarn Guethelin or the road of the Iriſh. And the Ikening-ſtreet muſt have been originally denominated Sarn Ikenin or the road

road of the Iceni. But as a merely Roman road would ſcarcely have received any appellation that related to the Iceni, as a merely Roman road would aſſuredly have received no appellation at all that related to the unconquered the unattempted Iriſh, ſo a merely Roman road could certainly have never received the appellation either of Guethelin or of Ikenin, theſe words being actually the Britiſh plurals of Guethel and of Iken [4]. Such roads indeed as the Romans primarily conſtructed within the iſland, like the fortreſſes of the ſame origin, are plainly diſtinguiſhed from ſuch as they found already conſtructed by the obvious diſcriminations of their names. If from the Itinerary of Richard and the voice of tradition we have the Britiſh names of Guetheling and Ikening for two roads, from the ſame Itinerary and the ſame tradition we have the Roman names of the Julian way and the Foſſe for two others [5]. And the former are as evidently evinced to be Britiſh as the latter are to be Roman.

Thus were theſe two great roads originally undertaken and executed before the invaſion of the Romans; undertaken for the purpoſes of Britiſh conveniency, and executed in the ſtile of Britiſh ſimplicity. Both muſt have been begun by the Belgæ of the ſouthern countries, and, what is very extraordinary, both appear plainly to have been actually begun from the ſouth [6]. Till the Belgæ came over into Britain, either no commerce at all was purſued by the iſlanders, or the commerce was confined to a few promontories on the ſouth-weſt and a few veſſels from Phœnicia. The Belgæ were ſtrongly actuated by a commercial ſpirit, and purſued its directions ſo vigorouſly, that, within a century from their firſt entrance into the iſland, the moſt weſterly tribes of them certainly carried on a conſiderable commerce with the Phœnicians, and all of them afterwards a much more conſiderable one with the Romans of Narbonne, and the Greeks of Marſeilles [7]. In conſequence of the latter, the native commodities of the iſland in the time of Auguſtus were regularly exported into Gaul, and conveyed by barges upon the rivers or by horſes upon the roads acroſs the Gallic continent to both [8]. And at this period the Belgæ muſt have contrived and the Britons

muſt

muſt have concurred in the conſtruction of two great roads, which ſhould traverſe the central parts of the iſland, and ſhould lead to ſuch provinces as were the great treaſuries of the ſaleable commodities.

In the progreſs of commerce from the weſt, the Belgæ of Dorſetſhire would naturally catch the enlivening ſpirit before their more eaſterly brethren of Kent. And, in the ſettlement of the ſtaple at the iſle of Wight, the Belgæ of Dorſetſhire would be nearer to the animating centre of the commerce than their more eaſterly brethren of Kent. Theſe therefore muſt have been the firſt to contrive and to execute the plan. They accordingly opened to themſelves a communication with the Iceni of the eaſtern coaſt. But the Cantii certainly rivalled the Durotriges in commerce at the period of Cæſar's invaſion [9], and muſt ſoon have copied their example. They copied it in a bolder ſtyle and upon a more extenſive ſcale. They boldly opened to themſelves a communication with the North-weſtern parts of Britain and the Britiſh coloniſts of Ireland, that they might receive from them thoſe ſupplies of cattle which Ireland now ſo remarkably furniſhes, and which it muſt then have furniſhed in a much more remarkable degree. And ſuch muſt have been equally the object of the Ikening-ſtreet. Such muſt have neceſſarily been the great object of both, while the riches of the Britons, like thoſe of the patriarchs, conſiſted almoſt entirely in their cattle. And theſe roads muſt have probably occaſioned the erection of ſeveral towns upon them, ſome raiſed by the tribes upon the confines, and others in the center, of their reſpective poſſeſſions; the former as fortreſſes to guard theſe great avenues into their dominions, and the latter as neceſſary places of refreſhment for the cattle and their attendants ſo frequently paſſing along them [10].

The Britons muſt equally have conſtructed many other ways before the coming of the Romans, inferiour indeed but public, and leading in different directions from one ſtate to another, or connecting the different parts of the ſame ſtate. The former muſt

muſt have neceſſarily exiſted as the marching-ways of the armies which were ſo frequently detached by one tribe againſt another. And the latter muſt have equally exiſted as the neceſſary chain of communication betwixt the ſeveral fortreſſes of the ſame tribe.

But neither the one nor the other, neither the ſmaller nor the greater roads, were likely to ſatisfy the deſires or anſwer the exigences of the Romans, a polite and a politick nation, ſtudious equally of private pleaſure and of publick emolument. They therefore conſtructed new roads, two of them indeed and many others perhaps in the line of the British ways, but all of them upon plans much more beautiful and uſeful, and much better calculated for immediate convenience and a long duration.

Theſe however were not, as our antiquarians have conſtantly ſuppoſed them to be, the admirable effects of Agricola's command in the iſland. In a country like this, where foreſts muſt have riſen and moraſſes have ſpread betwixt ſtation and ſtation, roads muſt have been nearly as neceſſary as ſtations, and were certainly therefore nearly cotemporary with them. As the Romans proſecuted their conqueſts within the iſland, they muſt alſo have multiplied their ſtations and extended their roads. Accordingly, the road that traverſed the country of the Silures, and retains in its name of Via Julia the name of its conſtructer, appears clearly from this circumſtance to have been laid by Julius Frontinus, the very ſame legate that conquered the Silures[11]. The conqueſt of the Siſtuntii and Volantii muſt have occaſioned the conſtruction of other roads in Cumberland Weſtmoreland and Lancaſhire. And Agricola, like every other legate, muſt have conſtructed the roads of thoſe provinces only which he himſelf had reduced.

As the ſtation of Mancunium and its ſiſter ſtations in Lancaſhire and Cheſhire were erected in the year 79, the roads which formed the neceſſary line of communication between them muſt have been neceſſarily conſtructed about the ſame period. They muſt certainly have been conſtructed in the immediately ſucceeding

ceeding ſummers of 80, 81, and 82. And to the proſecution of theſe and the more northerly roads eſpecially does Galgacus in all probability refer, when in the year 84 he ſpeaks ſo particularly of the ways that were carried on by the Romans [11]. Every new conqueſt indeed of the Romans muſt have ſtrongly ſuggeſted the reflection; but the neweſt muſt have ſuggeſted it moſt ſtrongly. And no roads but theſe could have been conſtructed, becauſe no conqueſts had been made, during the ten preceding years.

The roads then that iſſue from Mancunium and the other ſtations in Lancaſhire were all laid while Agricola was making and ſecuring his conqueſts in the north. And from that particular, as well as from the above-mentioned ſpeech of Galgacus, it obviouſly appears, that the roads were not carried on, as is frequently imagined, and as the beautiful roads in French Flanders and our own later roads in Scotland were, by large detachments of the ſoldiery. The Romans were merely the directors; and the more laborious employ was impoſed upon the natives. The Romans, ſays Galgacus, are perpetually exhauſting the health of the Britons in the painful employment of clearing the woods and of paving the fens of the iſland [11]. The whole line of the road muſt have been previouſly deſigned and the courſe of it preſcribed upon paper, after an accurate ſurvey of the country. And the officers of the neighbouring garriſons muſt have inſpected the execution by turns.

[1] See Itin. Cur. p. 72.—[2] Iter 1, Ab eâdem civitate (Rhutupi) ducta eſt via Guethelinga dicta uſque in Segontium—ſic; and ſo exactly Iter 11, Ab Aquis—per viam Juliam Menapiam uſque ſic: And Bede's Hiſt. lib. i. c. 7. Verulamium quæ Verlamacaeſtir ſive Vætlinga-caeſtir appellatur —[3] Itin. Cur. p. 108.—[4] Ikening-ſtreet is alſo written Ikenild, as in the laws of the Conſeſſor or Conquerór. That termination is either Iken eld, Old Iken ſtreet, or rather the ſame as Ikenin and equally the plural termination of Iken.—[5] See Richard Iter 11.—[6] Itin. Curioſ.

Curioſ. p. 113 and 179.— [7] See b. I. ch. xi. ſ. 2.— [8] See b. I. ch. xi. ſ. 2.— [9] Cæſar p. 89 and 73.— [10] The Ricning or Ricnild ſtreet, or (as it is more generally written) the Icening or Icenild ſtreet, of Derbyſhire muſt alſo be derived from the ſame original. If rightly denominated Icening, it muſt have been ſo denominated ſimply as terminating among the Coritanni, and as laid to their country after they were conquered by and received the appellation of Iceni (ſee b. I. ch. v. ſ. 4). If rightly called Ricning, as Dr. Stukeley affirms (Itin. Curioſ. p. 50), and as common accuracy requires it to be, it muſt have been ſo called in all probability as leading to the R-Iceni, the Iceni before, the further or northern Iceni. Thus Caer-nar-von is ſo called as being oppoſite to Von, Mon, or Angleſey. And thus ſee Rerigonium and other names in b. I. c. v. ſ. 21. This road extends from the mouth of the Severn into Derbyſhire (Itin. Cur. p. 51, 58, 64, and 65), had the Britiſh towns Etocet, Bremenium, Glev, and others, upon it, and was originally conſtructed (I ſuppoſe) by the Belgic conquerours of the Hædui, a people which poſſeſſed (as I have ſhewed before) all the ſouth of Glouceſterſhire and all the north of Somerſetſhire.— [11] Iter 11 of Richard, and Tacitus Agric. Vit. c. xviii. So Appian way from Appius Claudius.— [12] Tacitus c. xxxi. Agric. Vit. — [13] Tacitus c. xxxi. Corpora ipſa ac manus ſylvis ac paludibus emuniendis—conterunt.

IV.

THE county of Lancaſter is interſected from end to end by four great roads of the Romans. Two run from eaſt to weſt. And two range from north to ſouth. One of the latter, the knowledge of which we owe entirely to Richard's Itinerary, enters the county on the north-weſt, and traverſes a good part of it, even till it meets with a road which is given to us by Antonine and which enters the county on the north-eaſt. From the point of coincidence both roads proceed in the ſame route, which is given us by both Itineraries, and proſecuted to and

beyond Mancunium. The account of the north-western is a part of the 10th Iter of Richard, and in it the road runs from Luguvallium or Carlisle to

Brocavonacis 22
Ad Alaunam m. p.....
Coccio m. p.....
Mancunio 18 [1].

The account of the north-eastern is a part of the 10th Iter of Antoninus, and in it the road goes from Alione to

Galacum 19
Bremetonacis 27
Coccio 20
Mancunio m. p. 17.

In Richard's Iter the station Ad Alaunam appears clearly from the mention of Luguvallium and Brocavonacis on one side, and of Coccium and Mancunium on the other, to be somewhere upon or within the northern borders of Lancashire. And this and the name Ad Alaunam carry us at once to the station at Lancaster, the castrum upon A Laun or the river Lan. The reality of this station has always been confessed. But the name of it has been sometimes supposed to be the Lugandinum of the Chorography, and more generally but more wildly the Longovicus of the Notitia. It was certainly fixed upon the plane of the present Castle-Hill, as the rocky eminence of the hill and the immediate vicinity of the river clearly evince of themselves, and as the still-hanging remains of the Roman wall upon the steepest part of it concur to demonstrate [2].

In Antonine's Iter Bremetonacæ is certainly, as the antiquarians have previously supposed it to be, the station of Overborough. The only objection that could have been made to the supposition, the want of a known road from the north to Overborough, is now precluded, as the road is discovered. And two other roads appear visibly to go away from the station, the one towards Brough near Ascrig in Yorkshire, and the other to Ribchester [3]. The latter has been hitherto imagined to be the road upon which this Iter of Antonine proceeds through Coccium

to

to Mancheſter; as another which certainly goes from Lancaſter to Ribcheſter may be imagined to be the road upon which this Iter of Richard proceeds. Both particulars may be ſuppoſed. But both muſt be equally ſuppoſed in oppoſition to deciſive evidence. That Rerigonium is Ribcheſter, the conſent of Ptolemy Richard and Remains will fully demonſtrate hereafter [4]. That Coccium therefore cannot be Ribcheſter, is abundantly plain, the one being expreſsly diſtinguiſhed from the other. And Coccium being thus diſlodged from the ſite which it has ſo long maintained, we muſt endeavour to give it its proper ſite, by finding a new ſtation for the old name, as we have already found a new name for the old ſtation.

From the preceding account it is obvious, that this Iter of Richard from Luguvallium to Brocavonacis and Ad Alaunam proceeds along the courſe of the preſent road from Carliſle to Lancaſter. Along the courſe of the ſame road I apprehend it to proceed from Lancaſter to Coccium. It muſt neceſſarily in general point towards Mancheſter, becauſe to Mancheſter it certainly goes, and it as certainly does not go to it by the round of Ribcheſter. It muſt therefore neceſſarily ſtretch away directly to the ſouth-eaſt, and conſequently in the line of the preſent road from Lancaſter to Mancheſter. But this is not our only direction. We have a ſtill more particular one. The diſtance betwixt Overborough and Coccium in Antoninus is confeſſedly erroneous; and the diſtance betwixt Lancaſter and Coccium in Richard is either equally erroneous or abſolutely loſt. But the diſtance betwixt Coccium and Mancunium appears in both, and is ſeventeen miles in Antonine and eighteen in Richard; a difference that in Itineraries like theſe, where the fractions of miles are never enumerated as ſuch, is really no difference at all. The fraction omitted by Antonine is computed by Richard, and is therefore reckoned for a whole mile. And this agreement of the two Itineraries deciſively aſcertains the diſtance of Coccium from Mancheſter. Such an agreement muſt always be allowed as a deciſive argument. Such an agreement muſt always be ſuppoſed

to arise from the existence of the same numbers in the originals of both.

Following then the course of the present road from Lancaster to Manchester till we come within seventeen or eighteen Roman miles of the latter, we should expect to find the site of a Roman castrum. And lo! just at the requisite distance we find one, one hitherto unknown to fame, but pointed out to be one by the most determinate of all stationary characters, the existence of two roads from it to two well-known castra. Such is the village of Blackrode! It is indeed about the distance of thirty-five measured miles from Lancaster and of forty-five from Overborough. But this is a stage which the decisively ascertained distance from Coccium to Manchester necessarily leads us to make. It is actually less than another in this Iter of Richard, that betwixt Brocavonacis and Ad Alaunam being no less than forty-eight measured miles. And it must necessarily be very long, when only the station of Coccium appears betwixt Overborough and Manchester, though the one is nearly sixty measured miles distant from the other by the nearest route, and though that distance is lengthened, as here it certainly is, by the diversion of the road from the nearest route through Rerigonium to the rounding one through Coccium.

Tradition universally declares the village of Blackrode to have been originally a considerable town. And the construction of a Roman road from Manchester, and the coincidence of another from Ribchester with it, demonstrate the town to have been originally Roman. A Roman road, which shall be described hereafter, comes directly from the Mancunian station by Stany-street and Street-Vate near Walkden-moor to the precincts of the present village. And in those precincts another road meets it, coursing through the neighbouring street in the township of Charnock, and pointing to Ribchester one way and to Blackrode the other.

It is justly observed by the right reverend and very learned enlarger of Camden's Britannia, that wherever we find the appellation

pellation of Street we have good reaſon to expect a road of the Romans. And with equal juſtice he might have obſerved, that wherever we meet with ſuch a name we may be abſolutely certain of ſuch a road. We may be abſolutely certain, that ſuch a road has formerly proceeded or ſtill continues to proceed along the place. Wherever the track of a Roman road has perſiſted invariably in the courſe of a modern highway, the name of Street along the line of the latter is the only proof that we can have concerning the exiſtence of the former. The name of Stræt Strat or Street, and the kindred appellation of Leaſcep Caſter or Cheſter, are two words derived from the Romans to the Britons, and communicated by the Britons to the Saxons. In the original application of the words by the Romans, they could abſolutely ſignify nothing but the Roman roads and the Roman camps. And in the poſteriour application of them by the Britons and the Saxons, they muſt have been merely continued to the ſame camps and have been merely retained by the ſame roads. As the Britons muſt have originally adopted theſe names from the Romans before the departure of the latter from the iſland, ſo were there then undoubtedly no public highways or roads and no ſtationary camps or caſtles within the iſland, but ſuch as had been formed by the Romans. And as the Saxons muſt have derived theſe names from the Britons after the ſubjection of the latter in war, and muſt therefore have found them already affixed to the camps and the roads of the Romans, ſo they appear equally with the Britons to have uſed the name of Cheſter for the characteriſtic denomination of a Roman camp, and the name of Street for the characteriſtic appellation of a Roman road.

Thus plainly is Blackrode evinced to have been formerly a ſtationary town. And the particular ſite of the ſtation I ſhall point out hereafter. Hereafter it will naturally ſucceed in its turn to be deſcanted upon, as I trace the ſeveral roads that commence from Mancunium and extend to the neighbouring ſtations. Theſe roads are many in number, proceeding in various directions, and iſſuing as it were in radii from center to circumference.

And

And theſe I ſhall now begin to inveſtigate, purſuing them as they once ſtretched in conſpicuous ridges along the ſurface of our adjacent heaths, and once opened in ample viſtos acroſs the thickets of our ſurrounding woods, and now ſeeing them either preſent only ſome faint half-formed reſemblance of a road, or ſteal forgotten and unknown in a fair elevation over the fruitful levels of our numerous incloſures.

[a] The original has no number of miles annexed to Coccium. But Dr. Stukeley's copy has, and by ſome ſtrange blunder has ſixty-ſix p. 33. — [c] Camden p. 617, and Leigh's Hiſt. b. iii. p. 10. — [d] Mr. Rothmell's Overborough, and Mr. Percival's Eſſay in Phil. Tranſ. vol. XLVII. p. 227. The road from Overborough to Ribcheſter had been poſitively mentioned before by the knowing Camden (p. 614); but later criticks had diſcredited the exiſtence of it by their doubts (ſee Horſeley). — [e] B. I. ch. v. ſect. 1. — [f] And the ſixty-ſix miles which Dr. Stukeley gives us were intended by him, I ſuppoſe, for thirty-ſix. The road from Overborough to Blackrode (I ſuppoſe) paſſed through Wierſdale Foreſt to Broughton, where was a ſmall intermediate caſtrum (I apprehend), and where it fell into the great road from Lancaſter to Blackrode. This, allowing for the conſiderable inequalities of the road over the hills of the foreſt, would meaſure (I believe) about forty Roman miles. And perhaps the number was thus expreſſed in Antoninus XL, and, the upper pair of tens being caſually omitted by a tranſcriber, the number became as it now appears twenty. — [g] C. 636. — [h] Bede's Eccl. Hiſt. lib. i. c. 11. The Roman reſidence in the iſland (he ſays) Civitates, Fanus Pontes et Stratæ ibidem factæ uſque hodie—teſtantur. Sax. Chron. p. 22, ſpeaking of Ceaulin's taking three Roman or ſtationary towns, ſays that he took *three Cheſters*, Glouceſter, Cirenceſter, and Bathe-ceſter. And Bede Hiſt. lib. iii. c. 19, in *Caſtro quodam* quod—Urbs Cnobheri vocatur, meaning the Gariannonum of the Notitia or the preſent Brugh near Yarmouth in Norfolk. And we have Stratfleur

and

and Stratfleur Abbey,[a] the hundred and the monaſtery of Yſtrad Margell or Strata Marcelli, among the Britons of Wales (Leland's Itin. vol. VII. p. 47 and 16. and vol. VI. p. 105), and Temeceſtre and Brumcheſter among the Britons of Wales and Caledonia, Temeceſtre being in Montgomeryſhire, and Brumcheſter in Athol (Itin. vol. VII. p. 15 and 17). — [a] B. I. ch. iv. ſect. 3.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

I.

IT has been queſtioned by the antiquarians, whether the ſtations or the roads of the Romans were prior in time. And no determination has hitherto been given to the queſtion. But the deciſion is very obvious. The ſtations, as I have previouſly intimated, were certainly prior, and the roads were the channels of communication between them. Many of the ſtations muſt have neceſſarily commenced, as I have mentioned before, during the very conqueſt of the country, and all of them at the concluſion of it. And the roads could not have been conſtructed till the firſt or ſecond ſummer after both.

The road from Cambodunum to Mancunium and from Mancunium to Condate is delineated to us by both Richard and Antonine, and one part of it twice by both. The whole of it is given in the ſixth Iter of Richard and the ſecond of Antonine, and the part is repeated by both in their 10th Itinera. And the road to Coccium is equally delineated to us by both Itineraries. But the four other roads which connected this and four others of the neighbouring ſtations are given to us in neither.

The road from Cambodunum to Mancunium and Condate ſtands thus in both:

Richard's ſixth Iter,		Antonine's ſecond Iter,	
Ab Eburaco Devam uſque ſic:		From Eburacum to	
Calcaria m. p.	9	Calcaria	9
CAMBODUNO	22	CAMBODUNO	20
MANCUNIO	18	MANUCIO	18
FINIBUS MAXIMÆ et FLAVIÆ m. p.	18	CONDATE	18
CONDATE	18	Deva	20.
Deva	18		

And

And the road from Coccium to Mancunium and from Mancunium to Condate is thus given us

In Richard's 10th Iter,		And thus in Antonine's,	
From COCCIUM		From COCCIUM	
MANCUNIO	18	MANCUNIO m. p.	17
CONDATE	23	CONDATE	18
Mediolano	18;	Mediolano	18.

We are concerned only with ſuch of theſe ſtations as are the firſt ſtages from Mancunium. And let us begin with Cambodunum and the road to it.

The road to that ſtation muſt have commenced from the eaſtern gate of the Caſtrum, and would naturally have ſlanted along the left-hand ſide of the Caſtle-field and the right-hand of the adjoining gardens. But the poſition of the gate and the intervention of the ditch muſt have prevented the route. And the road appears to have proceeded in a very gentle ſlant upon the left to the extremity of the Caſtle-field, and in one common ſtem along it for the roads to two other ſtations. At the extremity of the Field muſt all the roads have commenced, and have taken the proper lines of their ſeveral deſtinations. At this extremity the road was cut down from the ſurface to the baſe in the year 1765, and the materials of it lay plainly diſtinguiſhed from the natural gravel of the ground by the melted bricks and the broken mill-ſtones which were found incorporated with them. It appeared to be conſtructed with a ſtrong gravel mingled with large boulders and rocky fragments. And the whole road was about fourteen yards in breadth and a yard and an half in depth.

Leaving this common ſtem, which was the grand avenue into the camp, and was therefore conſtructed with an unuſual breadth, the road muſt have begun its courſe to York, have croſſed the preſent highway, have entered the oppoſite garden, and have ſlanted to the right of the preſent windmill. Leaving the garden, and paſſing by the wind-mill on the left, it muſt have pointed through the left-hand corner of the dye-houſe beyond both, muſt have croſſed the Infirmary-lane, and muſt have left an hay-ſtand very cloſely and the two new houſes

more diſtantly on the left. Then croſſing the lane to Ardwick, and pointing directly through Stanley-barn on the other ſide, it muſt have ſwept along the middle of the two next fields, have ſlanted along the left-hand ſide of the third, and have obliquely deſcended the little ſlope of the fourth into Ancoats-lane. And in all this courſe, ſo contiguous to the growing town, the trace of it is wholly obliterated by the deep bed of artificial ſoil with which all the fields are enriched.

Croſſing the Ancoats-lane obliquely betwixt a large houſe and the reſting-ſtone, it is diſcovered in the firſt field beyond it by a ridge of ſixteen or ſeventeen yards in width, three quarters of a yard high in gravel and one quarter in marl laid upon it, and ſloping towards Shooters-brook. Upon the right and in the field but one immediately beyond the Brook, it is evidenced by a ridge which is about half a yard in height and four or five in width; and the gravel, when the ground is ploughed, appears powdering the ſides of the furrows. In the fourth field the ridge riſes to a greater height and expands to a greater breadth, and in the fifth returns to its former height of half a yard and its former width of five or ſix. And in the fifth and ſixth cloſes the gravel is very copious, as the ridge of it is pretty plain in the ſeventh and ſtill plainer in the eighth.

The road then relinquiſhes the fields for a while, enters the right line of Butler's-lane, and paſſes along it beyond the ſign of the Fire-engine, the left-hand bank of the lane being near its commencement compoſed of the gravel of the road. At the corner of the ſecond field on the right beyond the ſign, the road once more enters the fields, and appears for the whole length of the third or Brickhill-field half a yard in height and five or ſix yards in breadth, the left-hand bank of the field being formed with the plunder of the road.

Croſſing the lane beyond it in a conſiderable ridge, it appears in the firſt field with an evident elevation, extending eight or nine yards in width, and fringed with a broken line of ruſhes on either ſide. The ridge is viſible along a part of the ſecond incloſure and very plain along the whole of the third. Interrupted

rupted by a lane, the road ſteals along the fourth field juſt traceable from the looſened gravel and juſt viſible from the lowered ridge. But in the boggy extent of the fifth the gravel becomes copious and the ridge very plain. And in the ſixth it preſents a width of ſix or ſeven yards to the eye. In the ſeventh juſt perceivable by its ſlight ridge, it diſappears in the eighth, but is diſcovered by the gravel in the ninth and along the ſloping ſide of the right-hand rill. And in the tenth the ridge of the road is once more conſpicuous, and the body of the gravel is even with the horizon.

The road then croſſes the lane which leads to the Medlock and Bradford with a fair elevation, but immediately loſes it, and is only diſcovered by the ſpade in the firſt field and along the left-hand edge of it. Thus paſſing another field and a croft, it is cut through by one of the waſhing-pits at Richard Rothwell's houſe, and now furniſhes a ſtrong hard bottom of gravel to the ſtagnant water. Croſſing the pit and paſſing through the fold beyond it, the road enters the broad line of the neighbouring lane, and reaches the miry expanſe of Newton-heath. Mounting the gentle aſcent of the heath, it points directly upon the chapel above. But obliterated for the firſt hundred yards, it becomes very plain for the next hundred and fifty, the gravelled ridge riſing more than half a yard in height and ſpreading eight or ten yards in breadth, and the brown-green colour of the beaten track in winter being ſtrongly contraſted by the light hue of the withering ruſhes along it. For a few yards immediately on this ſide of the chapel the courſe of the road is effaced, but appears to have gone directly into it, and through the whole length of the ſouthern ſide, and was there diſcovered upon the recent erection of the preſent ſtructure. On the other ſide of the chapel the elevation appears again, but leſs conſpicuous and of a ſhorter extent, the ridge being only about a quarter of a yard in height and ſeven or eight yards in breadth, and continuing only about one hundred yards in length. Here the line of the road points viſibly through the right-hand extremity of the houſe which ſtands upon the eaſtern margin

of the heath. And the gravel of it is eaſily found in the ground-made flooring of the loom-houſe within it.

Entering the fields that lie betwixt the heath and Back-lane, and traverſing them obliquely a little to the right of the foot-road, the Roman way is diſcovered by the ſpade at the farther end of the firſt field, appears with a ridge in the third, and re-appears with another in the eighth. In the third the ridge riſes about half a yard in height, and continues acroſs the whole breadth of the field; but in the eighth the ridge is ſmall and the gravel low. And from this point, running nearly parallel with the courſe of the Back-lane and within the diſtance of a few yards from it, the Roman road muſt have proceeded through the houſes at the extremity of Lort-lane and through the barn and houſes of Wagſtaffe-fold. And it was accordingly diſcovered a few years ago upon the conſtruction of the barn. Soon afterwards, croſſing the curving line of the Back-lane, it falls directly into another, and extends along it to Hollinwood. This is a lane which is continued about a mile and an half in length, which courſes all the way in a direct line, and which is all the way denominated Street. And about eighty yards from the entrance are ſome remains of the road which are remarkably perfect, and which carry the grandeſt appearance of any Roman remains that I have ſeen in the iſland.

In this lane the range of a moſs interſected the courſe of the road. An houſe on the right is ſtill denominated the Moſs-Yate; the fields on either ſide ſtill ſtrongly retain their moſſy quality; and the rotten ſtocks and the branchy bodies of trees are ſtill frequently diſcovered by the plough. And this moraſſy tract appears to have extended a whole mile in length acroſs the line of the Roman road, ſome part of it being tolerably firm and dry, but others being particularly dangerous and deep.

About fifty yards within the entrance into Street-lane, the Roman road reaches the margin of the moſs, and immediately preſents a conſiderable ridge to the eye, having inſtantly an elevation of a yard and an half above the contiguous ground on the left. In ſixty yards more, the ground ſloping ſharply away on the right,

right, the elevation is three or four yards above it, as in ſixty more the elevation is nearly five, and in ſeventy more is actually ſix. Thus gradually gaining a more elevated creſt and a more magnificent aſpect, the road is carried for no leſs than four hundred yards acroſs this hollow of the moſs. The ridge of the gravel riſes gently for the firſt two hundred yards, and falls as gently for the next. And the ſummit of the creſt is nearly level in the fall with the roof of an adjoining cottage.

This extraordinary grandeur of the road in the fall is not, as might naturally be imagined at firſt, the mere reſult of Roman contrivance and Britiſh induſtry. It has been partly occaſioned by the accidental ſubſidence of the ground upon either ſide of the road, the thick coat of the turfy ſurface having been greatly cut away, and the ground being ſomewhat reduced to the deep level of its vegetable mold. And it has been equally occaſioned by the proceſs of the Romans in conſtructing the road. From a large inciſion which I made into the bed of the turf beneath the Roman gravel, they appeared plainly to have originally trenched the line of the moſs that was deſtined to receive the road very deeply upon either ſide. And the larger and more ſolid plates of turf, which roſe with the ſhovel from the lower part of the trench, they appeared to have laid upon the original face of the moſs, and to have raiſed the level of the line with them more than a yard in height. Upon ſinking a pit along the ſide of the gravel and for a yard and an half into the black ſoil, no ling or heath was found upon the ſurface of the ſoil and immediately below the gravel. It was firſt found about a yard below the ſurface. And it was then found in conſiderable quantities. The whole work was carried gradually ſloping upwards from the broad baſis of twelve or fourteen yards on the ſurface of the moſs, till at the height of nine or ten it terminated in a narrow creſt of three or four above, and ran level with the firmer ground upon either extremity of it. And the Roman gravel appears heaped upon the black line of the original ſoil, and raiſed in general near a yard and an half above it.

The

The road having extended about forty yards beyond the cottage and having paſſed the boggieſt region of the moſs, the turf of which even beneath the weight of the Roman gravel is ſtill very ſoft and ſpongy, the level of the ground on both ſides begins to ariſe, and the height of the ridge is immediately lowered. But the track continues to be very evident, the gravel even lying half a yard in depth upon the firm black moſs, and the creſt riſing about a whole yard in height above the adjacent fields. Thus proceeding, the road ſometimes extends into the fields on the left, and the baſis of the left-hand hedge is almoſt continually formed with the gravel of it. And in the third field beyond the cottage, where the cart ſometimes plunges to the axle-tree and the horſes ſink to the belly in the boggy ſoil, the border of the road is well known to the farmer by the great difficulty of harrowing the ground and by the great ſcantineſs of the corn upon it.

Thus does the Roman road continue along the lane, the courſe of it being ſtill denominated Street, and the gravel of it being more or leſs viſible all the way. But the road approaching the common of Hollinwood, and the lane turning away on the right and left, the former deſerts the latter and re-enters the fields, ſweeping acroſs Wulfenden's meadow, where it is frequently found, aſcending the little elevation of Barnfield, where it is juſt viſible, and appearing in a plain green ridge along the rushy level of Moſs-grave. And courſing through Mr. Kerſhaw's Kitchen-croft and Fold and over Mr. Bent's Gatefield, it proceeds to Glodwick, the village of Oſterlands, and the valley of Saddleworth. It croſſes the road of Huthersfield and the fields of Caſtleſhaw. It paſſes in one long green ſeam over the boggy extent of Clouzemoſs. It paſſes viſibly over the ſummit of the Reaps. And it points directly upon Polemoor-ſtone, the northern ſide of Gowkerhill [1], and the genuine ſite of Camboduunum.

The ſite of this ſtation has never been hitherto diſcovered. Fixed originally at Almondbury, it has ſince been removed to or near to Gretland-moor [2]. But the ſame good reaſon which occa-

ſioned it to be removed from the former ſite, that lying too much to the ſouth of the viſible Roman road, has equally occaſioned it to be removed from the latter, that lying equally too much to the north of the road[4]. Thus uncertain does the ſite of Cambodunum remain. And though the moors have been ſearched with uncommon diligence by a couple of antiquarians[5], and though the track of the road is occaſionally very viſible over them, nor a ſtation or the veſtiges of a ſtation have been hitherto diſcovered, except a large one at Kirklees, about a mile to the ſouth of the road's direction and about twenty-eight meaſured miles from Mancheſter, and a ſmall one at Caſtleſhaw, directly upon the track, but only about twelve from Mancheſter. Neither of theſe can ſtand for Cambodunum. The one is certainly too ſmall, the other is too remote from the road, and neither about the ſpecified diſtance of Cambodunum from Mancunium.

From the concurrent authority of Richard and of Antonine Cambodunum appears to be eighteen miles from Mancunium. And, as to Calcaria on the other ſide, we may fix the former at any diſtance from that ſtation, becauſe of the difference in the numerals of the two Itineraries, Richard's placing Cambodunum at twenty-two miles from Calcaria, and Antonine's at twenty. But theſe eighteen Roman miles, by the neceſſary deduction of one fourteenth for the difference betwixt the Roman and the Engliſh meaſure, will be contracted to ſixteen and three quarters Engliſh, and by the as neceſſary addition of one fourth for the difference betwixt the road and the horizontal mile acroſs this broad and lofty chain of mountains[6], will be augmented into twenty-two.

About the twenty-ſecond mile therefore from Caſtle-field along the track of the Roman road muſt be the ſite of the Roman Cambodunum. And juſt about that diſtance from it and from Mancheſter I find it. The ground upon which I ſettle this long-loſt town is vulgarly denominated Slack, and lies in the townſhip of Longwood and within the pariſh of Huthersfield. Here are four cloſes which are called the Eald or old fields and crofts[7], and adjoin to the track of the Roman road from Mancunium.

cunium. Theſe contain an area of twelve or fourteen acres, and are watered with a couple of brooks, that meet juſt at the town and curve round three ſides of it. And along the extended area of theſe fields have foundations of buildings been diſcovered, ſome of them being a yard in thickneſs, and all of them compoſed of ſtrong ſtone and cement. Two of the fields have been lately cleared of theſe crowded foundations, but the other two ſtill remain entirely filled up with them, and the farmers have frequently broken their ploughs in all. And ſeveral roughs have been diſcovered, pieces of thick glaſs, urns, bones, and ſlips of copper.

Thus plainly have theſe Eald fields been the ſite of ſome conſiderable town. And that the town was Roman is abſolutely certain. The poſition of it amid the wild expanſe of theſe dreary moors and upon the courſe of the Roman road over them, and its exact diſtance from Mancunium, do of themſelves evince it to be Roman. And a great quantity of bricks has been diſcovered in the foundations, ſome of which were long and ſome ſquare, and all of a very beautiful red. The latter bricks were frequently twenty-two inches in the ſquare, and were found in the floorings of ſome of the houſes; as in others was found a thick cruſt of brick rudely ſcored into ſquares in imitation of the teſſellated work, and in others was taken up a pavement compoſed of pounded bricks and very white mortar. Near the eaſtern ſide of the area, where three ſtone-hedges and three lordſhips now meet, and whence a long line of houſes appears from the diſcovered foundations to have extended towards the north and in the line of the hedges, were lately found three coins of braſs, two of which were ſoon loſt by the careleſneſs of Ignorance, and the third has ..... CAES. AVG. P. M. TR. on one ſide, an S and a C in the middle, and PVBLICA...., round the margin of the other. And two Roman inſcriptions have been found, which are exhibited in the plate, the larger of which, walled up in a building, was copied for me by the reverend Mr. Watſon, and the ſmaller is in my own poſſeſſion.

But near the place where the coins were diſcovered was very lately a mount one yard in height and about thirty in circumference. In the rubbiſh of this mount, and about three yards below the ſurface of the ground, was dug up the foundation of a building which was conſtructed of ſtone and had a flooring of bricks. Upon the eaſtern ſide of this building, and beneath the level of this flooring, was a ſmall chamber four yards in length and two and a half in breadth. It was ſupported by pilaſters riſing half a yard in height and formed of ſquare bricks. And it was paved with mortar and bricks pounded to a great hardneſs and laid to the thickneſs of a yard. This was clearly a Roman Hypocauſt, and ſuch a flooring was clearly deſigned to bear the requiſite force of the fire; as the ſpace between the pilaſters was ſufficient to admit the body of a boy, and the ſurface of the floor was covered with a quantity of black aſhes. And on the weſtern ſide of this building, where was pretty certainly a temple, were dug up a Roman altar and its baſis. The altar is now in my own poſſeſſion, and it and its inſcription are repreſented in the plate. And the inſcription at full length is this, Fortunæ Sacrum Caius Antonius Modeſtus Centurio Legionis Sextæ Victricis Piæ Fidelis Votum ſolvit lubens merito, Caius Antonius Modeſtus Centurion of the ſixth victorious pious and faithful legion conſecrated this altar to Fortune, and with pleaſure diſcharged the vow which he owed.

Thus plainly are the remains evinced to be Roman. And thus clearly have we found what Induſtry has vainly toiled and Genius has ineffectually ſchemed to diſcover through the long extent of a century and an half, the real ſite of Cambodunum. The town was conſtructed along theſe four cloſes, and the ſtation muſt have been placed upon the neighbouring fields and immediately beyond the channel of the weſtern ſtreamlet. There is a proper ſite for a camp, a lingula formed by the union of the two above-mentioned brooks, and defended by their deep channels upon two ſides.

So ſituated were the town and the ſtation of Cambodunum, and four Roman roads commence at both, and go away to

Manchester to York and to two other stations. The Roman road from Manchester, crossing the level of the second and loftier range of the Yorkshire hills, becomes the boundary to the parishes of Halifax and Huthersfield, has Stainland-moor on the left and Longwood on the right, and, passing within two hundred yards from the station and the town, throws off a way to them on the right. And the Roman road from York, coursing fourteen yards in breadth over Lindley-moor, descending along the left side of Lee-hill, and passing along the course of the Outlane, throws off another way to the town and station. But both these branches are also parts of two other roads which extended from this to two other stationary towns. The one stretches visibly over Stainland-moor, appearing as a green list across the embrowned heath, passes over Forest-hill to Stainland-Dene, and in some inclosures at the bottom has been discovered by the plough; courses the valley near the present bridge into the township of Barkisland, being in this and in the township of Stainland denominated Saville-Yate; goes by Mossleyden-Yate and across the township of Rishworth to the old road over Blackstone Edge, and to that part of it which is called the Devil's Causeway, being denominated the Danes-road by the shepherds of Rishworth; then goes to the Roman road from Manchester to Ilkley, and, as is asserted by the shepherds, proceeds across it into Lancashire *. The other goes away from Cambodunum N. E. by N., has been discovered in an adjoining field six or seven yards in breadth, crosses the Roman road from York to Manchester in a considerable angle, passes along a green broad lane and is therefore denominated Green-Gate, and, going along the foot of Lee-hill, points directly, I think, to the Roman town of Adel Mill near Leeds *.

The name of this station in the Itineraries of Richard and Antoninus is written Cambodunum, but in the Geography of Ptolemy Camnlodutum, and in the Chorography of Ravennas more rightly Camulodunum; being fully distinguished in both from the station which partook of the same name, the Camulodunum of the former and the Camulodunum Colonia of the latter.

ter. External teſtimony therefore, the only teſtimony that we can have in the preſent caſe, favours the one name as much as it countenances the other. Both muſt have been equally the names of the ſtation: and we ſhall ſoon meet with other inſtances of ſtations that bear a duplicate of names. Camulodunum is merely the general name of a camp, Camulus being one of the Britiſh names for Mars, and Dunum ſignifying a town [10]. And Cambo-dunum ſignifies more ſpecifically the fortreſs upon the ſtream. The one name is deſcriptive of its particular poſition: And the other is declarative of its military application.

The paſs over the mountains which goes along the ſite of Cambodunum is much leſs interſected with hills vallies and rivers, than any other which could be found for very many miles upon either ſide of it [11]. This therefore, in the time of the Britons, muſt have been the cuſtomary paſſage from the ſouth of Lancaſhire into the ſouth of Yorkſhire. And this paſs the Brigantes of the latter and the Siſtuntii of the former would both of them, for their own ſecurity, endeavour to guard by the erection of fortreſſes upon it. Nor was this the only paſs that ſeems to have been guarded by fortreſſes. Bremetonac in the north, a fortreſs about Colne in the center, and a ſecond perhaps about Littleborough or Windy-Bank, and another at Caſtleſhaw in the ſouth, ſeem to have formed a regular chain of forts for that purpoſe upon the Siſtuntian ſide of this natural barrier. And theſe ſeem to have been regularly anſwered by another chain of fortreſſes upon the Brigantian, Camulodune being oppoſed to Caſtleſhaw and Olicana anſwering to Colne. That Caſtleſhaw in particular was once a fortreſs of the primeval Britons, is pretty plainly evinced by the few remains which have been accidentally diſcovered at it. Within the area of the caſtle, extended as it evidently appears to have been from the preſent eminence of the ground and the appellation of the Huſteads and Caſtle-hills, and containing ſeveral ſtatute-acres in its compaſs, have been dug up thoſe round beads of the Britons that have been equally diſcovered in the Britiſh barrows upon Saliſbury Plain [12]. They were of earth or paſte perforated, ribbed or fluted on the

outside, and coloured over with a green-blue dye. And within one or two fields from the caſtle was lately diſcovered a brazen Celt, hollow in the blade, and carrying a loop at the head [n]. The region of Saddleworth indeed, of which the ſite of Caſtleſhaw is a part, now belongs to the county of York. But it muſt evidently have been originally diſmembered from Lancaſhire, being even now a chapelry in one of our Lancaſhire pariſhes, and the greater of this double range of hills moſt naturally forming the barrier betwixt the Siſſuntii and the Brigantes [o].

The Britons finding a ſite at Cambodunum that was very well calculated for a fortreſs, being ſcreened from the violences of the weather by the high grounds around it, and yet no-ways liable to be inſulted from them, being well provided with water, and very capable of defence, they placed their fortreſs upon it. It muſt then have been encompaſſed on every ſide by the foreſt which covered this particular region of the moors to theſe later ages, and which has given the denomination of Foreſt-hill to a neighbouring height. And here the Romans for the ſame reaſon afterwards planted a ſtationary town. This appears from its remains to have been conſiderable. This appears from Richard to have even obtained the honourable privilege of the Jus Latinum [p]. And this muſt have given the chearful aſpect of cultivation to theſe now ſable waſtes, and muſt have made the buſy hum of men to reſound amid theſe now dreary ſolitudes. But it was deſtroyed very early in the period of the Saxons. The voice of Tradition, which ſpeaks ſo loudly at the ſites of ſome Roman towns, is either abſolutely ſilent or very faintly whiſpers at this, though ſcarcely a ſingle relique perhaps appears at the former, and though the remains are equally numerous and remarkable at the latter. And the town was certainly, as Cambodunum has been generally ſuppoſed to have been, the famous Campodonum of Bede, and was levelled to the ground during the waſteful invaſion of Cadwallaun and Penda in 633 and within a few years only after its firſt ſubmiſſion to the Saxons. With the Romans began the glory of this hilly region. And nearly with the Brigantes it was abſolutely terminated for ever [q].

Horſeley

[5] Horſeley p. 387, and others.—[6] Mr. Percival's Eſſay in Phil. Tranſ. V. XLVII. p. 219, &c.—[7] Horſeley p. 414.—[8] Mr. Percival's Eſſay.—[9] Mr. Angier of Heton (Horſeley p. 413.) and Mr. Percival of Ryton.—[10] Ogilby's Roads p. 41. 1698. and Horſeley p. 412.—[11] The name is vulgarly pronounced the Yeld Fields, as the neighbouring Ealand is popularly denominated Yelland, and as ſome Eald houſes at Ruſhulme near Mancheſter are popularly called the Yeld houſes.—[12] The account of this road I received from the rev. Mr. Watſon, who lately reſided at Ripponden in the neighbourhood.—[13] See Phil. Tranſ. V. XXIII. p. 1285.—[14] Camden p. 322. Cæſar p. 164. and Gruter p. 56.—And ſee alſo Montfaucon's Antiq. Expl. tom. I. p. 46. plate 17. Mr. Pegge on Cunobeline's coins p. 15. ſuppoſes Mars to have had different denominations among different tribes, Camulus among the Caſſii or Trinovantes, Belatucadrus among the Brigantes, and Braciaca among the Coritani. But this is evidently a miſtake. Mars appears from the other name of Cambodunum to have been called Camulus among the Brigantes as well as among the Trinovantes or Caſſii. And all the names without doubt were common to all parts of the iſland.—[15] Phil. Tranſ. V. XLVII. p. 225.—[16] Stukeley's Stonehenge p. 45.—[17] See ch. i. ſ. 2. B, 1.—[18] See ch. v. ſ. 1. b. 1.—[19] See b. I. ch. 8. ſ. 1. of this work.—[20] See the Campodonum in Bede l. ii. c. 14: and the B and the P are frequently interchanged, as I ſhall ſhew hereafter. Baſilicam cum totâ eâdem villâ ſuccenderunt. It was levelled to the ground juſt thirteen years after its ſubmiſſion to the Saxons. See b. ii. ch. 2. ſ. 5.

The antiquarian world has long called upon the incorporated antiquarians of London to publiſh the many uſeful diſſertations that were known to be lodged in their archives. The work is at laſt begun. And the public has been this winter obliged with the firſt volume of the Antiquarian Tranſactions. This is a valuable preſent in itſelf. This is more valuable for its future conſequences. It now forms a regular and reſpectable repoſitory for the effuſions of the antiquarian genius. It will peculiarly

liarly ſtimulate the ingenious and the ſenſible both in and out of the ſociety to remit their diſquiſitions to it. And we may therefore very ſafely affirm, that each ſucceeding volume will riſe ſuperior in ſpirit ſentiment and uſefulneſs to the firſt. In this, my learned and worthy friend the rev. Mr. Watſon, now rector of Stockport in Cheſhire, and the late Thomas Percival Eſq; of Ryton near Mancheſter, have advanced ſeveral particulars relating to the ſubject of the preſent ſection, which have been too haſtily taken up and are generally unjuſt. Thus Mr. Percival in p. 63. and Mr. Watſon in p. 218—220, on ſuppoſitions frivolous in themſelves and confeſſedly contrary to authority, fix the boundaries of Maxima and Flavia, not (as they actually ran) along the Humber the Don and the Merſey, but along the Humber the hills of Caſtleſhaw and the Ribble. Thus p. 216—217 Mr. Watſon endeavours, as Mr. Percival had endeavoured before in Phil. Tranſ. V. XLVII, to fix the Alunna of Ravennas at Caſtleſhaw, principally becauſe it occurs in that ever-deſultory Chorography near to Mantium, the ſuppoſed Manucium of Antonine; when both Richard and Antonine confeſſedly go over the road on which Caſtleſhaw ſtands without the leaſt mention of Alunna; when the very name implies a ſituation the reverſe of Caſtleſhaw, a poſition upon a river, from which Caſtleſhaw is at ſome diſtance; and when the Alunna of Ravennas ſo obviouſly points at the Ad Alaunam or Lancaſter of Richard. And thus p. 225 Mr. Watſon fixes the Campodonum of Bede at Doncaſter, becauſe Alfred miſtakenly tranſlates it Donafelda, and becauſe Campodonum was deſtroyed at the invaſion in which Edwin was killed at Heathfield near Doncaſter; when the names of the towns in Bede muſt certainly be ſought in the Itineraries of the Romans, and Cambodunum is ſo obviouſly reflected in Campodonum; when Doncaſter muſt neceſſarily have been mentioned by him under the appellation of Dano Dauno or Dono Caeſtir or of Caſtrum ad Danum, and is expreſsly mentioned by the Continuator of Nennius under the ſimilar title of Caer Daun; and when from that mention it plainly appears to have not been deſtroyed at all in A. D. 633,

II. To

II.

To ſettle the particular poſition of Condate hath long embarraſſed the antiquarian criticks. Settled originally at Congleton becauſe of ſome remaining ſameneſs in the name, that only guide in the infancy of antiquarian learning, it has been lately fixed upon better principles at or near Northwich. But it was neither at the one nor at the other. The ſite of the ſtation is ſufficiently pointed out by the courſe of the road. And the courſe of the road is ſufficiently aſcertained by the broken remains of it which ſometimes appear, by the direction of them where they ceaſe, and by the ſure ſignatures of the name of Street where both fail us.

Richard's 6th Iter runs thus,		And Antonine's 2d Iter thus,	
From MANCUNIUM		From MANUCIUM to	
FINIBUS MAXIMÆ.			
ET FLAVIÆ m. p.	18	CONDATE	18
CONDATE	18		
Deva	18;	Deva	20.

Richard's 10th Iter runs thus,		And Antonine's 10th Iter thus,	
From MANCUNIUM to		From MANCUNIUM to	
CONDATE	23	CONDATE	18
Mediolano	18;	Mediolano	18.

The road to Condate did not take the direct way from the ſtation to Throſtle-neſt, but made an ample curve on the ſouth to reach it. The right line of the road would have carried it from the ſouth-weſtern angle of the camp acroſs the channel of the Medlock, and in the line of the canal into the road at Cornebrooke. But this route of the road was prevented by the ſteepneſs of the bank, by the want of a ford there acroſs the channel

channel of the river, and by the prudence of retaining both in their natural ſtate as the principal barriers of the camp upon the ſouth.

The road to Condate and to Cambodunum commenced at the ſame time from the eaſtern gate of the Caſtrum, and proceeded in the ſame line along the eaſtern ſide of the Caſtle-field. At the extremity of the Field the road to Condate muſt have left the road to Cambodunum, have winded along the deſcent to the river, and a little on this ſide of Cornebrook have turned on the right to gain the line in which it ſhould originally have moved. Paſſing from this point along the line of the preſent road, but twiſted into little angles by the unequal encroachments of the incloſures upon it, it muſt have proceeded through the village of Stretford to the bridge over the Merſey. And as no appearance of the Roman workmanſhip can at all be expected along the track of the preſent road, ſo none are diſcoverable along the borders of the adjoining fields. Along the unvarying level of thoſe low meadows particularly which extend from the village to the ford, the leaſt elevation of a road would be immediately perceived. Along the coat of river-ſand which covers thoſe meadows to a conſiderable depth, the leaſt ſeam of gravel would immediately be diſtinguiſhed. But as no traces of a ridge appear to the eye above, ſo no veſtiges of a foundation are diſcovered by the ſpade below [1].

The road, having paſſed the meadows and croſſed the ford, continues along the courſe of the preſent lane to the village of Croſs-ſtreet, and proceeds through it to the once ample extent of Broad-Heath. There the preſent road beginning to wind upon the left and to point towards the little town of Altringham, the Roman way deſerts it, and, paſſing about the middle of the preſent heath, enters the fields that have been lately incloſed from it. And in theſe fields the line of the gravel is frequently diſcovered by the ſpade, lying upon the black turf and the white ſand. And at the extremity of theſe fields was the road diſcovered in the cutting of the new canal, and the traces of it appear to the eye at preſent in the gravelled ſide of the bank.

bank. Beyond the canal it entered the fields of Oldfield-Hall, is inviſible in the firſt, but is very viſible in the other three. Theſe appear to have been originally a part of the neighbouring moſs, which is denominated Seaman's, which ſpread into a large extent upon the right, and ſome narrow remains of which ſtill continue immediately on the left. And the Roman road muſt have been conſtructed along them with a good elevation. Within theſe very few years, the gravel has been carried away to the depth of a yard in many places. And yet the ſeam of the gravel remains very conſpicuous along the third and fourth fields.

But, leaving theſe cloſes, the road enters a field that was hedged in from the moſs only a few years ago. This muſt have been the moſt boggy part of the moſs in the time of the Romans, as even now the ſoil of it is ſo extremely looſe and ſoft, that I puſhed a whalebone whip with great facility a full yard into the ground. Over ſuch a tract of land, the road muſt neceſſarily have been raiſed with gravel to a conſiderable height. Over it the road ſtill carries a lofty ridge, being popularly called the Upcaſt, and having a fall for ten or twelve yards on either ſide. And over it the road lately carried a loftier; a great quantity of gravel having been taken off from the ſummit ſoon after the incloſing of the field, and diſperſed equably along the ſides.

Having thus croſſed the moſs, the Roman way leaves the low grounds to which it had hitherto been confined, and begins to aſcend the Dunes or hills which terminate the rich valley of Mancheſter to the ſouth-weſt, and give name to the neighbouring Dunham. Not mounting the ſummit but paſſing along a lower ſhelve of the hills, it enters Dunham-park, and muſt once have communicated the name of Street-head to the high ground upon its left. And this name is now retained by the only habitation which is near it, a ſmall houſe at the foot of the high ground and upon the margin of the preſent road.

Deſcending along the ſlope of theſe heights and leaving the incloſure of the Park, the Roman road muſt have croſſed the

little valley beyond and its little rivulet the Bollen, and have once more fallen into the preſent road near New-Bridge. This a ſingle ſignificative circumſtance ſufficiently indicates of itſelf. The whole length of the preſent road from New-Bridge to Buckley-Hill is denominated Street. The Roman road therefore ſtretches away from the angle immediately beyond New-Bridge along the courſe of the preſent road, and leaves Roſtherne-Mere about a bow-ſhot from it on the left. Thus does it proceed to Buckley-Hill, being all the way popularly known by the expreſſive appellation of Street. From Buckley-Hill it paſſes to Mere-town, proceeding in the ſame line and retaining the ſame name. And about two miles beyond the latter, paſſing the narrow hollow channel of a brook, it aſſumes the name of Holford-ſtreet, and preſerves it for half a mile together.

A little beyond the concluſion of this half-mile, the preſent road beginning to tend too much towards Northwich, the Roman road inſenſibly ſteals away to the left. But about a mile beyond the point, and in the direction of the line, we recover the road again. This new part of the road is a well-gravelled lane, denominated Street, and extending in a right line for four or five miles together. The Roman road ſtealing over the incloſures, or paſſing along the bye-lanes, muſt have ſtretched directly acroſs Penny-lane, and have inſtantly entered the ample opening of the ſtreet. The appellation of this road is written Kind-ſtreet by the only antiquarians that have named it, Mr. Horſeley and Mr. Percival; but is invariably ſpoken King-ſtreet by the people. The former however is pretty certainly the name, and the latter is merely a corruption. And the alteration has reſulted entirely from the natural humour among all nations of aſſimilating ſtrange to familiar names in popular pronunciation, as the road muſt have led to the antient Condate, and as it now leads to the preſent Kinderton *. At its commencement, leaving the town of Northwich about half a mile to the right, the Kind-ſtreet goes on about twelve or fourteen yards in breadth, a great public road, and now wanting conſiderable repair. In its continuance, leaving the ſandy waſte

of Rud-heath a little diſtant on the left and Newton near Middlewich leſs diſtant on the right, the Kind-ſtreet paſſes through Ravenſcroft into Kinderton. And both the name and the lane are inſtantly heard of no more.

Here therefore the concluſion of the road and the length of the diſtance invite us ſtrongly to ſearch for a ſtation. The name of Condate is pretty loudly echoed in the name of Kinderton. And, what is much more weighty, this is the firſt place convenient for a ſtation about the requiſite diſtance from Manchester.

The Kind-ſtreet, pointing down the bank of the river to the bridge of Ravenſcroft, muſt have forded the channel two or three yards to the right of the bridge, and have entered the field beyond it. In this field it has been actually diſcovered. This is denominated the Harbour's field And this was certainly the area of the Roman ſtation. The particular ſituation of the field betwixt the rivers Croco and Dane is a ſufficient proof in itſelf. The appellation of the ground is an additional evidence, the Har-bourh's Field ſignifying plainly the area of the military ſtation. And the ſite and the name, the remains about it and the tradition concerning it, are an abſolute determination.

This field is nearly a parallelogram of ten ſtatute-acres in extent, and is bounded by a natural bank lofty and ſteep upon one ſide, and the little Croco curling at the foot of it, and by another natural bank leſs lofty but more ſteep on another ſide, and the larger Daven or Dane gurgling directly beneath it; the former rivulet falling into the latter at the angle of the field. Upon the third ſide, but ſeveral yards within the hedge of the field, are the conſiderable remains of a ditch, riſing up the aſcent, and being once undoubtedly continued in the ſame line and along the hollow of the contiguous lane. And upon the fourth ſide the antient ditch ſtill preſerves its original perfection, being a ſteep foſſe about ten yards in depth to the narrow bottom and about eight in breadth at the top, formerly converted, like a part of the other ditch, into the courſe of a road, and lately made the channel of an artificial ſtreamlet.

Such was the ſtation of Condate. And a road has been diſcovered commencing from it, traverſing a field immediately without the caſtrum, and frequently viſible in a dry ſummer for the whole length of the field immediately beyond both. This is ordinarily called the Roman road, and muſt certainly from its direction have gone to Mediolanum in Shropſhire. Another muſt have courſed by Home-ſtreet-Hall to Cheſter. And a third muſt have extended by Street-Forge and Red-ſtreet to Cheſterton near Newcaſtle.

This then is Condate, the ſtation ſo long loſt and ſo vainly ſought. And that it has been loſt and ſought ſo long may juſtly excite our admiration. The road pointing certainly towards Cheſter, becauſe to Cheſter one Iter of Antonine carries it, and pointing as certainly to the ſouth or ſouth-eaſt of Cheſter, becauſe another Iter of Antonine carries it into Shropſhire, the courſe of it might have been very eaſily inveſtigated. The ſure ſignatures of Stretford Croſs-ſtreet Street-head Street Holford-ſtreet and King-ſtreet, names all occurring in the line, all pointing out either well-known villages conſpicuous eminences or public roads, and ſome retained for ſeveral miles together, trace out the courſe of it in the plaineſt colours. And the clear tradition of a Roman camp and the ſimilar appellation of Kinderton, at the concluſion of the whole, aſſuredly ſhed the fulleſt light upon the genuine ſite of Condate.

The diſtance of this ſtation from Mancunium is fixed by the ſixth Iter of Richard at thirty-ſix miles, but, in the tenth at twenty-three, and by the ſecond and tenth of Antonine at only eighteen. In this diverſity of informations, we are fully at liberty to chuſe ſuch of the meaſures as beſt agree with the real diſtance, and to reject all of them if none agree. We need not the evidence of the numbers to aſcertain the poſition of the caſtrum.

In the firſt meaſure of Richard, which reckons thirty-ſix miles from Mancunium to Condate, he makes the remarkable inſertion of a ſtation betwixt the one and the other. This he or his tranſcriber has placed at eighteen miles from both, and at the boundaries

boundaries of the two provinces Flavia and Maxima. But, certain as we are concerning the courſe of the road, the very mention of theſe boundaries ſhews the number of the miles to be greatly erroneous. The limits of the provinces are the banks of the Merſey at Stretford; and theſe are only four or five Roman miles from the Caſtle-field. And if Richard's other diſtance of twenty-three miles to Condate be the right one, as we ſhall find it to be, five muſt be the number in this place; five added to the following eighteen in the ſixth Iter being equivalent to the twenty-three in the tenth. This was pretty certainly the original number. And the eye of Richard or his tranſcriber unwarily catching the number eighteen immediately below, his hand inſerted the latter inſtead of the former [1].

Differing equally from both and from truth are the numbers in Antonine. But the difference may be removed with eaſe and without any alteration of the preſent figures. The two Itinera of Antonine give us exactly the ſame number of miles for the diſtance betwixt Caſtle-field and Kinderton, as one Iter of Richard gives us for that betwixt Kinderton and Stretford. And from this coincidence it is highly probable, that the intermediate ſtage was originally inſerted in the tenth Iter of Antonine as well as in the ſixth of Richard, and had the number five annexed to it in both; and that the next reckoning of eighteen miles commenced from it in that Iter as well as in this. This was very probably the original ſtate of that Iter. And when this and all the ſimilar notices, which muſt ſurely have been once inſerted in Antonine's as they now appear in Richard's Itinerary, were thrown out of the former in order to abridge the work, the abridger overlooked the number annexed to this notice, and left the next to ſtand as it ſtood before.

The real diſtance from Caſtle-field to Kinderton Camp is this. From the Croſs at Mancheſter to the Inn at Buckley-Hill the diſtance meaſures about twelve miles, as from Buckley-Hill by Mere-town to Middlewich the diſtance meaſures about other twelve. But as we muſt deduct three quarters of a mile for the diſtance betwixt the Caſtle-field and the Croſs at Mancheſter, ſo

muſt

muſt we ſubtract about a mile for the difference betwixt the direct road of the Romans and the curving road of the preſent times from Broad-Heath to New-Bridge, and for the angle which the preſent road deſcribes in going nearer to Northwich and then turning by Penny-lane to King-ſtreet. Thus ſettled, the real diſtance from the ſtation at Mancheſter to the camp at Kinderton muſt be twenty-two Engliſh miles, which are very nearly equivalent to twenty-three and three quarters Roman miles, and are therefore fully correſpondent with the number in the tenth Iter of Richard.

But here, as we tread the graſſy circuit of the Roman Harborough or ſtation, let us reflect a little on the antient hiſtory of this part of the country, which is ſo near to the confines of Mancheſter, and with which Condate, the firſt ſtage from Mancheſter to the ſouth-weſt, is ſo nearly connected. It is utterly unnoticed by others. It is curious in itſelf. And it will greatly illuſtrate the antiquities of both.

The Cornavii of Ptolemy, before the arrival of the Romans, poſſeſſed that detached region of Flintſhire which adjoins to the village of Banchor, all Cheſhire, all Shropſhire, all Staffordſhire, the greater part of Warwickſhire, and the adjoining parts of Leiceſterſhire. They owned the towns of Deva or Cheſter, Uriconium or Wroxeter, Banchorium or Banchor, and Etocetum or Wall near Litchfield [a]. And their dominions appear to have reached all acroſs the whole extent of Warwickſhire to the ſouth-eaſtern verge of it, as they enjoyed Bennonæ or Claycheſter in the neighbouring ſkirts of Leiceſterſhire, and as, ſtill lower to the ſouth, a part of Warwickſhire that lies betwixt Coventry and Southam and along the range of the foſſeway is denominated from them the Cornavy to the preſent period. Theſe with the Britons of Cornwall in the ſouth-weſtern regions of the iſland, and with the Britons of Cathneſs in the north-eaſtern, are all equally denominated Carnabii by Richard. And all of them muſt have been undoubtedly denominated from ſome one ſtriking circumſtance of poſition or of origin which was common to them all. They were all evidently denominated from the

common

common nature of their ſite. The Carnabii of Cornwall and the Carnabii of Cathneſs obviouſly inhabited a region exactly ſimilar in this great particular, that, open upon one ſide, it narrowed gradually upon the other, and ſhot out in a promontory into the ſea. Such a promontory the Britons expreſſed by the word Keren-av, the horn of the ſea. And from this the common the ſignificative characteriſtic of the two countries the two tribes that poſſeſſed them muſt have been undoubtedly denominated. The Carnabii therefore who inhabited the whole of Staffordſhire Shropſhire and Cheſhire, and ſeveral parts of Warwickſhire Leiceſterſhire and Flintſhire, muſt have equally received their denomination from the nature of their ſea-coaſt. And as all their poſſeſſions in the other counties are entirely removed from the ſea, this neceſſarily carries us into Cheſhire. There, in the neighbourhood of the Dee, the Carnabii are expreſsly declared by Richard to have been originally ſituated [7]. And there we have a region ſimilar to thoſe of Cornwall and Cathneſs, a region open on one ſide, narrowing on the other, and ſhooting out into the ſea. The county is contracted on the weſt into the peninſula of Wirrall, and puſhes out in that long promontory betwixt the æſtuaries of the Dee and the Merſey. Thus conſidered, do the ſame three names all reſult from one and the ſame circumſtance. And the uniformity of the etymology is a ſufficient proof of its propriety [8].

Within this peninſula, then, and along the contiguous parts of the county, the Carnabii originally reſided. From this peninſula and the contiguous parts of the county the original Carnabii muſt have ſallied out, and ſpread their dominions over the reſt of the county, over the whole counties of Shrewſbury and Stafford, and over the neighbouring parts of Warwickſhire Leiceſterſhire and Flintſhire. While they were confined within the precincts of Weſt-Cheſhire, they ſeem to have had only the towns of Deva and Condate. And of theſe Condate appears from its name to have been the capital, being compoſed of the words Conda Te, and ſignifying the principal abode [9].

Thus

Thus was Condate the capital of Weſt-Cheſhire, and, after the acquiſition of the reſt of the county, Shropſhire, Staffordſhire, and the neighbouring parts of Warwickſhire Leiceſterſhire and Flintſhire, the capital of all. But as it had certainly loſt its dignity before the arrival of the Romans, ſo did it as certainly loſe it in conſequence of an invaſion from the Brigantes. When that active and ſpirited tribe, about the commencement of the Chriſtian æra, had ſeized all the fortreſſes that guarded the paſſes of the Yorkſhire hills, and had ſubdued all the country that lay betwixt the hills and the ſea, they appear to have carried their victorious arms to the ſouth and north, to have croſſed the river of Merſey and the frith of Solway, and to have conquered equally the Selgovæ of Anandale and the Carnabii of Cheſhire. The conqueſt of the Selgovæ is clearly evinced by the ſtatue which was diſcovered in their country and which was inſcribed to the Goddeſs Brigantia [10]. And the conqueſt of the Carnabii may be equally evinced from an altar which was diſcovered at Cheſter and was inſcribed to the Goddeſs-Nymph of the Brigantes [11]. The Carnabii of Cheſhire therefore and the Selgovæ of Anandale had certainly adopted themſelves, and had actually communicated to the Romans, the worſhip of the peculiar or tutelar divinity of the Brigantes; and both therefore at the invaſion of the Romans muſt have been reduced under the dominion of the Brigantes. Nothing can be a fuller proof of the ſubjection of one Britiſh tribe to another, than its deſertion of its own tutelar divinity and its adoption of the other's.

This reaſoning is fully confirmed by the authority of Ptolemy. He mentions not the Cornavii as the poſſeſſors of Cheſhire. He gives them Cheſter indeed; but for that purpoſe has removed it far away from the county, and has even placed it forty-five miles to the ſouth of Wroxeter and an hundred and five to the eaſt of it. And from a compariſon of the latitude and longitude of Seteia or the Dee with thoſe of Devana or Cheſter, as they are all given by himſelf, it appears plainly that he did not apprehend the latter to be within or even near to Cheſhire, having placed Devana ninety miles to the eaſt and an hundred and twenty

to

to the ſouth of Seteia [13]. The whole county of Cheſter appears to have been as much ſubject to the Brigantes in the time of Ptolemy, as the counties of Lancaſter Weſtmoreland and Cumberland; and therefore Ptolemy equally cedes them all to the Brigantes. He particularly extends their poſſeſſions on this weſtern ſide to the channel of the Dee, expreſsly aſſigning them all the region that reached up to the Ordovices, who certainly lived beyond it [14]. And he particularly fixes the Cornavii, not at all to the north of the Ordovices, in Cheſhire, but abſolutely and entirely to the eaſt of them, in the regions of Shropſhire and Staffordſhire.

The eruption of the Carnabii muſt have been undoubtedly prior to the invaſion of the Brigantes, and the invaſion muſt have been equally prior to the migration of the Brigantes from our weſtern coaſt into Ireland about the years 51 or 52 of the Chriſtian æra [15]. The migration appears plainly, from the friendly accompaniment of the Lancaſhire Cangii with the Brigantes in it [16], to have been many years after the invaſion, and when the conquered had ſubdued the firſt natural impreſſions of averſion, and now began to aſſociate in friendſhip with their conquerors. And the invaſion muſt have been a conſiderable number of years after the eruption, as in the interval betwixt both the mighty conquerors of three or four counties were reduced enough in character to be attacked within their original dominions, and were ſunk enough in reality to be even ſubdued within their native territories. But, Condate being thus poſſeſſed by the invading Brigantes, the unſubdued Carnabii of Flintſhire Shropſhire Staffordſhire Warwickſhire and Leiceſterſhire naturally erected a new capital, and raiſed Uriconiu or Wroxeter to that honour. And Uriconiu appears to have been poſſeſſed of it at the period of the Roman invaſion, Condate having then loſt all its former luſtre, and being reduced under the dominion of the Brigantes and the ſupremacy of Iſeur their metropolis [17].

' Mr. Percival therefore in Phil. Tranſ., aſſerting the road to be traceable in the meadows near the bridge, ſuffered his imagination to impoſe upon his judgement. Such impoſitions will frequently happen in antiquarian purſuits, if a perſon be not upon his guard againſt them.—' This without doubt is the road which Camden conjectures to be Roman and which he erroneouſly mentions to extend from Middlewich to Northwich (p. 461.)—' The name of Kinderton is probably formed only by the popular pronunciation of the letter R, as Pottage is invariably pronounced Porrage, Rachel is familiarly pronounced Tachey, Grammatica is now pronounced Grammar, and Arterith, a place near Carliſle and the ſcene of a battle in the Triades, is now called Atterith.—' Some of the people about Middlewich ridiculouſly place the Roman camp upon the area of Bellpool-Hill in the adjoining field, a mount ſurrounded with ditches and the Dane, but containing only half an acre in extent.—' See b. I. ch. vi. ſ. 2. for this inſerted ſtation.—' Richard p. 24.—' P. 24. Ad fluvium Devam primò ſiti erant Carnabii.—' See Baxter in Corinavii, and Carte vol. I. p. 108, for two etymologies that are as idle in themſelves as they are impertinent in their application.—' So Condate Rhedonum in Antoninus &c.—'' Horſeley Scotland No. 34.—'' Gale's Antoninus p. 53.—'' See b. I. ch. v. ſ. 1. for Seteia being the Dee.—'' Under the Brigantes (ſays Ptolemy) in the moſt weſterly regions reſide the Ordovices, and more eaſterly than the Ordovices are the Cornavii.—'' Richard p. 51.—'' See b. I. ch. xii. ſ. 4.—'' Among the Carnabian towns Reliquarum Mater Uriconium, in Richard p. 24; and Utriconion Cornoninorum in Ravennas, or, as the Vatican MS. juſtly reads the words, Urioconium Cornaviorum.

In the firſt volume of Archæologia, publiſhed this very winter by the Antiquarian Society, I find that the late Thomas Percival Eſq; fixes Condate at Kinderton with me. But he aſſerts the Roman road from Mancheſter to it to be "viſible almoſt all the "way" (p. 62.); when, as the Roman and the preſent road actually run together almoſt all the way, it is abſolutely impoſſible for the Roman to be more than partially and occaſionally viſible.

viſible. And he aſſerts the Roman camp to be "yet viſible at "Kinderton where the Dane and the Weaver join" (p. 62.); when the camp is certainly viſible only in the remains of two ditches, and when theſe are really at the diſtance of two or three miles from the conjunction of the Weaver and the Dane. But Mr. Percival was but a young antiquarian when he died. Had he lived longer, his natural genius for antiquarian ſtudies would have been more highly cultivated, his fund of antiquarian learning would have been conſiderably enriched, and his lively mind would have acquired new vigour and additional accuracy from the habit of obſerving and reflecting.

III.

Richard's 10th Iter,	Antonine's 10th Iter,
From Brocavonacis	From Galacum
Ad Alaunam m. p.....	Bremetonacis m. p. 27
Coccio m. p.....	Coccio m. p. 20
Mancunio 18.	Mancunio m. p. 17.

The road to Coccium or Blackrode did not commence immediately from the ſtation. It might have begun at the ſouth-weſtern angle of it, have ſwept over the peninſula of Hulme-field, have croſſed the Irwell at the point of the meadow, and have ſlanted away for Walkden Moor. And this route would have been the moſt direct line of the road. But this route was prevented by the badneſs of the moraſs betwixt the ſtation and Hulme-fields, and by the prudence of retaining ſo uſeful a barrier to the camp. The road to Blackrode actually began with the road to Kinderton, and actually proceeded with it for more than a mile. Taking the ſame courſe to Throſtleneſt, it there turned away to the right, and there forded the Irwell at the ſhallow which originally gave denomination to the neighbouring Trafford, and which was lately deſtroyed by the commiſſioners of the navigation. And having paſſed the channel of the river, it

then took its proper direction, and then firſt pointed towards the ſtation at Blackrode. It ranged acroſs the level eyes, mounted the little heights, croſſed the high road to Warrington, and joined the preſent plain and continued remains of it near Hope-Hall. This was even in part the cuſtomary road into the preſent town from that region of the country as late as the preſent century. But in all this courſe from the river to the hall the road is abſolutely inviſible; and the remains that begin at the latter and extend for two miles together are the only deciſive arguments of its courſe.

Proceeding along the foot of Harts-hill brow, and croſſing Broomhouſe-lane, it enters the eſtate of Hope-Hall. It firſt ſlanted along the ſide of Dovehouſe-Croft, has been there turned up by the plough, and appeared to be ſeven yards in breadth. It is next diſcovered in the field which is beyond the old Hope-Hall, and which is denominated the Upper Broad-Hope, by the gravel beneath the ſurface, and in the next field or the Lower Broad-Hope by the long ridge above it. The ſeam of the gravel is a certain proof of the road, as the ground is all naturally clay; and the courſe of the ridge is very evident to the eye. In the next or Little Brook-field, when the ground is ploughed, the gravel appears very thick upon the brown furrows, and much thicker at the extremity of the field and on the margin of the brook. And in all theſe incloſures the track of the road is clearly marked to the farmer by the great luxuriancy of the corn upon it.

The road here leaving the Hope-Hall eſtate and entering the Heath-fields, the gravel is eaſily diſcovered by the ſpade in the firſt of them, as it croſſes the corner of the field. In the ſecond Heath-field the ridge of the road appears again, but much greater and very conſiderable, extending ten or twelve yards in width, and having a fall on either ſide. Paſſing through a corner of the third Heath-field, the ridge continues ſtill evident but reduced in the fourth and fifth, riſes to a very conſiderable height in the ſixth, and retains it in Heath-lane and in the field beyond it. In the laſt cloſe the elevation of the road appears

equally

equally green and dry for twelve or thirteen yards in width, and is ſkirted by a border of ruſhes in the wet ground of either ſide. But at the extremity of this and in the next or Toad-hill Field, and in the field beyond both, the ridge entirely diſappears, and the road is diſcovered only by the ſpade in the hither end of the ſecond and at the further end of the third fields, and by the gravel which the ſpade diſcovers lying upon the natural ſoil. And here the ridge of the road has been evidently taken away by the farmers, and the materials of it diſperſed with an equal hand over a part of the ſloping ground on the right.

Croſſing the next field and the lane, the Roman road points through Chorleton Fold and through the ground beyond it to the lane. It there enters the Weſtwood-fields, and appears again with a ſmall ridge aſcending the ſlope of the ſecond incloſure, and pointing to a large oak upon the furzy ſummit of it. At that oak and in the adjoining field the gravel of the road is very evident, lying very thick upon the road, and ſpreading ſeveral yards in width. It croſſes the ſecond field of Mr. Bailey in a plain ridge and the firſt field of Mr. Watſon in a plainer. Loſing its ridge at this end of Mr. Watſon's ſecond field, it recovers it with an addition at the other. But in the next or Mr. Blomiley's field the gravel of it appears along all the three cloſes, lying in a tall ridge of ten or twelve yards in width. And in the adjoining fields of Brookſide eſtate the road ſtill appears, though leſs conſpicuous, but retaining an evident ridge, and pointing directly by Drywood-houſe to Shaving-lane or Shawing-ſtreet about half a mile beyond it.

This name is retained by a direct and open lane for a mile together, and is loſt only in the name of Stany-ſtreet a little on this ſide of Walkden-moor. There the Roman way becomes the preſent road, and paſſes in a direct line by Street-Yate and Win-Yates towards the village of Blackrode. There was it diſcovered about fourteen years ago parallel with the preſent road and at a little diſtance from it, lying a foot below the ſurface, covered

with

with a ſtrong crop of furzes and briars, and being three yards in breadth as well as eight or nine in length.

The name of Stany or Stony ſtreet would naturally induce one to imagine, that the road which was ſo denominated muſt have been regularly paved. And ſo it certainly was. In the firſt field which it enters belonging to the Hope-Hall eſtate, and in the diſcovery which the plough made of it ſome years ago, it was found to be paved with large boulders. And the ſmall piece of it which was laid open by the ſpade at Blackrode appeared to be a regular pavement, firmly jointed together and compoſed of heavy ſtones.

Such was the road that led to the Roman ſtation at Blackrode. But were ſhall we fix the actual ſite of the ſtation? The town, as it ſeems, having been very early deſtroyed, the traces of its antient dignity are almoſt entirely erazed, and exiſt only at preſent in the faint retroſpect of traditionary hiſtory and in the vague generalities of a winter's tale. The town, as it ſeems, having been entirely demoliſhed, and afterwards built upon a different ſite, almoſt all the veſtiges of its Roman maſters have been long obliterated by the hand of time, and even the very exiſtence of them forgotten in the chronicles of tradition. In this ſtate of uncertainty, the attention of an antiquarian is naturally engaged at firſt by the name of Caſtle-Croft at the ſouth-eaſtern extremity of the village, by the tradition of a caſtle upon it, and by the evident remains of ditches around it. But this can never have been the area of a Roman ſtation. This is merely an area of half an acre in extent. And the ſtation can never have been on this ſide of the village at all. It muſt aſſuredly have been on the other and upon the lofty bank of the river. There, and there only, is that particular in the ſite which the Romans generally ſecured in the poſition of a ſtation, the concurrence of a brook with the river, and a commodious lingula of ground betwixt both. There, and there only, are thoſe greater particulars in the ſite which the Romans more generally ſecured in the poſition of a ſtation, the convenience of a ſtream and the advantage of a bank, that the one might afford a re-

gular ſupply of water to the garriſon, and that both might furniſh ſome natural defences to the camp.

Tradition aſſerts the town to have been originally erected, not, as now, upon the narrow creſt of a lofty hill which has a long gradual deſcent on every ſide of it, but along the ſlope to the north-weſt and in the courſe of the road to Preſton. And that part of the Roman road which was ſome time ago diſcovered at Blackrode lay pointing directly to the river. And to the river the actual diſtances in the Itineraries lead us. The chapel at Blackrode is juſt at the eighteenth meaſured mile along the curving courſe of the preſent road from the croſs at Mancheſter. But from the ſtation in Caſtle-Field, and along the courſe of the Roman road, which falls into the other betwixt the ſeventh and eighth meaſured mile from the Croſs, and which meaſures only about five miles and a half to that point, the diſtance is only about ſixteen Engliſh miles to the chapel. And from this reckoning we muſt deduct one ſixteenth for the difference betwixt the horizontal and the road mile, as the road riſes gently all the way from the ſtation to the chapel, and is frequently interſected with narrow gullies'; and we muſt add one fourteenth to the remainder for the difference betwixt the Engliſh miles and the Roman. The former ſettles the diſtance along the Roman road from the Caſtle-Field to the village at fifteen Engliſh horizontal miles. And the latter fixes it at ſixteen horizontal Roman miles. But as the ſpecified diſtance to the ſtation at Blackrode is more than ſeventeen horizontal Roman miles, we muſt neceſſarily proceed for more than a mile in the line of the above-diſcovered road before we can expect to diſcover the ſite of the ſtation.

Proceeding then in this line and for this length, we come to the river Douglas, which riſes in the neighbouring Pike of Rivington, and deſcends by the town of Wigan to the ſea. Proceeding in this line and for this length, we find ourſelves very near the bottom of the winding deſcent to Preſton, and near the extremity of the ground on which tradition has erected the original Blackrode. And here undoubtedly was the ſtation of the

Romans.

Romans. Here the Douglas forms a large crook in its channel, here a brook diſcharges its little urn into it, and here are natural or artificial banks on the ſides. Here, cloſely adjoining to the ſite, is a conſiderable barrow; and tradition ſpeaks of a conſiderable battle near it, in which a great officer was ſlain, many of the ſoldiers were cut to pieces, and the Douglas ran crimſoned with the blood to Wigan. And here, and here only along the whole bank of the river, are all theſe advantages to be found united.

This ſite comprehends two fields, the one of which is peculiarly denominated the Rie-Hay, and the other is called the Smithy-field, and both of which contain an area of ſeven or ſeven and a half ſtatute-acres *. Lying within a large curve of the Douglas and at the union of a ſmall brook with it, they have the channel of the former and its ſteep bank of five ſix and ſeven yards in height for the whole of the northern ſide and for a part of the eaſtern, and the courſe of the latter and its ſteep bank of two four and five yards in height upon the weſtern. And on the ſouth muſt have been a ditch, winding from the extremity of the weſtern bank along the ſide of the neighbouring field, and going, I ſuppoſe, acroſs the preſent road obliquely to the high bank of the river below the barrow.

Thus ſituated, the ſtation appears plainly to be the Coccium of Richard and Antonine and the Rhigodunum of Ptolemy. Both the former and the latter have been hitherto ſuppoſed to be the Ribcheſter of the preſent times. But I have formerly ſhewn the ſuppoſition to be falſe concerning Coccium. And the ſuppoſition concerning Rhigodunum is directly contrary to the teſtimony of Ptolemy.

The relative poſition of the towns in Ptolemy are nearly as inaccurate in general as his abſolute poſitions are. Thus; to confine my obſervation to Rhigodunum in particular, that ſtation is placed by Ptolemy both thirty miles to the eaſt of Vinnovium or Bincheſter and as many to the weſt of Devana or Cheſter; when it is certainly, according to all the antiquarians and to truth, conſiderably to the weſt of the former and to the eaſt of the latter.

But

But though his relative positions of the towns are thus greatly erroneous, yet his relative bearings of the coasts must necessarily, from the progressive particularity of his coasting and from the striking permanent nature of the marks in his description, be sufficiently exact. If therefore we collate his positions of the towns with his bearings of the coast, and determine the site from both, though we must expect that determination to partake of the errors in the former, we shall certainly come nearer the truth by this than by any other direction.

I shall hereafter shew the Setantiaï port of Ptolemy, which is in 17° 20′ of eastern longitude, to be within the mouth of the river Ribble and at the famous Neb of the Nese. Rhigodunum therefore was certainly not at Ribchester, because this is not, as that is placed, forty Roman miles in a right line to the east of that site; being, as Richard's Itinerary will hereafter inform us, only twenty-three upon the road [1]. That port is also placed in 57° 45′ of northern latitude, and Rhigodunum in 57° 30′; a circumstance that shews the latter to be no-where upon the Ribble at all, as the channel of this river is so far from lying to the south-east of its mouth, that it actually lies to the north-east of it.

And as Rhigodunum is thus evinced from Ptolemy's bearings of the coast not to be Ribchester, it may as easily be evinced to be Blackrode only. I shall hereafter prove Belisama to be the river Mersey, the mouth of which is placed by Ptolemy in 17° 30′ and 57° 20′ [2]. Rhigodunum therefore, being in 18° 00′ and 57° 30′, is just thirty miles to the east and ten to the north of that mouth. This necessarily confines us to the south of Lancashire in general. This necessarily confines us to Blackrode in particular. Blackrode is the only station that in the east approaches the requisite distances, and is exactly about thirty Roman miles or twenty-eight English to the east of Black-Rock and about nine or ten to the north of it.

Thus plainly does Rhigodunum appear to have been intended by Ptolemy for the Coccium of Richard and Antoninus, and to have been the capital of the Sistuntian dominions. And the

former name is equally expreſſive as the latter of this the joint ſupremacy of both over the towns of Lancaſhire. The latter, which from the Roman termination of the word ſufficiently appears to have been Caer Coccui, imports literally the City of Supremacy: and the former, which may be either Rigod-dunum or Rigo-dunum, and which analogy requires and hiſtory hereafter evinces to have been actually Rigod-dunum [5], as literally ſignifies the Fortreſs of Royalty. The Britons appear frequently to have adopted ſuch abſtract terms as theſe to denote their Kings and to denominate their Capitals. Such are Bren, Pend, and Vint, all ſignifying properly the higheſt place or the greateſt dignity, and all applied conſtantly to the higheſt perſon or the greateſt town [6]. Such more particularly is Ragæ, the Roman name of the preſent Leiceſter and the Britiſh appellation of the Coritanian capital; Rageu and Rigod being equally the Britiſh terms for Royalty, and equally with Coccui the deſignation of a metropolis [7]. And a duplicate of names appears to have been not uncommon among the Britons in general for their fortreſſes in the woods, Camulodunum and Cambodunum being two names for the ſame fortreſs, and the Bovium of Antoninus being only a different name for the Banchorium of Richard.

Thus was the Britiſh fortreſs which ſtood upon the ſite of the Roman Coccium the metropolis of the kingdom of Lancaſhire, before the Brigantes deſcended from the hills of Yorkſhire and over-ran the country. And it muſt have been within the compaſs of that great foreſt which remained three or four centuries ago under the denomination of Horwich Foreſt; and the black and dreary ſite of which ſtill continues very near unto it under the appellation of Horwich Moor. There muſt it have been placed by the Britons of Lancaſhire upon the alarming irruption of the Carnabii into the counties of Flint, Shrewſbury, Stafford, Leiceſter, and Warwick. Upon ſuch an alarm, the firſt precaution of the Siſtuntii would naturally be to fortify their expoſed frontier on the ſouth, and to conſtruct the fortreſſes of Veratin and Mancenion. The ſecond would be to ſettle other fortreſſes in other parts of their little kingdom, to which the inhabitants might

might retreat and the cattle might be driven in caſe of an actual invaſion. The ford at Warrington was ſufficiently ſecured, as I ſhall ſhew hereafter[8]: And almoſt as probably was the ford at Stockport, becauſe it could be almoſt as eaſily defended. But the fords at Wulſton, Hollin's-Green, Stoneford, Stretford, Barlow, and Didſbury could not be defended at all, becauſe of the low grounds for a conſiderable way on either ſide of them, and for want of ſuch a particular ſite as I ſhall ſhew Warrington to have poſſeſſed, and muſt therefore have been all neglected. And this rendered it the more neceſſary to conſtruct two or three fortreſſes in the interior parts of the county. In conſequence of this political neceſſity, the inland fortreſſes of Rerigon and Coccui muſt have been immediately laid out; as about half a century afterwards in all probability, upon a juſt ſuſpicion of the neighbouring Brigantes, two new forts were ſettled at Concangion and at Bremetonac, and others perhaps at Colne at Littleborough and at Caſtleſhaw. But of all theſe, and perhaps of others, Coccui was appointed the metropolis or capital, becauſe it was neareſt to the center of the kingdom, and becauſe it was fixed in the moſt conſiderable foreſt within it. And any invaſion of the country from the northern the eaſtern or the ſouthern quarters might eaſily be notified to the capital, and be communicated by it to the kingdom. A fire at Warrington, at Mancheſter, at Caſtleſhaw, at Pendle-Hill near Colne, or at Longridge-Fell near Ribcheſter, would immediately be ſeen from the ſummit of Rivington-Pike, and might immediately be anſwered by another from it; as a fire upon ſome of the lofty mountains near Kendal might be anſwered by ſucceſſive fires from Ingleborough-Hill at Overborough, from Pendle-Hill or Longridge-Fell, and from the Pike. And we find beacons familiarly in uſe among the primitive Britons, the beſieged capital of one of our northern iſlands in the third century actually lighting up a fire upon one of the buildings, and Fingal immediately knowing "the green flame edged with ſmoke" to be a token of invaſion and diſtreſs[9]. Thus would all the towns of the Siſtuntii be immediately apprized of an invaſion, immediately open their

gates to receive the women the children and the cattle, and be immediately put into a condition of defence. And thus would Coccui, the capital of the whole, be as certain as a town could be to be the laſt attacked by an invading enemy, and to be the beſt prepared for a vigorous defence againſt them.

[f] See Horſeley p. 384, 385, 397, 398, &c.—[g] See b. I. ch. vi. ſ. 2. for another ſtation upon a rie or river field.—[h] B. I. ch. v. ſ. 1.—[i] Ibid.—[k] See b. II. ch. ii. ſ. 4.—[l] Baxter in Brennus. So alſo Pendragon, Venta Silurum, &c.—[m] B. I. ch. v. ſ. 3.—[n] B. I. ch. v. ſ. 4.—[o] Oſſian Vol. I. p. 198.

In vol. I. of Antiquarian Eſſays, publiſhed this very winter, I find Mr. Percival and Mr. Watſon both agreeing with me in fixing Coccium at Blackrode, but both differing from me in the particular poſition of it. Mr. Watſon gives an account, but too general and indiſtinctive, of the Roman road from Mancheſter to Blackrode (p. 70). And both Mr. Watſon and Mr. Percival ſettle the ſtation juſt at the entrance of the village from Mancheſter, and upon the area of the Caſtle-Croft, (p. 70 and 63); when the diſtance, the ſite, the tradition, and the remains all agree to carry it to the banks of the Douglas. Mr. Watſon avers "the remains of a Roman ſtation to be there," (p. 70); when there are only the remains of a ſmall modern caſtle, which gradually occaſioned the preſent village to be conſtructed near it. Mr. Percival aſſerts "a middle-ſized fort to be yet ſeen there," but acknowledges that he "had not *time to trace the whole* of it" (p. 63); when the only remains are the relicks of the ſmall caſtle, and when theſe are all confined to the ſmall area of the Caſtle-Croft. And Mr. Percival, in his wild way of aſſerting generally without any ſpecification of proofs, affirms "a Roman road to be yet viſible" from Blackrode to Penwortham, to Garſtang, to Lancaſter, and to Overborough, and the three intermediate ſtations to have been dropt in tranſcribing both by Richard's and by Antonine's Itinerary: And in his wilder way of ſuppoſing without advancing any reaſons for the ſuppoſition, he imagines an Iter to be loſt both in Richard

and

Ptolemy.	Dio.	Antoninus.	
— — — —	Leg. 4 Flavia Syria raiſed by Veſpaſian	— — — —	Citizens.
P. 64. Leg. .... L. Pannonia	Leg. 5 Maced. Dacia Auguſtus	P. 14. Leg. Maced. L. Mæſia	Citizens.
P. 37. Leg. 6 Vict. Britain	Leg. 6 Vict. Britain Auguſtus	P. 14. Leg. 6 Vict. Britain	Citizens.
— — — —	Leg. 6 Ferrea Judæa Auguſtus	— — — —	Citizens.
P. 44. Leg. 7 German.—Spain	Leg. 7.... Spain raiſed by Galba	P. 25. Leg. 7 Gemina—Spain	Citizens.
P. 86. Legio .:. H. Mæſia	Leg. 7 Claud. H. Mæſia Auguſtus	— — —	Citizens.
— — —	— —	P. 11. Leg. 7. Meſopotamia	Foreigners.
P. 53. Leg. 8 Aug. H. Germany	Leg. 8 Aug. H. Germany Auguſtus	P. 23. Leg. 8. Germany	Citizens.
P. 63. Leg. 10. Ger. H. Pannonia	Leg. 10. Gemina Pannonia	P. 15. Leg. 10 Gemina—Pannonia	Citizens.

Leg.

CHAP. V.

I.

THESE are all the ſtations with which the two Itineraries repreſent Mancunium to be connected, and theſe are the roads which connected both. But there were alſo many others. Four other roads actually proceeded from Mancunium, one to Rerigonium or Ribcheſter, another to Olicana or Ilkley, the third to Buxton, and the fourth to Warrington. Thus greatly defective are the notices which the Romans have left us of their roads, even after the acquiſition of a ſecond Itinerary.

The road to Rerigonium muſt have iſſued from the ſtation about forty-eight yards from the north-eaſtern angle of it, and muſt evidently have paſſed the large remaining cavity of the northern ditch by a bridge. The road was found about ſix years ago in the adjoining garden, and is ſtill viſible from its ridge, ſtretching acroſs the breadth of it, and being five yards in width. It was alſo found about twenty years ago in the ſecond garden, proceeding in the line of an hedge five yards in breadth, bordered with large ſquariſh ſtones at the ſides, and raiſed into a convexity of half a yard above the ground. Croſſing the narrow lane beyond both, ſome traces of the convexity lately appeared, and pointed acroſs the level of Camp-field to Mr. Philips's two houſes in Quay-ſtreet. There the road was diſcovered about ſeventeen years ago near the door-way of the more eaſterly houſe, more than half a yard below the ſurface of the ground, four or five yards in breadth, and more than a yard deep in ſtones and gravel. In the gardens and in Camp-field it appeared to be continued, not directly in a line to Ribcheſter, but in a line ſlanting conſiderably to the eaſt of it. This obliquity of the road was neceſſarily occaſioned by the great curve of the Irwell into the margin of the Deanſgate, of the Old Church-yard, and of the Hunt-

bank, and into the right line of the road. And, continuing in this obliquity, the road muſt have paſſed among the preſent houſes, have fallen into the preſent Deanſgate, and through the preſent area of the church have reached the opening into the hollow of Huntſbank.

At Huntſbank the rocks muſt then have fallen exactly as they now fall along it, very ſteeply to the Irwell on the weſt and perpendicularly to the Irke on the north; and the paſſage of the Romans muſt have been obſtructed by them. To clear this obſtruction and to continue the road, the labourers wielded their pickaxes, cut down the ſoft red rocks of the ſteep bank as we now ſee them, and made the firſt road that had deſcended along it to the rivers. Cutting the rocks on the eaſtern ſide of the intended way into a very lofty perpendicular, and leaving a ſmall ledging of them on the weſtern, which was alſo uſeful as a battlement for the road and a ſecurity againſt the precipice, they laid their materials upon the new-made plane of the rock betwixt them. And, to leſſen the ſharpneſs of the deſcent, they did not carry the line of it directly down the ſteep of the Huntſbank, but, as the face of the eaſtern ſide demonſtrates, prudently gave it two or three ſmall curvatures in the fall. Having gained the bottom of the bank and made a ford over the river, the road did not proceed on and climb the ſummit of the High Knolls. Having deviated from the right line to Ribcheſter in order to avoid the curving ſtream of the Irwell, it had neceſſarily turned in the church-yard to the left in order to reach the Huntſbank, as it had been before diverted to the right in order to reach the church-yard. And it now as neceſſarily turned again at the foot of the Huntſbank, and went off in a ſlanting line to Ribcheſter. Continuing therefore along the flat ground at the foot of the High Knolls, it muſt have paſſed obliquely through the gardens and houſes on the right of the preſent road, have entered Strangeways-lane, and have edged along the park of Francis Reynolds Eſq. There it was diſcovered ſome years ago in forming the preſent canal at the end of the park. And from this point it muſt have ſtretched away in the courſe of the preſent lane,

lane, ſlanting as this ſlants to the left, and having the chain of the High-Knolls gradually approaching it on the right. And about two miles from the ſtation it was directly interſected by them.

This range of interſecting hills is called the Stony-Knolls, and conſiſts of three parallel ridges, that commence from the extremity of the High-Knolls on the eaſt, and extend to the ſtream of the Irwell on the weſt. Aſcending the long ſlope of theſe Stony-Knolls in the narrow lane, we begin to ſee the traces of the road again, and obſerve the gravel of it very plainly diſtinguiſhed from the natural ſand, and appearing in great quantities along the lane. And theſe appearances increaſe as we proceed. At the upper end of the lane, the road enters the incloſures which are the ridgy ſummits of theſe hills, and which are peculiarly denominated the Stony-Knolls; and it is there popularly reported to be the effect of ſupernatural agency. In the entrance of the firſt incloſure the road appears at once in pretty good conſervation, being a ſtrong thick gravel, three yards in width, and lying upon the natural bed of clay and marl. Rising up the ſide of the ridge it is four yards in width, but upon the creſt is reduced again to three, and points in a right line and in equal conſervation over the next incloſure or the Higher Stony-Knoll. Deſcending the one in order to aſcend the other, it winds a little on the right to the bottom, and then winds as much on the left to the top. In this the ſecond incloſure it firſt dilates into four yards in width, afterwards contracts into three, and has a fall from it on both ſides, very gentle on the right, but two three and four yards in depth upon the left. Sloping from the ſecond ridge, and leaving the ſecond incloſure, it enters a narrow lane, the line of ſtrong gravel ſtill continuing, eſpecially on the left-hand ſide of the lane, and the road advancing up the third hill, the leſſer knoll of the Broken-bank.

At the extremity of the lane, the road iſſues into the way that leads from Broughton-Ford to Kerſall-moor, and inſtantly becomes inviſible. But the line of the road is obliquely acroſs the above-mentioned way, obliquely down the ſandy bank, then not broken

broken as it now is into an abrupt precipice, and along the courſe of the foot-way to Kerſal-moor. And in this line Tradition aſſerts the road to have gone, leaving the preſent road above and the little cottage below on the right, and eſcaping the ever-ſpringy ever-boggy declivities beneath on the left. But, upon the turning of the foot-way to reach the moor, the Roman road muſt have left it, have aſcended the little ſteep in front, and have ranged about two hundred yards from the preſent hedge of the moor. Then croſſing the horſeway to the moor, and ſoon afterwards leaving the pariſh of Mancheſter, the road muſt have puſhed through Preſtwich and Ratcliffe, appears upon Cockey-moor, and extends through Watling-ſtreet in Cffyſide, over Bellthorn-moor above Darwent, and to the eaſt of Blackburne[2], to the ford which is a little to the eaſt of Ribcheſter.

From the epithet of Stony which the Roman road has affixed to the above-mentioned Knolls, it may very reaſonably be inferred that the road was paved. And we have previouſly ſhewn the ſame name of Stany-ſtreet to have juſtly given the ſame intimation concerning the road to Blackrode. In the firſt and ſecond incloſure of the Stony-Knolls are many large paving-ſtones, disjointed from each other, but ſtill appearing in the ſurface of the road. In the lane leading up to the incloſures, are even ſeveral detached and broken appearances of a regular pavement. And in the ſecond garden near Caſtle-field, and on the ſite of Mr. Philips's houſe, the pavement was actually dug up, conſiſting of the largeſt boulders, and having two layers of ſtones upon a bed of gravel.

This gravel appears from the road upon the Knolls to be light-coloured and full of ſtones. But from what quarter of the country could the Romans derive it? The only gravel near the track of the road lies upon Dole-field, St. Mary's Church-yard, and one or two other places, and is all invariably of a red-brown hue; and no large gravel-pits appear in any of them. Along the reſt of the track, the ſoil is clay for a little way at firſt and light red ſand continually afterwards. All the reſources for

gravel at preſent, along the whole track of the road, are placed merely in the attending channel of the river. And from the ſame reſources muſt the Romans have furniſhed themſelves with the gravel of their road within the pariſh. From thoſe unexhauſted and inexhauſtible ſhoals of gravel in the Medlock and in the Irwell which were immediately at the ford of Knot-mill, and are now immediately below the bridge of Salford, at Bolton-weel near Strangeways, and at Scarweel above Broughton-Ford, were the materials undoubtedly collected. Thus conſtructed with water-gravel appears to have been the broad ſtem of the two roads to Kinderton and to Slack in Caſtle-field, as the fragments of rock which have been occaſionally diſcovered in the gravel ſufficiently demonſtrate. And this conſtruction of Roman roads with water-gravel refutes at once the wild prejudices that at preſent prevail againſt it; as the compactneſs of the gravel under Mr. Philips's houſe, and the firmneſs of the road in Caſtle-field, demonſtrates it to be equally binding with the land-gravel. But, to give it this binding quality, ſomething more is required than the preſent conſtructers of our northern roads take the trouble to practiſe. To give it this quality, the gravel ſhould not be uſed in the naked ſtate in which it is left by the river, deprived of its ſand and loam by the filtering waters, and thereby rendered incapable of binding. Being laid upon the road in this condition, the ſtones and pebbles are violently ground againſt each other by the ſtrong preſſure upon the whole, and are ſoon powdered into dirt. But the Romans ſuggeſt to us a very different procedure, and adviſe prudence to add what the water has waſhed away. This we ſee exemplified in the road upon Stony-Knolls. And this was diſcovered to have been practiſed in the road along Caſtle-field and in the way under Mr. Philips's houſe.

Thus conſtructed, muſt the cauſeway have extended to the eager current of the Ribble and to the elegant ſite of Ribcheſter beyond it. This village the numerous remains of ruined magnificence, and the great multiplicity of Roman urns, Roman coins and Roman monuments, have long demonſtrated to have been

a conſiderable city of the Romans. And theſe relicks of antiquity have been carefully collected by Camden by Leigh by Gale and by Horſeley. But the greater antiquities of Ribcheſter have been entirely overlooked by theſe criticks, as they ſtill continue unnoticed by the curious eye of obſervation, and now ſtrongly invite the delineating hand of antiquarianiſm.

The Portus Siſtuntiorum or the Σιστουντιων λιμην is mentioned equally by Richard and by Ptolemy. But the actual ſite of it is yet unſettled. Baxter ſuppoſes it to be the mouth of the Merſey, Horſeley the mouth of the Ribble, and Stukeley the mouth of the Lune [3]. To decide amid this variety of opinions, let us endeavour to aſcertain what poſition is really given it by Ptolemy's Geography and by Richard's Itinerary. If they differ, we are not entirely without a guide. Remains may make that probable which both leave uncertain. But if the two firſt agree in one teſtimony, we can have little doubt. And if all the three agree, we are actually certain.

The abſolute poſitions of the towns in Ptolemy are well known to be extremely erroneous. And his relative poſitions I have already ſhewn to be little better [4]. But in his coaſting along the ſhores of the iſland this Geographer appears to be pretty accurate. And the progreſſive particularity of a deſcription of the coaſt, and the ſtriking permanent nature of the marks in ſuch a deſcription, as I have already obſerved, muſt neceſſarily give it a ſufficient exactneſs [5]. This then muſt be our ſtandard. And let us now make uſe of it.

Taking Ptolemy's account of the weſtern ſhore but inverting his order, let us begin with the æſtuary of Sabriana, certainly and confeſſedly the Severn-ſea. From this point the coaſter goes directly to the weſt for an hundred and eighty miles, to the promontory Octopitarum; plainly ſkirting all the ſouthern coaſt of Glamorganſhire and Caermarthenſhire, and the ſouthern and ſouth-weſtern ſhore of Pembrokeſhire to St. David's Head. From that promontory, in advancing ninety miles to the north, he goes firſt ſixty to the eaſt and then twenty to the weſt, to the promontory

montory of the Cangani; plainly winding along the deep bay which is formed by St. David's Head on one ſide and by Brachypult Point on the other, and the whole extent of which is frequently denominated Cardigan Bay. So far we are abſolutely certain. The remarkable nature of the ſhore precludes all poſſibility of miſtake.

From Brachypult Point, in eighty miles more to the north, the Geographer goes an hundred and fifty to the eaſt, as in twenty-five more he turns and goes ten to the weſt. In the hundred and fifty miles to the eaſt, he clearly paſſes through the ſtrait of Menai to the bottom of the deep bay which is formed to the north and north-eaſt of Brachypult Point. And in the ten miles afterwards to the weſt he comes out of the bay. But here let us follow him gradually.

In the firſt twenty miles to the north of Brachypult Point he goes forty to the eaſt, to the river Toiſobius. This appears at firſt ſight to be the river Conway. And as both Richard's and Antonine's Itineraries place the town of Conovium hereabouts, and the former expreſsly calls the river by the two names of Toſibus and Conovius [5], it is undoubtedly that river.

From the Toiſobius, in forty miles to the north, Ptolemy proceeds eighty to the eaſt, to the æſtuary Seteia. This muſt certainly be the opening of the Dee, as that could not be miſſed by a perſon ranging up the coaſt, and, if not miſſed, muſt come next in ſucceſſion. And Ptolemy's diſtance of forty miles right north and ſouth from the Toiſobius to the Deva correſponds with great exactneſs to the more indirect diſtance upon the road, at which the Itineraries of Richard and Antonine concur to ſet the town of Deva from the town of Conovium; the former fixing the one at fifty miles from the other, and the latter at fifty-one [6]. Both arguments together form an irrefragable proof, that the Seteia of the Geography cannot poſſibly be any other æſtuary than the Deva of the Itineraries and the preſent Dee. And this is the more particularly inſiſted upon, as it is of importance in itſelf, and as it has been miſtaken even by our learned collector from the antients [7].

From

From the Seteia, advancing twenty miles to the north, Ptolemy goes thirty to the eaſt, to the æſtuary Beliſama. This is plainly the Merſey; becauſe Beliſama is at the diſtance of the Merſey from the Dee; and becauſe ſuch a conſiderable object as the Merſey could not be overlooked any more than the Dee. And thus far we are certain of our concluſions.

But the Geographer, ranging along the coaſt of Lancaſhire for twenty-five miles from the Merſey, turns with the turning ſhore, and goes ten miles to the weſt, to the harbour of the Siſtuntii. This ſufficiently argues the harbour not to be at the mouth of the Merſey. And this equally argues it not to be at the mouth of the Lune. The former is evidently too ſoutherly for it, and the latter is as evidently too northerly. Twenty-five miles to the north of the Merſey can carry us only to one place convenient for an harbour, the mouth of the Ribble. All our harbours at that period muſt have been the natural ports which are formed by the openings of rivers. And the opening of the Ribble muſt neceſſarily have been the next great particular after the Merſey which muſt have challenged the notice of the coaſting Geographer; as, like the Dee and the Merſey, it is clearly too conſiderable an object to be either miſſed by inattention or omitted by deſign. Here Ptolemy has undoubtedly fixed the harbour. And here the courſe of Richard's Itinerary and the preſent remains of antiquity concur to fix the ſtation *.

Upon Fullwood-moor, near Preſton, appear the evident remains of a Roman road, which is popularly denominated the Watling-ſtreet, which ranges from eaſt to weſt, and which tradition aſſerts and traces demonſtrate to have extended acroſs the iſland. Along this therefore, the only Roman road that ſo ranges and

* And thus the immediately ſucceeding æſtuary of Moricambe in Ptolemy, which means The Great Bend or Haven, muſt certainly be the large opening into the land of Lancaſhire which is formed by the ſhores of Lancaſter, Cartmel, Ulverſton, and Walney Iſland, and into which the rivers Ken and Lune diſcharge their waters, as this is the only Great Bend before we come to the æſtuary of Ituna, which is next mentioned by Ptolemy, and which is confeſſedly and clearly the mouth of the Eden.

is ſo extended, muſt the ſeventh Iter of Richard have undoubtedly proceeded. That Iter is thus given us:

A PORTU SISTUNTIORUM
Eboracum uſque ſic;

RERIGONIO	m. p.		23
Ad Alpes Peninos	—	—	8
Alicana	—	—	10
Iſurio	—	—	18
Eboraco	—	—	16.

From the Roman name of the Ribble-mouth, Portus Siſtuntiorum, that æſtuary appears to have been employed by the Romans as an harbour for their veſſels. But it was then a much more conſiderable æſtuary than it is at preſent. This appears ſufficiently from the preference which the Romans gave it before the æſtuaries of the Merſey and the Lune, though it now affords a much worſer harbour than either of them, admits ſhips only at the tide of flood, and even then has only a navigable channel of an hundred yards in breadth. And with this obſervation, as deciſive as it is obvious, agree the preſent appearances of the channel, the popular tradition concerning it, and the more recent diſcoveries about this particular part of it.

From Ribcheſter to the ſea the ſingular margin of the river is formed by a level of ſand, and is bordered by a ſteep bank of earth; the latter of which is evidently the original boundary, and the former as evidently the original ſtrand, of the flowing tide. Thus banked with high lands upon both ſides, the natural channel of the river gradually widens, till at the mouth it even opens into the ample extent of eight or nine miles in breadth. At ſuch an opening, unobſtructed by the preſent ſands, the tide muſt have entered with a vaſt body of water, and muſt have flowed up even to Ribcheſter. It now reaches within ſix or ſeven miles from this antient village. And that it once actually flowed up to it, is intimated by the popular tradition which aſſerts the river to have been formerly navigated, and is evident from the many anchors

anchors rings and nails of ſmall veſſels that have been diſcovered near the extenſive area of the church *. Theſe indeed may be ſuppoſed to have been wrought at a Roman foundery there, and to have been afterwards tranſported by land to the veſſels at the Ribble-mouth. But ſuch a ſuppoſition would be as abſurd in itſelf as it would be unſupported by evidence. The ſite of Ribcheſter has no mines of iron in its neighbourhood. Every ſite had then a ſufficiency of fuel around it. And the trouble of the conveyance and the expence of the carriage would be equally great and ſuperfluous. Theſe anchors rings and nails muſt have belonged to the veſſels of the garriſon; and the large ſtill-remaining cut upon the weſtern ſide of the church-yard does plainly confirm it. That cut extends for two hundred yards from the river to the north, and is for part of its extent three or four yards in depth and eight or nine in breadth. It could never have been deſigned for a military foſſe, becauſe it has no foſſes or veſtiges of foſſes at all correſponding with it. It could have been deſigned only for the dock of the garriſon, as the channel of it falls with a gradual deſcent to the river. It was clearly a ſlip by which at high water a new boat was launched into the river, or an old boat brought up from it for reparation. The ground adjoining to it on the eaſt muſt have been originally the dock-yard of the town. The veſſels muſt have ordinarily lain in the river moored to the banks by rings. And theſe muſt have been the many flats and barges in which the Romans made voyages upon the river, warping up the channel with the tide, and laden with the contents of the ſhips that lay at anchor in the harbour *.

Thus plainly does the Ribble appear to have been navigated by the Romans from the mouth of its current to the town of Ribcheſter. Thus plainly does the tide appear to have flowed up the channel of the river to the ſite of the town, covering all the rocks in its channel and all the ſandy meadows and ſoft marſhes on its margin, and being bounded only by the natural limits of its lofty banks. And the great difference which now appears in the flow of the tide could never have been occaſioned

by

by the preſſure of the interior ocean, as the Romans denominated St. George's Channel [o], and by the gradual ſettlement of the ſands at the mouth of the river. Had the difference been thus occaſioned, the Merſey upon one ſide and the Lune upon the other muſt have partaken of the ſame fate, and have been blocked up with the ſame ſands. It muſt have been produced by a cauſe as partial as the effects appear to be, and confined, like them, to the ſtream of the Ribble. And tradition, the faithful preſerver of many a fact which hiſtory has overlooked or forgotten, ſpeaks confidently of ſuch a cauſe, aſcribing the final ruin of Ribcheſter to the overwhelming violence of an earthquake. Such a cauſe without doubt muſt have originally changed the nature of this once the moſt remarkable æſtuary within the county, and have thrown up that large and broad barrier of ſand which croſſes the opening of it, almoſt choaks up the inlet of the tide into it, and contracts the original breadth of the navigable channel from its majeſtic extent of eight or nine miles to the narrow ſpan of an hundred yards.

Such was the æſtuary of the Ribble when it was employed as an harbour by the Romans. And from the great ſingularity of the name which the Romans conferred upon it, THE HARBOUR OF LANCASHIRE, it appears to have been the only river in the county which was employed as an harbour by them. Paſſing through the center of the Siſtuntian country, and opening with the largeſt mouth into the ſea, the Romans naturally preferred it to the Merſey or the Lune, and made it the one port for the county of Lancaſter. And here they ſhipped off the commodities of Lancaſhire, its cattle and its hides, its neat baſkets and its large hunting-dogs, as the Romans of Italy were particularly fond of both the latter, and imported the commodities of Gaul and the dreſſes of Italy [p].

The ſtation which was called by the ſame appellation of the Siſtuntian Harbour was certainly erected upon the margin of it, and conſequently within the mouth of the preſent Ribble. And we ſhall not wander long in the ſearch of its ſite. It muſt have been at the termination of the above-mentioned road, as the

the line of that road is directed acroſs Fullwood-Moor to the weſt. But the line can never be carried to the actual mouth of the Ribble. This line muſt abut ſomewhere upon the channel at the diſtance of ſeveral miles from the mouth. And in fact it points fully towards the famous Neb of the Neſe, the extremity of the noſe or high promontory of land which projects into the courſe of the channel. Near the concluſion of that part of the way which is denominated Watling-ſtreet, looking along the track of the proceeding road to the weſt, in a clear day one ſees the Neb of the Neſe directly in a line beyond it.

And the ſpecified diſtances in the Itinerary concur exactly with the direction of the road. Thus, as Rerigonium is obviouſly Ribcheſter, the ſpecified diſtance from the harbour of the Siſtuntians to the ſtation of Ribcheſter is 23 Roman or about 21 ½ Engliſh miles. This diſtance neceſſarily carries us from the mouth of the river, and leads us up the winding channel of it. Thus advancing, about ten miles from the mouth we come to the above-mentioned Neb of the Neſe on the left. This is about nine miles from Preſton by the level track of the Marſhes, and about eleven by the circuit of the higher grounds; as Preſton is about twelve miles from Ribcheſter. This, in the line which the Roman road muſt have taken, keeping the higher ground, but not curving on the right to reach Preſton and not making a return on the left to recover the line, muſt have been about twenty-one from Ribcheſter, and is therefore exactly at the requiſite diſtance from it.

Thus do theſe two arguments concur to fix the Roman ſtation about a mile to the weſt of Freckleton and at the well-known Neb of the Neſe. And here is even now a pretty commodious harbour. Here the Ribble forms a large half-moon facing the ſouth, and receiving a ſmall back-water into it from the north. Here the Ribble is ſecured from the violence of the winds by the high lands which ſkirt it, is ſcreened from the violence of the tide by the projection of the Neſs, and has even now a breadth of a quarter of a mile and a depth of fifteen feet

upon the ebb. And here is even now the little harbour of Preſton, a large warehouſe being erected upon a mole in the channel, and ſeveral veſſels coming to it from London from Wales and from Ireland.

On the high lands of the Neſs then muſt have been the Roman ſtation which guarded the harbour of the Ribble. And on the very Neb, the ſharp extremity of theſe high lands, muſt the ſtation have actually ſtood, as there the lofty banks of the Neſs would form a ſufficient barrier upon three ſides. But though the name is retained, the Neb has been long waſhed away. This appears at once upon an attentive ſurvey of the land which is the weſtern horn, as the high ground at the mouth of the Savok is the eaſtern, of the large ſemicircle of riſing grounds that curves along the channel of the river. The weſtern horn has certainly no Neb exiſting at preſent, the land at the Neſs running nearly in a right line from eaſt to weſt. And this equally appears from the ravages which the water has here made upon the banks. That conſpicuous point which is ſtill denominated the Neb of the Neſs has loſt nearly two ſtatute-acres of ground within theſe forty years, and from the broken mouldering condition of the banks both on the eaſt and ſouth appears to be loſing every day. As the Roman ſtation therefore muſt have been upon the extremity of this promontory, the ſite of it and all its remains muſt have long melted away into the channel below. Upon that ſite, ſecured by its natural banks of fifteen or twenty yards in height upon three ſides, and defended by a ditch upon the fourth, it muſt have fully commanded the courſe of the Ribble, which then perhaps did not at low water ſpread out a long beach of gravel on the north-weſt, which certainly as now winded round the weſt and the ſouth, and which extended into a ſafe and ample harbour on the eaſt.

From this ſtation a road goes away directly along the high grounds, and is viſible (as I have mentioned before) upon Fullwood-Moor, leaving the town of Preſton about a mile on the right. It croſſes the preſent road to Lancaſter juſt before the latter makes an angle to leave the Moor. And going viſibly along

along the Moor for a quarter of a mile, it then aſſumes the name of Watling-ſtreet, and retains it for a whole mile, appearing at firſt merely a ſharp broken ridge, afterwards widening, and at laſt riſing two or three feet above the natural ſoil and ſpreading fourteen and twenty yards in breadth. And it terminates with the Moor in a large blunted ridge at the hedge of the cloſes, pointing fully to the village of Ribcheſter, and ending at Anchor-Hill near the town [14].

The name of this ſtation and of the previous Britiſh town is compounded of the Britiſh words RE RIGON, denoting the peculiar ſite of both, and ſignifying to the north of the current. Re in its primary import ſignifies the particular poſition Before; and Is, Below, is the regular term of oppoſition to it. Thus Yorkſhire as well as Lancaſhire having been firſt inhabited from the ſouth, the two towns which were raiſed upon the ſites of Ribcheſter and Aldborough aſſumed the names of Rerigonium and Iſurium. The former received its appellation, not merely, as Mr. Baxter ſuppoſes of other towns that are ſimilarly denominated, becauſe it was upon the banks of the Ribble, but becauſe it was Before or to the north of that river. The latter received its appellation, not, as Dr. Gale fancies, becauſe the Ure deſcends at Aldborough into the lower grounds, but becauſe Aldborough was ſituated Below or to the ſouth of the Ure [15]. And Rigon is the plural of Rig a flow, and, like Avon the plural of Av Water, ſignifies a ſtream or current.

The channel of the Ribble appears to have always formed a curve at this place, which did not as now face the ſouthern bank, but opened directly upon the northern. This is evident from the nature and circumſtances of the northern bank. Great have been the encroachments which the Ribble has made upon the bank of the town within theſe ſixty years only. One whole ſtreet of houſes and a range of orchards and gardens have been carried away by the ſtream. The earth daily crumbles and falls into the channel. And the church itſelf, raiſed as it is upon a lofty bank and placed at a little diſtance from the margin of it, is likely to be ſwept away in ſixty years more. But while this

has been the caſe with the bolder bank of the town, the ground immediately to the eaſt of it, too low to have been ever ravaged by the floods, muſt now extend as far as it ever extended into the channel, and the lively brook betwixt both muſt have always fallen into the Ribble at the point of its preſent conjunction with it. The Ribble, paſſing over the Roman ford at the bridge and running directly under the ſouthern bank, is thrown by a ſhelve of it directly againſt the ſite of the town, and joins the lively brook exactly at the point where the lofty bank of the town commences. In this the original diſpoſition of the current, every projection of the northern bank beyond the immediate line of the conjunction muſt have formed a curve in the channel, and the Ribble muſt even within theſe hundred years have curved facing to the northern bank. The large cut that is carried from Anchor-Hill to the river, by its continuance even at preſent no leſs than thirty or forty yards more ſoutherly than the above-mentioned line of conjunction, abſolutely demonſtrates the bank to have extended as many yards at leaſt to the ſouth of the line. And the great devaſtation which the current has made upon the bank of the town within theſe ſixty years ſufficiently proves the projection to have been much more conſiderable originally. The bold bank of Ribcheſter muſt have actually come forward ſo far into the valley, as to range in a ſtraight line with the headland immediately below the town, which now puſhes itſelf a conſiderable way into the valley, and remains a ſtriking ſignature of the original projection of the whole. A projection, which till theſe ſixty years had withſtood the waſteful fury of a rapid current directly beating upon it for a long ſucceſſion of ages, muſt have been originally continued with the continuing headland more than half way over the valley. And the Ribble, puſhing its ſtream immediately againſt the baſe of the large projection, was conſtrained to carry its broken waters all along the eaſtern and all along the ſouthern ſides of it, in order to reach the channel in which it now moves immediately below the town.

Upon this great angular curve in the current of the Ribble and

and at the ſouth-eaſterly point of the whole projection, upon the extremity of a bank that ſlopes gently in one regular decline from the neighbouring hills to the channel of the river, muſt the Siſtuntian Britons have placed the town of Rerigonium. The river was a natural barrier upon two ſides. A foſſe undoubtedly ran acroſs the iſthmus. And a great foreſt ſwept extenſively round it upon all *.

Such was the ſite of Rerigonium in the time of the Britons. And ſuch was it in the time of the Romans alſo. What originally changed the nature of the ſite, tore away the angular projection of the ground, and opened a way for the river to gain as much upon the bank as the bank had before uſurped upon the river, it may ſeem impoſſible to aſcertain at this diſtant period of time. But, as I have mentioned above, the popular tradition refers the deſtruction of the town to the ravages of an earthquake. And ſuch an awful convulſion muſt have certainly been the original cauſe, have at once perhaps choaked up the former channel of the river on the eaſt and ſouth by the falling in of the banks, and, loſening the ſoil of the remainder, have rendered it leſs able to bear the whole collected weight of waters that now ruſhed upon it. The more pointed part of the projection perhaps was ſwept away immediately, and the right line of the original bank was left to be gradually preyed upon by the current. And ſince theſe depredations have continued from age to age, the river has acquired new force as it obtained more advantages, all the arts of preventive induſtry have been hitherto ineffectual, and the ſtream bears every day more forcibly upon the ſite of the town.

By this remarkable cataſtrophe in the ſite of Rerigonium the Caer of the Britons and the Caſtrum of the Romans muſt have been totally carried away, and the viſible and inviſible remains of both have been equally buried, where ſome have been actually diſcovered, under the level bed of ſands which forms the meadows on the ſouthern ſhore of the Ribble. And, in conſequence of this remarkable cataſtrophe, the river, having formed a deep curving indent into the northern bank, now

winds

winds along the ſunken ſtreets of the Roman-Britiſh town, and now rolls over the levelled remains of the Roman-Britiſh houſes. And, near the foot of the little ſtreet that leads down to the river, has been formerly ſeen in a dry ſummer a long extent of a thick wall, compoſed of regularly ſquared ſtones, and forming evidently the baſis of a great building; as about this part of the river in general whole pillars, broken capitals and baſes, and Roman coins and Roman inſcriptions have been frequently diſcovered within the channel.

From this ſtation, beſides the continued road of this ſeventh Iter, which I ſhall have occaſion to mention hereafter, and among the vicinal roads to Lancaſter to Overborough and to Mancheſter, one paſſes through Whalley and points to Colne [15]. This the Britiſh appellation of the town, this the concurrence of a Roman road from Cambodunum at it, this the voice of tradition and the appellation of Caſter, evince to have been the ſite of a ſtation. The road from Cambodunum ſtretches viſibly over Stainland-Moor, paſſes through the townſhips of Barkiſland and Riſhworth, croſſes the Devil's Cauſeway and the Roman road from Mancheſter to Ilkley [16], and muſt therefore have aſſuredly terminated at Colne. A conſiderable quantity of Roman coins has been diſcovered near Colne, at Wheatley-lane, and by Emmet [17]. And the ſtation muſt have been fixed where tradition fixes it, upon the tall eminence of Caſter-Cliff, and about a mile from the preſent town. There appears the evident ſkeleton of a Roman ſtation at preſent, a regular vallum encircled by a regular foſſe. And, ſtanding on the ſummit of a lofty cliff, it commands a very extenſive view of the country around it [18].

This ſtation appears plainly from the preſent name of the town to have been diſtinguiſhed by the Britiſh appellation of Colania among the Romans. The Britiſh name of the town could have reſulted only from the Britiſh name of the ſtation. And accordingly we find the anonymous Chorography placing ſuch a ſtation among theſe hills; mentioning it next to one which was certainly among them, the Cambodunum of Antonines, and giving it in different MSS. the different names of Calunium and Cola-

Colanea [v]. This name of the ſtation muſt have been derived from the ſame name of the river upon which it was erected, and which is now denominated Colne Water. And the river muſt have enjoyed the name in common with many others in the iſland, particularly the Colne of Colcheſter, and the Colne of St. Albans Uxbridge and Colnebrooke. Nor were the names of theſe latter rivers derived, as has been frequently ſuppoſed [w], from the Roman colony of Camulodunum on the one and of Verulamium upon the other. The names were given, not only to theſe rivers which once had colonies upon them, but alſo to ſeveral others which never had any at all, as to our own in Lancaſhire, to the Colne of Glouceſterſhire, and to the Calne of Wiltſhire. And the names of all are derived from the Britiſh language, Col-aun in that language ſignifying the narrow river. Thus we have the river Cole at Coleſhill in Warwickſhere, Caldes Cal-dur or Narrow Water in Yorkſhire and Lancaſhire, the river Colamon near the iſthmus of Scotland, the river Collan within the county of Kilkenny in Ireland, and the river Colun or Clun within the county of Shrewſbury in England; Amon or Avon being changed into Aun An or Un, as A-Lug-Amon is ſoftened into Alauna into Lan and into Lun, the varying appellation of the ſame river within our own county. And thus the Colaun of Glouceſterſhire Wiltſhire and Lancaſhire was gradually abbreviated into Colne, juſt as the ſame Alauna has been abbreviated into Aln in the Warwickſhire Alnecester or Alceſter [x].

[v] See the ſame in another Roman road, Horſeley p. 451.— [w] Phil. Tranſ. vol. XLVII. p. 228.— [x] Dr. Stukeley upon Richard p. 50, 68, and 88.— [1] B. I. ch. iv. ſ. 3.— [2] P. 23.— [3] Richard's Iter 1. and Antonine's Iter 11.— [4] P. 27. Richard calls the Merſey, and not the Dee, Seteia. And ſo likewiſe in his Map. The etymology of this name is nothing more than Se and Teia or Deia, The Dee (ſee b. I. ch. vii. ſ. 4. a Note), as the Britons of Anandale are called equally Elgovæ and Selgovæ by

the ſame Ptolemy, &c. — [8] Leigh's N. H. of Lancaſhire b. iii. p. 2. and 6. — [9] Leigh b. iii. p. 2. and 7. unwittingly argues againſt the former navigableneſs of the river by barges, becauſe it could not be navigated by ſhips. And ſee a draught of one of the rings in Tab. I. No. 21. and of one of the nails in No. 24. — [10] Richard p. 21 and 43. — [11] See b. I. ch. ix. ſ. 5. and ch. xi. ſ. 2. — [12] See Leigh b. iii. p. 6. — [13] Baxter in Regulbium and Robogdium, and Gale in Iſurium. Thus Cæſar ſpeaks of the *Southern* or *Inferiour* point of Britain (p. 89.), and Ptolemy conſtantly uſes the prepoſition ὑπὸ or under to ſignify the ſouth and ὑπὲρ or above to indicate the north. — [14] This foreſt is deſcribed in an old boundary-record as two in name and one in effect, beginning at the bridge of the Ribble, going to Steop-clough, betwixt Ribcheſter and Haderſal,—betwixt Chippin and Goſnaig, —to the water of Lond or Laund—by the demeſne of Hornby —to the waters of the Lone or Lune—and the current of the Ken or Kent, down the Kent to the ſea, along the coaſt of the ſea to the foot of the Wire—and of the Ribble, and up the Ribble to Ribble-bridge.—A verdict of 9 Hen. III. p. 237. of Kuerden, folio, a MS. in the library at Mancheſter Arch. A. 18, 5, and a rude ill-arranged half-illegible Common-place-book for the Antiquities of Lancaſhire. — [15] Mr. Percival in Phil. Tranſ. vol. XLVII. and ſee next ſection. — [16] See b. I. ch. iv. ſ. 1. — [17] Leigh b. iii. p. 10. — [18] This account I received in a letter from the reverend Mr. Wilſon of Colne. — The late biſhop of Carliſle and myſelf were both at Colne very nearly at the ſame time, and both failed of ſucceſs in our ſearches, though the name, the remains, the tradition are all ſo ſtriking. — [19] Gallunium the immediately ſucceeding name in Ravennas has been fondly ſuppoſed to be Whalley (Gale in Ravennas and Percival in Phil. Tranſ.). But none of Ravennas's names can with any propriety be applied to a place till it has been previouſly proved to be a ſtation. Whalley has never been proved, and certainly was not, a ſtation. It has not either of the two only determinate ſignatures of a ſtation, the Roman appellation of Caſter or the concurrence of Roman roads at it. And Gallunium indeed

is nothing elſe (I apprehend) than a repetition of the ſame name, Calunium and Gallunium being evidently the ſame word. And ſuch repetitions are not uncommon in this inaccurate Chorography. — [10] Particularly by Leigh by Gibſon and by Baxter. — [11] Oſſian's Poems vol. II. p. 219, Camden's Ireland c. 1354 and Shropſhire c. 646, and Richard Iter 14. One of the two rivers at Alceſter is ſtill called the Alne, and the town which now ſtands upon the Arrow formerly ſtood upon the Alne: See Leland vol. IV. p. 54. Hearne.

In the volume publiſhed this winter by the Antiquarian Society of London we have the two Lancaſhire antiquarians, Mr. Watſon and Mr. Percival, very buſily employed, as Mr. Percival had been employed before in the Phil. Tranſ. vol. XLVII, in fixing a Roman ſtation at the town of Bury and about nine ſtatute-miles from Mancheſter. But the one great reaſon adduced by both is ſurely very incompetent to the occaſion. The name of Bury, ſays Mr. Watſon p. 69, denotes it to have been Roman; and Mr. Percival had aſſerted the ſame before (Phil. Tranſ. vol. XLVII). Mr. Percival may ſtand excuſed for the aſſertion. He knew too little of the Saxon language to be capable of judging. But what ſhall I ſay for my learned friend, a critic in the language? Bury certainly carries no Roman ſignature at all with it. Bury merely ſignifies in the Saxon either a caſtle or a market-town. And "the viſible marks of a ſtation" which Mr. Watſon and Mr. Percival imagine themſelves to have diſcovered at Bury (Archæologia p. 69. and Phil. Tranſ. vol. XLVII) are merely the relicks of a more modern caſtle. This is actually mentioned in our Mancunian records; and tradition derives all the ſtones of the preſent church from it. And this actually lies more than a mile to the right of the road to Ribcheſter. The not attending to the one only determinate character of a ſtation, the Roman appellation of Caſter at the place or the coincidence of Roman roads at the point, has ſtrangely ſeduced the generality of our antiquarians into a wilderneſs of error. And upon the application of this uſeful teſt we ſee Bury, Blackburne (Archæ-

ologia, Mr. Percival's Eſſay, p. 64), and a thouſand other ſtations, all inſtantly vaniſh,

And, like the baſeleſs fabrick of a viſion,
Leave not a wreck behind.

II.

ANOTHER road of the Romans appears to have been laid from the ſtation of Mancunium, and to have proceeded into Yorkſhire. Branching probably from the road to Cambodunum about Ancoates-lane, and traverſing the townſhip of Mancheſter obliquely, it muſt have paſſed through Street-fold in Moſton, by Street-bridge in Chatherton, and by Street-yate in Ryton, and pointed evidently for Littleborough Blackſtone-Edge and Ilkley. Theſe three appellations of Street very clearly aſcertain the general direction of its courſe, and ſufficiently ſupply the abſolute want of any actual remains, or even of any traditional notices concerning it.

Leaving Street-fold and the pariſh, the road muſt have proceeded by Street-bridge and Street-yate, and was lately dug up near Rochdale. About a quarter of a mile to the right of the town and near the road from Oldham to it, the way was cut through in making a marle-pit, and appeared ſeveral yards in breadth and deeply gravelled. And upon Blackſtone-Edge it is interſected, as I have mentioned before [1], by the road from Cambodunum to Colania. Having croſſed the edge, it ranges nearly from north to ſouth, being diſcovered in this direction along the eaſtern ſide of theſe mountains. Leaving Halifax conſiderably on the right, and Ellinworth only a little on the left, the line paſſes through Dinham Park, running a good way to the weſt of Bradford and a little to the weſt of Cullingworth. Betwixt Hainworth and Cullingworth the road is viſible, a paved way more than twelve feet broad and neatly ſet with the ſtones of the country. It appears in ſeveral places upon Harding or Haeden Moor, croſſing the height of the moor, and pointing upon the

Moor-

Moor-house above Morton, and is again visible upon Rumbles Moor [2]. Upon the broad extent of this waste wilderness, it appears (as I am informed) a raised paved road overgrown with turf, keeping upon the shelve of the hills to avoid the cliffs upon one side and the morasses on the other, and pointing directly beyond the high steep rocky mound of the moor to the gay valley of the Wherf and the little town of Ilkley within it.

The town of Olicana or Alicana is utterly unnoticed by Antoninus, but is mentioned equally by Ptolemy and by Richard. The present remains at Ilkley evince it to have been a stationary town. And the seventh Iter of Richard argues it to have been denominated Alicana. It lies at the distance of more than forty miles from Manchester, but had probably, as I shall shew hereafter, a lesser station about the mid-way betwixt both [3].

The town of Ilkley is placed upon the great post-road that runs from Kendal to York, but is almost barred up by trackless wastes and impracticable roads upon every other quarter. The town of Ilkley lies snug in the hollow of a valley, mean dirty and insignificant, known only to the antiquarian for some curious inscriptions that have been discovered at it, and to the invalid for a fine spring of mineral water that has been found about a mile from it. It was more remarkable formerly, but seems not to have been ever considerable. It stands upon an agreeable site, having a gentle descent to the north, and the Wherf flowing briskly in the front of it. This river, one of the three great streams by which the West-Riding of Yorkshire is so usefully watered for cultivation and so beneficially divided for commerce, rises among the hills a little to the west of the town, and washes the gentle eminence upon which it is erected. This river, very different from the Air, and remarkably swift in its course, received from the Britons an appellation directly the reverse of the Air's, and was denominated Ger-ab Ger-ay or the eager water, a name in popular pronunciation contracted into Gerb Verb Guerf or Wherf [4]. And this river, remarkably beautiful in its appearance, was particularly formed into a divinity by the Britons, and a large handsome altar has been found near the bank of it

conſecrated by a Roman officer to Verb-eia the Goddeſs-Nymph of the current [5].

In this village center ſeveral roads of the Romans. The road which comes from Mancunium and appears upom Rumbles Moor is found again upon Middleton and Blueburgh-houſe Moors beyond the town, paved, like that, with ſtones uncommonly large, and edged, like that, with ſtill larger, and points, I ſuppoſe, to Catarick. Another road ſtretches over the hills from the weſt, and is evidently the ſame which is traverſed by the ſeventh Iter of Richard. This road is traceable for three miles together from Ilkley, and then appears very conſpicuous for a whole mile, lying upon a large moor in the townſhip of Old Addingham, parallel with and a few yards to the ſouth of the preſent road to Skipton, and croſſed nearly at right angles by the turning road to Colne, which falls afterwards into another road nearly parallel with both though a good deal more ſoutherly than either. And from all this line of the road it appears demonſtrably not to have been directed to Colne at all. It plainly points ſome miles to the north of Colne and ſome to the ſouth of Skipton, and bears undoubtedly upon Broughton, a ſmall village in Yorkſhire about ſix ſtatute-miles to the north of Colne and four or five to the ſouth-weſt of Skipton, and lyes upon the bank of a ſmall current in a valley. And Broughton muſt certainly have been the ſtation which is here denominated in Richard Ad Alpes Peninos. The whole range of hills which runs from Derbyſhire into Scotland was naturally denominated by the Britons, as a part of the mountains of Switſerland is denominated to the preſent day, Alp Penin, the Penine or Apennine Alps, the high heads or the lofty hills [6]. And this part of the range in ſome meaſure retains the general appellation to the preſent period, an high abrupt peak to the ſouth-weſt being ſtill denominated Pen-hull Pendle or the head-height, a large lofty moor ſtill nearer to Broughton being called Pen-how Pennow, or the head-hill, and a great high mountain a little to the north of Broughton being ſtill named Peni-guent Penigent or the principal head [7]. And the road from Broughton, like the ſeventh Iter of Richard, is carried

ried through Alicana to Furium. Stealing acroſs the fields near Ilkley, it traverſes Banks's Croft, croſſes the lane leading to the church from Bradford and Halifax and denominated the Town-gate, enters the Scafe-Croft, and has been found among the incloſures for nearly a mile, pointing evidently to the town of Aldborough [s].

Thus deciſively is Ilkley evinced to have been a ſtation of the Romans. And the ſtationary area may be aſcertained with equal deciſiveneſs. It is pointed out by the appellation of Caſtle-hill, by the nature of the ſite, and by the remains of the Roman vallum. The ſite is admirably defended by the Wherf in front and by two brooks at the ſides. The Wherf glides along the northern front of it, a very narrow level of boggy ground ranges betwixt the river and that, and the area looks down upon both from a ſteep brow of twenty-five or thirty yards in height. The weſtern brook has had half its waters diverted into another channel, muſt before have flowed a very lively current, and gave additional ſtrength to a brow naturally ſteep and riſing about twelve or fifteen yards above it. The eaſtern brook is remarkably briſk, and runs about twenty yards below the creſt of the brow. And both of them diſcharge their waters into the Wherf a few yards below the ſtation. The whole area was about a hundred yards by a hundred and ſixty, the northern barrier (I ſuppoſe) ranging along the line of the preſent lane, and parallel with and about twenty yards to the north of the Roman road from Broughton to Aldborough. The whole extent of the area contained about four acres of ground, encompaſſing a building called The Caſtle, and including the church and its area. And the vallum of the ſtation preſents itſelf to the eye at the north-weſtern angle, and is eaſily diſcovered under the turf along the whole compaſs of the brows, being the rough ſable flag-ſtones of the country cemented together with indiſſoluble mortar. The nature of the ground muſt originally have given denomination to the fortreſs. Being ſeated upon the level of an eminence, it naturally received the appellation of Alicana Al-i-can or the fortreſs upon the height [t].

The

The town was conſtructed very near to the ſtation and along the courſe of the road from Broughton, in Banks's Croft, Scafe-Croft, and ſome adjoining cloſes. There fragments of bricks remarkably red have been frequently dug up, and there the foundations of houſes remain very viſible at preſent. No new inſcriptions have been lately diſcovered. But many old inſcriptions have in all probability been buried within the walls of the preſent church. A ſtone appears actually built up in the ſouth-eaſtern corner of the building, and exhibits an inſcription once copied by Camden and by Horſeley, but now abſolutely illegible, upon the outer plane of it [m]. And on the northern ſide of the belfrey within is a couple of ſtones, one of which was certainly a Roman altar, a patera appearing embоſſed upon the edge of the ſtone, and the other is charged with a woman wearing a large peaked bonnet on her head, and graſping a ſnake in either hand, which riſe erect over each ſhoulder, and lift their head conſiderably above it [n].

[l] B. I. ch. iv. ſect. 1. and ch. v. ſect. 1.—[m] Dr. Richardſon in Leland's Itin. Hearne Vol. IX. p. 146. and Mr. Angier in Horſeley p. 413. Mr. Horſeley p. 373 has miſtakenly carried this road ſouth as far as the Roman road from Tadcaſter to Mancheſter.—[n] Richard's ſeventh Iter, Rerigonium, Ad Alpes Peninos, Alicana, Iſurium. And ſee B. I. ch. vi. ſect. 2.—[o] See Camden p. 567.—[p] Camden p. 568.—[q] Richard p. 27. And in Montfaucon's Antiquite Expliquee tom. II. p. 419. is an Alpine Inſcription to Jupiter by the title of Deo Pennino Optimo Maximo.—[r] So Pendleton and Pendlebury near Mancheſter are written in all our old records Pen-hull-ton and Pen-hull-bury. So Pendleton near Clitherow is called Penhulton in an antient record of Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 789. And another eminence not far from Penigent and in Wenſley-dale is alſo called Pen-hill.—[s] See alſo Gale p. 17. Horſeley p. 373. and Richard's ſeventh Iter for this road.—[t] Al. for Ar. Upon: See Baxter in Ibelnium and Lhuyd in p. 32. Hence Alicana and Ariconium are the ſame in import. The ſpecified diſtances in the ſeventh Iter from Rerigonium to

Ad

Ad Alpes Peninos and to Alicana are certainly corrupted. Only eighteen horizontal Roman miles or about twenty-one Engliſh road miles are given us betwixt Ribcheſter and Ilkley, when the real diſtance by Colne or by Broughton muſt meaſure nearly forty.—" See Camden p. 568, and Horſeley in Yorkſhire Inſcriptions, Ilkley. — " It is ſurprizing that theſe monuments eſcaped the notice of Camden, who particularly examined the inſide of the church for Roman remains (p. 569). And at Brough in Derbyſhire (ſee Appendix N°. I. Iter 18) I ſaw a ſtone exhibiting a ſomewhat ſimilar figure, a large rough ſtone having been diſcovered in a field a little diſtant from the Grit-ſtone water, and then lying in one of the hedges, which in the bending hollow of one ſide exhibited the half-length of a woman croſſing her hands upon her breaſt and wearing a large peaked bonnet on her head. But there were no ſnakes.

III

IT has never been ſuppoſed by the antiquarians that the Romans had a ſtation at Buxton. That they had a bath is confeſſed by the criticks and demonſtrated by the remains. And aſſuredly they could not have had the one without the other. The one muſt aſſuredly have been erected by the garriſon of the other. In theſe the wildeſt parts of the wildeſt region in England, covered as they muſt all have been by the impenetrable frith or foreſt that gave denomination to Chapel-a-Frith on one ſide of Buxton, the neighbourhood of a garriſon only could have cauſed the medicinal virtues of theſe little ſprings to be even known to the Romans. In theſe the wildeſt parts of the wildeſt region in England, peopled as they muſt then have been by the beaſts that gave denomination to the Wolf-hunters at Wormhill on another ſide of Buxton, the neighbourhood of a ſtation only could have cauſed theſe waters, after they were known, to be collected into a reſervoir and to be covered with a building.

The

The Romans therefore had certainly a ſtation at Buxton. And this is equally demonſtrated by the concurrence of Roman roads at it. One proceeds to it from Mancheſter; another courſes to it over the Moors from Brough; a third advances to it by Street in the vicinity of Goithead; and a fourth ſtretches towards it by Middle-ſtreet and Over-ſtreet in the road to Braſſington. And the ſtation muſt certainly have been contiguous to the Bath. The latter, as I ſhall ſoon evince, was cloſe to St. Anne's Well and at the bottom of the hill. The former muſt therefore have been immediately above it and along the plane of the hill. And this ſite is naturally defended by a high ſteep ſlope upon two ſides and the little Wye clamouring at the foot of it.

The Roman road from Brough is popularly denominated the Batham-Gate, appears a long ſtraight ſtreak of green upon the heath about four miles from Brough, and puſhes by Smalldale-Fold to Buxton [1]. The Roman road from Braſſington runs long and broad over Braſſington-Moor for ſeveral miles together, giving denomination to Over-ſtreet a little on this ſide of Hurdlow and to Middle-ſtreet a little beyond it. And the road from our own to this ſtation commenced at the eaſtern extremity of the Caſtle-field and betwixt the roads of Kinderton and of Slack. Croſſing the preſent highway, it entered the oppoſite fields, and ſlanted along them, not in a direct line for Stockport, but at firſt in a direction for Garret-lane, then in another for the Medlock, and afterwards in another for the Cornebrook. This was plainly the original courſe of the road, as the nature of the ground and the direction of the road in Longſight ſufficiently ſhew.

Paſſing along the left hand of Gathernes-Field, and croſſing the brook beyond it, the Roman road muſt have mounted the little eminence of Calley-Banks, and have continued upon the edge of it into Garret-lane. This was the courſe of a public road even within the preſent century; and therefore no appearances of the Roman conſtruction can be expected along it. In Garret-lane, having obtained a proper line for the ford over the Medlock, the Roman road muſt have made a conſiderable angle, have winded along the gentle deſcent to Garret-Hall, have left Garret-

Garret-Bridge immediately on the right, and have paſſed along the margin of the Medlock. But the curved channel of the river interſecting the courſe of the road, the latter muſt have croſſed the former at the Old Ford, as this paſſage over the river is ſtill denominated. And all this line of the road continues in ſome meaſure and for part of its courſe a public way to the preſent moment.

The Roman road muſt now have deſerted the lane, have entered the left-hand fields, have reached the narrow channel of the Cornebrook and the courſe of the preſent road at the bridge, and have fallen into the commencing line of Longſight. The whole range of the preſent road to Stockport from the ſecond mile-ſtone to the bank of the Merſey is popularly denominated High-ſtreet, and thereby ſufficiently evinces itſelf to be Roman. And the firſt half-mile of it, being remarkably direct, has obtained the particular and ſignificative appellation of Longſight. Thus, paſſing along the preſent highway, muſt the Roman road have croſſed the ford over the Merſey at Stockport. This from the ſharp ſteap, ſtop, or ſteep upon either ſide of it received the appellation of Stopford from the Saxons [4], and was about two hundred yards above the preſent bridge and about ſixty below the conjunction of the Merſey and the Tame. And the road muſt have then mounted the brow of the Caſtle-hill to the level of the market-place, and have traverſed the ſite of the town to Buxton.

The medicinal waters of this village muſt certainly have firſt occaſioned the Romans to form a ſettlement at Buxton in general. The medicinal waters of the Hill muſt as certainly have firſt occaſioned the Romans to fix their ſtationary reſidence upon this part of Buxton in particular. Thus the ſprings that bubbled hot at the foot of the Downs, and trickled in ſmoaky currents along the level of the vale at Bath, attracted the Romans to the one, and ſettled a colony on the other. And had not ſuch a reaſon influenced the Romans, they would neither have fixed a ſtation upon a ſloping hill and a ſingle ſhallow brook at Buxton, nor have planted a colony within the moraſſy hollow of a cloſe

dale and upon the margin of a muddy lethargic current at Bath.

The Romans of Britain carefully marked and collected for uſe the mineral-tinctured ſprings of the iſland, which had rilled on for ages, either utterly unnoticed by the Britons around them, or waſting their liquid treaſures upon the ſolitary waſtes of the country. And the Britons ſoon adopted the cuſtom of their conquerors. They ſaw the Romans among them, in an habitual conformity to their native manners, often laving their bodies in baths: and they ſoon copied the idle refinement. They ſaw the Romans among them, in the injudicious luxury of their native climes, ſtill more injudicious as it was beneath the chilling atmoſphere of Britain, often laving their bodies in Thermæ or hot baths: and they imitated the enervating ſoftneſs. The ſprings that ſteamed as they guſhed from the mixing minerals of our Britiſh hills were collected together into baſons, and the Roman and the Briton ſtewed equally amid the relaxing water[7]. Hence we find the hot baths of Britain mentioned particularly by Boadicea, by Richard, by Ptolemy, and by Antoninus. Hence we ſee ὑδατα θερμα in Ptolemy, Thermæ in Richard, and Aquæ Solis both in Richard and Antoninus, to be all the characteriſtick appellations of our Bath in Somerſetſhire[8]. And hence we meet with Aquæ in Richard as the deſignation equally of Bath and of Wells[9], and Aquæ in Ravennas as the title of a town which lies ſomewhere between Lindum or Lincoln upon the one ſide and Camulodulum or Slack upon the other, and which for the expreſſive particularity of the name is in all probability Buxton[10].

Theſe towns the Britons muſt have probably diſtinguiſhed by the denomination of Batham-Cheſters or the cities of waſhing. And theſe towns the Saxons certainly diſtinguiſhed afterwards by their own kindred appellation of Baths. Thus the Aquæ Solis of the Romans, and our preſent Bath in Somerſetſhire is denominated Bathan-ceſter as early even as the ſixth century[11]. And hence the Roman road which traverſes the Moors from the neighbouring Brough to Buxton[12] is popularly ſtiled Batham-Gate among

among the Peakrills; and even the village of Buxton is as popularly denominated the Bath among all the inferior orders of people in the adjoining counties.

The Roman Bath at Buxton was plainly diſcernible by its ruins a few years ago, and was contiguous to the ſtone-alcove that is now erected over St. Anne's Well. The dimenſions of it were then traceable by the eyes, and the wall of it was covered with a red coat of Roman cement hard as brick and exactly reſembling tile [14]. This muſt have been fed by the ſprings which now feed the great bagnio immediately above, and the overflowings of which ſupply the leſſer bagnio for the poor below. And this, like the former, muſt have been of a blood-warm heat; and muſt therefore have been more congenial to the warmth and more friendly to the health of the human frame, in the general and conſtant uſe of it among the Romans, than the boiling waters of the ſun at Bath.

There appear to have been two nations in Britain diſtinguiſhed by the one denomination of Uiccii, Uices, or Vices. The name of Ic, Uic, or Vic ſignifies a brave people [15]. This therefore was naturally a popular name among the military nations of the Celtæ. Thus we find the Aulerci Eburo-Vices, the Aulerci Branno-Vices, and the Lemo-Vices, in Gaul. And thus we find the Huiccii or Vices and the Ord-Uices or Ordo-Vices in Britain [16].

The Huiccii of Bede are undoubtedly the Jugantes of Tacitus, the appellation of the tribe being Huicc-ii, Guicc-ii, or Jugant-es [17]. Theſe certainly inhabited the whole extent of Worceſterſhire [18], and moſt probably poſſeſſed the whole of Warwickſhire and the north of Glouceſterſhire. And Brannogenium or Worceſter appears from its name to have been their capital. The name is compounded of the two words, Bran or Bren and Genion or Cenion; the latter of which, as I have already ſhewn in our own Mancenion, ſignifies ſimply a fortreſs or town; and the former of which, as muſt neceſſarily be the caſe with a town that is conſtructed in a valley like Worceſter, can import only the principal city [19].

The Ordovices were undoubtedly distinct from the Jugantes, and are actually distinguished from them by Tacitus [20]. The Ordovices were settled at first perhaps immediately to the north of the Jugantes, inhabited only the county of Shrewsbury, and acknowledged Uriconium, Y Ricon Caer, the City of Kings, for their capital. The Ordovices certainly possessed the county of Shrewsbury, the town of Mediolanum, Med Lan, or Fair Fortress in the North of it being particularly ascribed to that nation by Ptolemy and by Richard [21]. And the Ordovices certainly extended their dominions afterwards over all the mountains of North-Wales upon one side, and assuredly carried them over all the woods of Staffordshire on the other, and over all the plains of East-Cheshire to the north of the latter. These plains were certainly not inhabited at first by the Carnabii, that tribe, as I have already evinced, being originally planted upon the banks of the Dee and along the western side of the county. And all these extended regions of North-Wales Staffordshire and East-Cheshire were in all probability first peopled at this period; the spreading numbers of the Ordovices ranging gradually into these solitary countries, and edging closely to the south and east upon the Carnabii of West-Cheshire.

Having thus enlarged their possessions over all the uninhabited districts around them, and their numbers perhaps increasing, the irruptions of war would commence as the range of population was confined. The Ordovices appear accordingly to have attacked the neighbouring Huiotii on the south, to have seized their capital, and to have subdued their country [22]. And being thus masters of North-Wales Shropshire Staffordshire and East-Cheshire, and becoming afterwards the conquerors of Worcestershire Warwickshire and North-Gloucestershire, probably at the former period, more probably at the latter, they assumed or received the distinguishing appellation of Ord-uices or Ordovices, the Great Huiccii or the Honourable Vices.

Such was the widest extended empire of the Ordovices. But such it did not long remain. The Dobuni assailed it on the south, and cut off from it the north of Gloucestershire the south-

ſouth-weſt of Warwickſhire and the whole of Worceſterſhire [23]. The Carnabii attacked it on the north and weſt, and reduced all Shropſhire, all Staffordſhire, nearly all Warwickſhire, the little detached diſtrict of Flintſhire, and the eaſt of Cheſhire [24]. And the Silures marched into the center of their dominions, ſubdued their remaining poſſeſſions in North-Wales, and put a final period to their empire [25].

Theſe were the Britiſh inhabitants of Eaſt-Cheſhire. But the Britiſh inhabitants of Derbyſhire were the Iceni, who under the conduct of their injured princeſs cut ſeventy thouſand of the Romans and Romanized Britons to pieces, and deſtroyed their three towns of Verulam Colcheſter and London [26]. Theſe conſiſted of two diſtinct tribes [27]. One of them was the Proper Iceni, and is denominated Iceni by Antonimus, Cenimagni by Cæſar, Cenomes by Ravennas, and both Cenomanni and Cenimanni by Richard [28]. The genuine and proper name therefore muſt have been Cen-i, Y-cen-i, or Cen-om-es; and the appellations of Cenimagni, Cenimanni, or Cenomanni muſt have been merely accidental and relative [29]. But both denominations were undoubtedly coæval with the firſt ſettlements of the tribe in Britain. And both were undoubtedly derived together with the firſt ſettlers of it from the Cenomanni of Gaul [30].

Several nations of the primitive Britons appear to have retained the names of the ſtates of which they were originally members, and from which they originally migrated in colonies to Britain. Such were the Hedui of Somerſetſhire, deſcended from the Hædui of Gaul, and ſubdued by the Belgæ of Hampſhire. Such were the Bibroces or Rhemi, who were evidently a tribe of the native inhabitants, becauſe they attacked and ſubdued (as I have ſhewed before [31]) the Belgic Regni of the ſouth. Such were the Attrebates, who were as evidently a nation of the genuine Britons, becauſe they actually lay to the north of the Bibroces [32]. Such alſo were the Ancalites, deſcended from the Caletes of Gaul, and clearly the antient natives of the iſland, having both the Attrebates and the Bibroces to the ſouth of them [33]. And ſuch were undoubtedly the Iceni or Cenomanni, being

being certainly the aborigines of the country, as the Belgæ had certainly never penetrated ſo far into the iſland, as the Caſſii, the great enemies of the Belgæ and the conquerors of the Belgic Trinovantes, lay immediately to the ſouth of them, and as they themſelves had under Boadicea deſtroyed the town of London, though it was no colony or municipium like Verulam or Colcheſter, and conſequently was not, like them, inhabited by the Romans, inhabited as it certainly was by the Belgic Trinovantes in particular, and frequented as it certainly was by many of the Belgic traders in general [13].

The other nation of the Iceni is called Coritani by Ptolemy, Corii by Ravennas, and Corii and Coitanni by Richard [14]. The Itineraries of Richard and Ptolemy mention a city belonging to this people and call it Ratis-Corion, exhibiting the name Corii in the poſſeſſive caſe plural, and writing it with the Greek termination Κοριων. And ſome other ſimilar terminations occur in Antoninus and in both; Ptorotone and Cantiopolis in Richard, Catarractoni and Glebon in Richard and Antoninus, and an infinite variety in Ravennas [15]. The name of this nation therefore appears plainly to have been Corii, Coritani, and Coitanni. The laſt appellation of them, which literally ſignifies The Woodlanders, is evidently derived from the Coit-en or woods which more particularly covered the ſurface of their country [16]. And the two others are clearly derived from that one remarkable circumſtance in their condition of which the extreme woodineſs of their country is a ſufficient argument, the fewneſs of their numbers and the inſignificancy of their kingdom. The Corii mean the Little People [17], and Cori-tan imports the country of the Corii. Their large dominions being very nearly one extenſive foreſt, the people muſt have been certainly few and the ſtate muſt have been certainly inſignificant.

Thus denominated, they were originally diſtinct from the Iceni and independent of them [18]. They were ſubject only to their own metropolis and were governed only by their own monarch. Their metropolis is denominated Ratæ in the Itinera of Richard Antoninus and Ravennas, Ragæ in all the copies

* nearly.

nearly of Ptolemy's Geography, and abſolutely and only Ragæ in Richard's Roman deſcription of Roman Britain [39]. The real name therefore muſt be equally Ratæ and Ragæ, the former implying the town to be fixed upon the currents [40], and the latter importing it to be the capital of the kingdom. But, in the great weakneſs of the Coritanian ſtate, the wide-diſperſed inhabitants of the country muſt have been greatly expoſed to the dangers of invaſion, and have lain an eaſy prey to any enterprizing nation about them. Such very particularly were the Iceni upon their ſouthern border. And theſe had accordingly invaded their kingdom and ſubdued it before the coming of the Romans, and had given the mixed expreſſive appellation of Iceni Coritani to the conquered inhabitants of it [41].

[1] Leigh's N. H. b. iii. p. 42. — [2] Camden p. 420. — [3] This road I travelled in the autumn of 1767. — [4] So Lean, Loan — Beald, Bold — Neaght, Nought — Eald, Old — and Sheaw, Show. — [5] See b. I. ch. vi. ſ. 2. — [6] Tacitus Agric. Vit. c. xxi. Paulatimque diſceſſum ad delinimenta vitiorum — Balnea —: idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur. — [7] As early therefore as the year 61 the Romans uſed hot baths in Britain (Dio p. 1007). — [8] Iter 10th of Richard and 14th of Antoninus, and Richard p. 51. — [9] Iter 10th, 11th, and 12th. — [10] So the Roman town which was conſtructed at the hot wells of Provence in France was denominated Aquæ (Aquæ Sextiæ) by the Romans, and is now denominated Aix. And there were certainly ſome medicinal ſprings at Wells as well as at Aix, however thoſe are unnoticed at preſent, as theſe actually were to the preſent century. — [11] Sax. Chron. p. 22. — [12] See Iter 18 in Appendix. — [13] Leigh's N. H. b. iii. p. 42. — [14] The Nat. Hiſt. of Lancaſhire &c. very gravely informs us b. iii. p. 42, That Buxton is mentioned by Lucan. And this wild aſſertion has been carefully copied from him by almoſt all the topographers ſince. — [15] Baxter in Iceni. — [16] Cæſar p. 172, Bede's Eccl. Hiſt. lib. ii. c. 2, Ptolemy, and Tacitus Agric. Vit. c. xviii. — [17] Ann. lib. xii. c. 40. — [18] Bede p. 765, 766, 767, and 769. — [19] Branogena

in

in Richard p. 24. is the ſame with Brannogenion, one having the Roman and the other the Britiſh plural. —[20] Ann. lib. xii. c. 40. and Agric. Vit. c. xviii. —[21] Richard p. 22. —[22] Ptolemy and Richard p. 22. in Brannogenium. —[23] Richard p. 24, Salinæ, Branogena, and Alauna.—[24] Richard p. 24, Etocetum, Banchorium, Uriconium, and Benonæ—and p. 26, Carnabiis vicini Coitanni.—[25] Richard p. 22.—[26] Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 32 and 33.—[27] Richard, p. 26.—[28] Antonine's Iter 9, Cæſar p. 92, and Richard p. 26. and 3d Iter.—[29] So Marco-manni in Cæſar &c.—[30] Cæſar p. 172.—[31] B. I. ch. iii. ſ. 2.—[32] Cæſar p. 172 &c. [33] Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 32 and 33.—See alſo b. I. ch. viii. ſ. 1.—[34] Richard Iter 14. and p. 26.—Coritavi ſtands for Coritani, as Bovium for Banchorium, Calleva for Wallen (or Walling-ford), and Cornoninorum in Ravennas for Cornaviorum.—[35] Richard Iter 4, 9, 10, 14, and 15, and Antoninus Iter 1 and 2. And Ravennas has a number of ſuch words, Ravennatone, Melarnoni, Termonin, Omire, Ardaoneon, Cimetzone, Metambala, Macatonion, Utriconion, &c. See a miſtake therefore in Mr. Pegge's Diſſertation on the Coritani annexed to his Coins of Cunobeline p. 119.—[36] Richard p. 26.—[37] Baxter.—[38] Ptolemy.—[39] Richard Iter 14. and Antoninus Iter 6 and 8, and Richard p. 26 and 36.—[40] A little above the Weſt-Bridge at Leiceſter, ſays Leland, the Sore caſteth out an arm, and ſoon after it cometh in again and maketh one ſtream of Sore. Within this iſle ſtandeth Black Friars. And afterwards at the North-Bridge the Sore breaketh into two arms again, and inſulateth a large meadow. And a little land-brook falleth into one of theſe latter arms. p. 14. vol. I.—[41] Richard p. 26.

IV.

THERE is one more ſtation which was immediately connected with Mancheſter. That is the preſent Warrington. The title of Warrington to the character of a Roman ſtation is proved by the concurrence of three Roman roads at it, one from Condate, another

ther from Coccium, and a third from Mancunium. The approach of the the firſt to Warrington is clearly marked by the name of Stretton and Stretton-chapel betwixt the third and fourth meaſured mile from the town. The Mancunian road muſt have iſſued out of the road from Mancheſter to Blackrode about the termination of Hodge-lane, have paſſed by Eccles, and have ranged through Barton to Warrington. Within the compaſs even of the preſent century, Hodge-lane remained the one great road to Old Trafford and to Mancheſter from this quarter of the country. And near the bridge of Barton the Roman highway has conſigned the appellation of the Streets or the Street-fields to four meadows that range ſucceſſively along the northern margin of the Irwell, at once the memorial of its exiſtence and the indication of its courſe. The laſt muſt have certainly commenced from the ſtation at Blackrode, as the Romans had certainly a ſtation at it, and as it was about the ſtationary diſtance of eighteen Roman miles from Warrington, and muſt have courſed, I ſuppoſe, by Strangeways in the townſhip of Hindley [1]. And juſt beyond the village of Aſhton and cloſe to the hall of Haydock, on a ſlight deviation of the preſent road to the right, it very plainly appears. Entering the paddock at a large aſh, it continues along it about ſix hundred yards, and then regains the rectified line of the preſent road. Running about three hundred yards along the edge of the paddock, it croſſes the back-avenue to the houſe, and is levelled to admit the plane of it. About three hundred yards of the road are very perfect, and an hundred and fifty in the middle almoſt as perfect as they were originally. For theſe hundred and fifty yards the road is ſtill very fairly rounded, and has a ſharp ſlope of nine or ten yards on either ſide from the crown to the borders.

All theſe roads muſt have met at the old ford over the Merſey. There the northern and ſouthern road always met, and there was always the way into the town from Cheſhire, even to the days of our Seventh Henry and the erection of the preſent bridge. And the above-mentioned Stretton, which points out the courſe of the ſouthern road near Warrington, lies di-

rectly in the line betwixt the old ford and the angle that the road now forms in order to reach the bridge. Here therefore, juſt upon the ford of the Merſey, was a Roman ſtation, though equally overlooked by antiquarians and forgotten by tradition.

The ford was at the extremity of ſome flat paſtures, and led directly into a village which from it is denominated Latchford. It was formed by a ſhoal of gravel upon a bed of marle, was about thirty yards in width, and had frequently in a dry ſummer not more than two feet of water upon it. And the road of acceſs to it was by the lane at the angle of Church-ſtreet, acroſs the level fields which are called the Broad-howley or Low-grounds, and along the margin of the river. Juſt at this ford the wildly varying hand of nature had planted one of the moſt remarkable ſites for a fortreſs that imagination can conceive. Immediately below the preſent dam of the river, the current proceeding haſtily to the ſouth-weſt was ſuddenly diverted to the eaſt, but, ſoon afterwards turning to the ſouth, was ſoon compelled to flow directly over the old ford to the weſt; thus concluding the beautiful curve within a few yards from its commencement. And within the compaſs of this curve, I apprehend, muſt have been the ſtation of the Romans. This its vicinity to the river, this its poſition upon the ford, this the remarkable defenſibility of its ſite, all concur to evince. And this the nature of the ground contiguous ſufficiently demonſtrates of itſelf, as the curve is abſolutely the only defenſible ground that is at all in the neighbourhood of the river and the ford.

Upon a ſtream whoſe largeneſs has made it frequently the boundary of kingdoms, and whoſe rapidity and deepneſs muſt ever have made it formidable to paſſing armies, this ford, the only certain paſſage over the river from the mouth of its channel to the ſhallow at Thelwall, muſt neceſſarily have been a poſt of conſiderable importance in war. And upon a bank which from the lowneſs of its level ſurface could afford no convenient poſition at all for a fortreſs, ſuch a ſite, marked out by the plaineſt characters for the area of a fortreſs and placed directly upon one end of the ford, muſt as neceſſarily have been of equal importance

in war. So muſt the Sifantii have thought, when, on the irruption of the Carnabii into the provinces of their ſouthern neighbours, they reſolved to provide for their own ſecurity by the fortification of their ſouthern border. In this prudent reſolution ſurveying the banks of their limitary ſtream, and the ford at Warrington neceſſarily attracting their immediate attention, they muſt have eagerly ſeized this remarkable peninſula, and have inſtantly ſettled a ſufficient garriſon within it. The extent of it was ſuch as the Sifantii fortified at Manchester, being, like that, about twelve ſtatute-acres in compaſs. The iſthmus in its narroweſt point was only about ten yards in width at the height of the tide and about twenty at its receſs, and would be eaſily ſecured by a rampart and a ditch. And a rampart of ſeven or eight feet in height, entered as the ſtation at Manchester appears to have been entered, not by openings in the line of the vallum, but by ſloping aſcents to the creſt of it, would prevent all thoſe accidental overflowings of the land-floods to which the ground muſt have been previouſly ſubject, and by which it is now generally covered once or twice in a winter.

When the Romans began to ſecure their new conqueſts in Lancaſhire by the conſtruction of ſeveral ſtations, the ſame reaſons which had previouſly induced the Britons to ſelect would equally induce the Romans to retain this little peninſula of land for the area of a regular fortreſs. The extent of it indeed was larger than what they generally choſe for the compaſs of a ſtation. But ſuch a choice was merely founded upon a principle of military œconomy, and was merely calculated to prevent a greater detail of expences by precluding the neceſſity of more numerous defendants. And the neceſſary number of defendants could never have been larger for this ſtation than for the Caſtrum at Manchester, as in this the ſoldiers needed to defend only the breadth of thirty yards at the ford and the width of twenty at the iſthmus. The river was a ſufficient defence on every other ſide, carrying in all parts a depth of three or four yards, and having probably thoſe deep holes in ſome which have long given to the whole ſite the popular denomination of Hell-

holes. And the Roman road from Coccium to Condate, paſſing along the narrow iſthmus and approaching the weſtern rampart, muſt have gently curved on the right by the ſouth-weſtern angle of the latter, and have edged along the ſouthern ſide of the ſtation and juſt beneath the ſouthern vallum. The paſſage of the river could never have been attempted but during the abſence of the tide; and during that abſence this road muſt have been ſafely travelled, extending along the lower bank of the river, and leading over the ford to the high grounds of Latchford.

Such was the ſite on which the antient Caſtrum of the Romans and the more antient town of the Britons were conſtructed. But ſo it is not now. The greateſt ſtrength of the iſthmus, and the point moſt directly oppoſed to the current, was about thirty yards in breadth. So broad it was, after it had been for ages ſilently corroded and violently plundered by the waſting waters. And about thirty-five years ago the river bringing down an extraordinary body of waters from its native hills, and diſcharging the fury of it directly againſt the oppoſing iſthmus, the whole ſtrong ſubſtance of the mound began to ſhake, ſoon opened, and inſtantly diſappeared. The Merſey, having now obtained a direct way, immediately deſerted the rounding courſe of its current, and transferred the ſite of the fortreſs from the northern to the ſouthern bank; leaving its old important ford to become merely a ſludgy way into a paſture, and giving up its old important channel to be partitioned by an hedge and to be grazed upon by cattle.

This ſtation is undoubtedly the ſame which Ravennas fixes ſomewhere near Cheſter, and to which he gives the name of Veratinum Vara-tin or the Ford-town. The certainty of a ſtation at Warrington, and the great ſimilarity in the name of Veratinum to it, form together a ſufficient evidence that the former is meant by the latter. And in the popular pronunciation of the former name the ſimilarity is ſtill greater, Warrington being popularly pronounced Warratin to the preſent moment. And though in the records of Domeſday it is written Wallintun, it

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is ſo written from the ſame cuſtomary ſubſtitution of an L for an R in the language of our Saxon anceſtors, from which the name of the Wiltſhire Ambreſbury is changed in the ſame records into Ambleſbury, and from which the appellation of Sarum, the Searobyrig of the Saxon chronicle, has been long altered into Saliſbury [3].

At the diſtance of a few miles from this ſtation, but on the ſouthern bank of the Merſey, were formerly diſcovered more than twenty oblong pieces of lead, ſome of which were ſaid to be inſcribed IMP. VESP. VII. T. IMP. V. and others IMP. DOMIT. COSS. AVG. GER. DE. CEANG. The diſcovery is ſufficiently authenticated, and the inſcriptions are intereſtingly curious. Theſe pieces of lead the venerable father of our Britiſh antiquarians has conſidered as the memorial of ſome victory which the Romans obtained over the Ceangi or the inhabitants of the north-weſtern region of Cheſhire [4]. And this is certainly the light in which the firſt obvious reflection preſents them to the mind. But the late antiquarian of Greſham College has queſtioned the juſtneſs of Mr. Camden's opinion, and has advanced a very different one of his own. He conſiders them merely as common pieces of lead, licenſed only for the market by an inſcription of the name of the reigning emperor, and ſecured to the proprietor by another inſcription of the name of his nation, and thrown by an accidental wreck upon the ſhore of Cheſhire. And to this his account of them Dr. Stukeley has given the ſanction of his own commendation [5]. But the account is aſſuredly wrong, and will appear to be ſo from this one argument only.

The Cheſhire are not the only pieces of lead which have been diſcovered of a ſimilar form and with a ſimilar inſcription. In the reign of our eighth Henry an oblong plate of the ſame metal was thrown up by the plough near Ochyhole in Somerſetſhire, bearing this inſcription, TI. CLAVDIVS CÆSAR. AVG. P. M. TRIB. P. VIIII. IMP. XVI. DE. BRITAN [6]. In

[4] Leland in his Aſſertio Arthurii, p. 23. edit. 1544, gives it us thus, TI. CLAUD. CÆSAR AUG. P. M. TR. P. VIIII. IMP. XVI. DE BRITANNIS. But ſee Camden p. 168.

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the preſent century another was diſcovered at Bruton within the ſame county, having this inſcription, IMP. DVOR. AVG. ANTONINI ET VERI ARMENIACORVM [7]. And a third was dug up about thirty-ſix years ago in Yorkſhire, exhibiting theſe words, IMP. CAES. DOMITIAN. AVG. COS. VII [8]. Of

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theſe the firſt was certainly a trophy. This the words DE BRITANNIS would ſufficiently aſſure us of themſelves. This the remarkable impreſſion upon a particular coin undeniably evinces. The words are too general for the purpoſes of Dr. Ward's ſuppoſition. And the coin exhibits exactly the ſame inſcription, together with a triumphal arch, the figure of an horſeman at full ſpeed, and two trophies [9]. This piece of lead therefore was erected as a military trophy, and the inſcription upon it DE BRITANNIS as the memorial of a victory which the Romans gained over the Hædui, the Britons of theſe parts of Somerſetſhire. And ſuch the Greſham Profeſſor with an ingenuous inconſiſtency acknowledges them to be [10]. Such therefore muſt alſo be the Cheſhire pieces of lead, and ſuch the inſcription DE CEANGIS upon them. This every principle of analogy proclaims them to be. Molded exactly in the ſame ſort of figure, and preſenting exactly the ſame ſort of inſcription, they muſt both have been formed with the ſame deſign and inſcribed for the ſame end.

The equally oblong piece of lead which was diſcovered in the more ſoutherly region of Somerſetſhire muſt have been equally erected as the record of a victory over the inhabitants of it. This the ſame principles of analogy aſſert. And this the Profeſſor again inconſiſtently acknowledges [11]. In the joint reign of Aurelius Antoninus and L. Verus an inſurrection of the Hædui had been ſuppreſſed by the Romans. And this monument was erected in memory of the ſuppreſſion. Such therefore muſt have been alſo the caſe with the Brigantes. Subdued by Cerealis in the year 72 or 73, they muſt have attempted to throw off the yoke in the ſeventh conſulate of Domitian or the year 81, [12] but attempted in vain. The Romans reduced the inſurgents, and erected the uſual monument of their victories, the leaden plate

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and the triumphal inſcription [11]. The inſcription naturally varied in its manner, and the plate in its weight; the name of the conquered nation being ſometimes expreſsly inſcribed upon the plate, as in the two firſt and in the laſt; and being ſometimes explained only by the place of its erection, as in the third; and the weight being ſometimes one hundred pounds, as in the laſt; ſometimes only fifty, as in the third; and ſometimes much leſs, as in both the firſt probably [12].

The Cheſhire pieces of lead then were originally deſigned by the Romans as a monument of triumph and the record of a victory over the Ceangi. And this deſign of them aſcertains at once the poſition of theſe Ceangi. Being the ſervants of the Carnabii and the attendants upon their cattle, they lived in the northern borders of their country, and in the marſhy grounds particularly which ſtill extend for many miles by Norton Runcorne and Frodſham along the ſhore of the Merſey. In theſe grounds were the pieces dug up, and in them muſt the victory have been obtained. And the Ceangi over whom it was gained were very diſtinct from the three tribes with whom they have been often confounded; from the Cangi, who bordered immediately upon the country of the Iceni, and who muſt therefore have inhabited the wild extent of Cannock Foreſt in Staffordſhire; from the Cangani, whoſe habitations ſtretched along the weſtern ſhore of Caernarvonſhire; and from the Cangii, who dwelt amid the ſouthern hills of Weſtmoreland [13]. Separated from the firſt by the interpoſing Carnabii, and from the ſecond by the intervening Carnabii and Ordovices together, they were equally ſeparated from the laſt by the whole intermediate region of the Siſtuntii.

But the dates of theſe inſcriptions are obviouſly different, the one referring to a victory in the reign of Veſpaſian and in the year 76 particularly, and the other to a victory in the reign of Domitian. The former inſcription, like the inſcriptions of North-Somerſetſhire, refers without queſtion to the original conqueſt of the country; and the latter, like the inſcriptions of South-Somerſetſhire and Yorkſhire, to the ſuppreſſion of a ſub-

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ſequent inſurrection. But the former has been ſo negligently copied by the perſons who tranſmitted it to Camden, that it cannot be depended upon at all with regard to the year of its date. This appears at once from the glaring abſurdity of it in giving the appellation of Emperor to Veſpaſian and to Titus in the ſame inſcription [11]. And this equally appears from the conſideration of this certain fact, That in the year 76 the Ceangi of Cheſhire had not yet been attacked by the Romans at all. In the ſummer of 78, when Agricola aſſumed the command of the troops within the iſland, the whole range of our north-weſtern coaſt, including North-Wales and extending to Scotland, was yet unſubdued by the Roman arms. The moſt ſoutherly of theſe Britons, the Ordovices of North-Wales, had been previouſly attacked by Suetonius Paulinus; but all the more northerly Britons were firſt attacked by Agricola. Having totally reduced the former in the autumn of 78, Agricola equally reduced the latter in the ſummer of 79. This therefore is the higheſt date to which any Cheſhire inſcription can poſſibly refer, as the county was firſt attacked and firſt conquered in this year. And this is alſo the loweſt to which any inſcription concerning Veſpaſian can be poſſibly reduced, as he died upon the twenty-fourth of June in this year. And to this the original inſcription muſt have actually referred, and muſt have been thus written, IMP. VESP. VIIII. T. VESP. VII. COSS.

Early then in the campaign of 79, when Agricola led his troops to the conqueſt of Lancaſhire, the main body appears to have advanced by the way of Warrington [12]. The inhabitants of the north-weſtern region of Cheſhire, the hardy Ceangi or herdſmen of the Carnabii, were ſecure in the protection of their marſhes, and had not yet ſubmitted to the Roman arms. But Agricola purſued them to the laſt retreat of their marſhes and the banks of the Merſey, there attacked and defeated them near Norton, and ſubdued the whole country.

This being ſucceſsfully performed, the army muſt have naturally forded the Merſey at the ſhallow near Warrington, have entered the country of the Siſuntii, and have taken the Britiſh

fortreſs

fortreſs of Veratinum. This was intended to guard the ford, and muſt have been then ſkirted on every ſide by the great wood that was afterwards denominated the Foreſt of Derbyſhire [19]. And the detachment which had been probably ſent over the Merſey at Stretford, and had taken the fortreſs of Mancunium, muſt as probably have continued its route directly to Ribcheſter and Overborough, have ſeized the fortreſſes of Rerigonium and Bremetonacæ, and have re-united with the army in the county of Cumberland.

In each of theſe fortreſſes the detachments, acting undoubtedly upon the ſame principles with the main body, muſt have ſucceſſively left a competent garriſon. On each of theſe fortreſſes muſt Agricola at the end of the campaign have conſtructed a regular ſtation and have fixed a regular garriſon. This muſt have been the caſe of Bremetonacæ and Veratinum in particular, though the one is firſt mentioned by the late Itinerary of Antoninus and the other by the later Chorography of Ravennas. Both of them appear from their Britiſh names to have been originally Britiſh fortreſſes, and neither of them could have retained thoſe names if they had not immediately been converted into Roman ſtations. Veratinum was not upon the courſe of the great road from Carliſle to the ſouth, and is therefore unnoticed in the earlier Itineraries. The road, paſſing from Carliſle to Blackrode, did not proceed from Blackrode to Kinderton in a ſtraight direction and the line of the preſent road, but, turning to the left, rounded by Mancheſter to it. And ſuch appears to have been its direction for two centuries afterwards from the Itinerary of Antoninus.

But in the fourth century, ſome time after the date of Antonine's and before the period of Ravennas's Itinerary, the courſe of the road was changed. As it circled by Mancheſter, the diſtance betwixt Blackrode and Kinderton was about forty meaſured miles. But if the one was laid directly through Warrington, the other could be only about thirty. The courſe of the great road was therefore diverted from Mancheſter to Warrington.

And we have ſeveral inſtances of the like diverſions among the Romans, new roads conſtructed by the Romans of the later ages becauſe the old took a conſiderable round [20]. In conſequence of our own particularly, the ſtation of Veratinum, which before perhaps had only two vicinal ways to it, and had a connection by them with Mancunium and Deva only, was placed upon the courſe of a great road, was neceſſarily inſerted in the later Itineraries, and neceſſarily engaged the notice of the tranſcribing Chorographer. And the preſent appearance of the Roman road at Haydock confirms the opinion. Conſtructed entirely with the red earth and the red rock which form the natural ſoil, it ſtill retains all the great convexity which was originally given it, and muſt therefore have been conſtructed by the Romans of the later ages, and have been ſpeedily deſerted in this particular part of it by the Britons or Saxons after them. And the direction of our great north-weſtern road was now firſt diverted from Manchester, by which it had hitherto gone, and was now firſt carried through Warrington, through which it continues to go to the preſent moment. At the ſame period undoubtedly the other part of the road, which had previouſly curved from Condate by Mediolanum and by Uriconium to Wall near Litchfield [21], was laid directly as it now tends over the hills of Talk and Newcaſtle and by the ſtations of Cheſterton and Berry-Bank. Cheſterton is about two miles to the north of Newcaſtle, and Berry-Bank is about one mile to the ſouth of Stone. The former is ſufficiently characterized as a ſtation by its common name, and the latter by the name of Wulfere-ceſter which it bears in a very antient record. And the latter is additionally marked by a camp upon a lofty hill, extending about two hundred yards in diameter, ſecured by a double vallum, and fortified with deep entrenchments [22].

[20] So our own Strangeways was named from the Roman road that went by it. — See Gale's Antoninus p. 123, where he juſtly aſſerts the British Vara to be the preſent Derwy; and Llhuyd's

Lhuyd's Etymol. Dict. p. 5. Bamborough in Northumberland was called *Din-Guayrh* or the War-town by the Britons of the ſixth century (Nennius c. 64).—[3] Thus we have Loch or Roch water, and Bullium or Burrium for the ſame town, among the Britons (ſee Dictionnaire Celtique in Roch, and Richard and Antonimus for the town); Cælia and Ceria for the ſame liquor among the Spaniards (ſee b. I. ch. vii. ſ. 3.); Λειριον Lilium, and Αστηρ Stella, and Cerebrum Cerebellum, Liber Libellus, and many others, among the Romans; and Marmor Marble, Purpura Purple, Tempora Temples, and Harry Mary Sarah and Dorothy popularly ſoftened into Hal Molly Sally and Dolly, among ourſelves. — [4] P. 463. — [5] Phil. Tranſ. A. D. 1755 and 1756. p. 696 and 697.—[6] Carauſius vol. I. p. 177.—[7] Itin. Curioſ. p. 143.—[8] Phil. Tranſ. p. 687.—[9] Camden ibid.—[10] P. 699.—[11] P. 698.—[12] See Phil. Tranſ. p. 695.—[13] And this inſurrection is obviouſly alluded to in Juv. 14 Sat.

Dirue Maurorum attegias & caſtra Brigantum.

—[14] That the Romans frequently made inſcriptions upon leaden plates, appears from Dion. p. 475 and 867.—[15] Tacitus Ann. l. xii. c. 32.—[16] See the miſtakes in Brit. Romana p. 34, Carauſius p. 177. vol. I, and Reineſius p. 302.—[17] Mr. Horſeley p. 316. has propoſed this objection, but has miſtated it. His argument ſuppoſes both ſets of inſcriptions to be upon plates of the ſame date. And Dr. Ward has endeavoured to remove the objection, but has miſtaken it (p. 697 and 698). The title of Emperor is neither given to Veſpaſian Titus and Domitian on the ſame pieces of lead, nor given to Veſpaſian upon one piece and to Titus upon another. It is given to Veſpaſian and to Titus upon the ſame, and to Domitian upon different pieces.—[18] Loca caſtris *ipſe* [Agricola] capere, *æſtuaria* ac ſylvas *ipſe* prætentare: nihil *interim* apud hoſtes quietum pati quò minùs ſubitis *excurſibus* popularetur; Tacitus Vit. Agric.—[19] A record of perambulation ſays thus of it — It begins where Sonkey Water falls into the Merſey—aſcends the water through the middle of the townſhips of Par Windlue and Rainford—paſſes through

the middle of Bickerſtath to Crowſhagh Brook—goes to Rómeſ-brook in Aghton, to Cockbeck, to Alt—goes beyond the Moſs of Downholland to Barton Pull—ranges beyond the Moſs in Hanglowe to the ſea—follows the line of the ſea to Liverpool—and purſues the line of the Merſey to Sankey Water—9 H. III. Kuerden folio p. 238.—[20] Galen l. ix. c. 8. Methodi for Italy, and Horſeley p. 144, for Britain.—[21] Richard's 1ſt and 2d and Antonine's 2d Iter.—[22] Plot's Staffordſhire p. 407 and Leland's Collectanea vol. I. p. 1.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

THESE are the Roman roads that courſed from Mancunium to the neighbouring ſtations. And ſuch as they are, they muſt ſhare in the great admiration and the high praiſe which the antiquarians have beſtowed upon the roads of the Romans in general. But ſurely thoſe criticks have been too laviſh in their eulogiums upon them. Antiquarianiſm is the younger ſiſter of Hiſtory, leſs ſedate and more fanciful, and apt to become enamoured of the face of Time by looking ſo frequently upon it. But let not this be the conduct of her ſoberer diſciples. Let not the ſenſible antiquarian diſgrace himſelf and his profeſſion by admiring greatly what is merely antient, and by applauding fondly what is only Roman. The pencil of Age may juſtly be allowed to throw a ſhade of reſpectableneſs, and to diffuſe even an air of venerableneſs, over the productions of very antient Art. And we may appeal to the native feelings of every ſenſible beholder for the truth of the obſervation. But this is all that can be allowed to the mere influence of Time. And the antiquarian that once overſteps this reaſonable limit ſacrifices the dignity of ſentiment to the dreams of antiquarianiſm, and gives up the realities of Hiſtory for the fables of Imagination.

The great excellence of the Roman roads is the particular directneſs of their courſe. Being conſtructed at a period when the laws of property were ſuperſeded by the rights of conqueſt, they were naturally laid in the ſtraighteſt lines from place to place. From this line of direction they could not be diverted, like many of our modern roads, and thrown into obliquities and angles, by the bias of private intereſt. From this line nothing could divert them but the interpoſition of an hill which could not be directly

aſcended,

aſcended, the interruption of a river which could not be directly forded, or the intervention of a moſs which could not be croſſed at all. Thus, to adduce only a ſingle inſtance, the Roman road to Slack courſes in one uninterrupted right line from the Caſtleſield to the Hollinwood, while the modern and nearly parallel way to Huthersfield, one of the directeſt roads that we have in the vicinity of the town, runs curving all the way at a little diſtance from it, and has no leſs than twelve or thirteen conſiderable angles betwixt the end of Newton-lane and the extremity of Hollinwood.

But the Roman roads appear not to have been conſtructed upon the moſt ſenſible principles in general. The road over Newton Heath is a mere coat of ſand and gravel, the ſand being very copious and the gravel very weak, and not compacted together with any incorporated cement. And the road at Haydock is merely an heap of looſe earth and looſe rock laid together in a beautiful convexity, but ready to yield and open upon any ſharp compreſſion from the ſurface. Such roads could never have been deſigned for the paſſage of the cart and the waggon. Had they been ſo deſigned, they muſt ſoon have been furrowed to the bottom by the cutting of the wheels or cruſhed into the ground by the preſſure of the load, and have been rendered abſolutely impaſſable by either. But for ſuch rough ſervices they were not intended at all. This the ſharp convexity of the road at Haydock moſt clearly demonſtrates, which ſcarcely leaves the level of a yard at the crown, and throws all the reſt of the ſurface into a briſk deſcent. And this the breadth of the more flattened road over Failſworth Moſs concurs to demonſtrate, the ſurface, even now when it has naturally ſpread out into a broader extent, being not more than three yards and a half in width. Both theſe roads, though the one was intended for the great weſtern way into the north and the other was the way of communication betwixt Cheſter and York, muſt plainly have been confined to the mere walker, the mere rider, and the mere beaſt of burden [1].

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The only roads that ſeem to have been conſtructed for the cart and the waggon are ſuch as were regularly paved with large boulders. Such appears to have been the road from Mancheſter to Blackrode; ſuch appears to have been the road from Mancheſter to Ribcheſter; and ſuch evidently was the road from Ribcheſter to Overborough [2]. But as this alleviates not at all the cenſure upon the narrowneſs of the ways, ſo the paving of a road is obviouſly a very awkward expedient at the beſt. This may ſufficiently appear from thoſe boaſted remains of the Roman roads, the Appian and the Flaminian ways in Italy, which are ſo intolerably rough and ſo inexpreſſibly hard, that the traveſſers, as often as they can, turn off from them, and journey along the tracks at their borders [3].

Many of the Roman roads indeed have continued under all the injuries of time and all the inclemencies of climate to the preſent period, and ſome few in excellent conſervation. The Romans, having the whole power of the country at their command and nations of ſubjects to be their labourers in the work, were not frugal of toil in the diſcovery of the materials and in the conveyance of them to a conſiderable diſtance. Thus, ſince little or no gravel was to be found along the courſe of the Roman road from the common of Hollinwood to the end of Street-lane, they dug up a very great quantity of it along the ſides of the preſent Millbrook upon the former, as the long broad and winding hollow which ſtill remains doth manifeſtly evince, and conſtructed all the road from the one to the other with it, as the peculiar redneſs of the gravel along the road does evidently prove. Thus, what is much more remarkable, the Stane-ſtreet in Suſſex, ten and ſeven yards in breadth and one yard and a half in depth, is compoſed entirely of flints and of pebbles, though no flints are to be found even within ſeven miles of the road [4]. And they laid their roads, not ſunk, like ours, many feet below the level of the ground about them, but riſing with a rounded ridge conſiderably above the ſurface, unleſs they were obliged to climb obliquely up the ſide of a ſteep hill or to deſcend obliquely down it. By this means the water never ſettled upon

their roads, ſilently ſapped the foundations, and effectually demoliſhed the works. But the continuance of many roads to the preſent moment, and the peculiar conſervation of ſome, reſult very little from theſe general circumſtances, and are principally the effect of particular accidents. That theſe circumſtances have not given the roads ſuch a laſting duration, is evident from the above-mentioned ſtructure of all of them within, and more evident from the particular roundneſs of ſome of them without. The fact ariſes chiefly from the early deſertion of particular roads by the Britons and Saxons, new roads being laid for new reaſons to the ſame towns, or the towns being deſtroyed and the roads unfrequented. Such muſt aſſuredly have been the caſe with the ſmartly rounded road at Haydock. And ſuch will hereafter appear to have been the caſe with the ſtill-remaining road upon Stony Knolls [5].

But had the Roman roads been always laid in right lines, always conſtructed with a ſufficient breadth, and been never paved with ſtone; had the materials been bound together by ſome incorporated cement; and had they been all calculated to receive carts and to bear waggons; they muſt ſtill have been acknowledged to have one eſſential defect in them. The roads almoſt conſtantly croſſed the rivers of the iſland, not at bridges, but at ſhallows or fords, ſome of which Nature had planted and others Art ſupplied [6]. By this means the travelling on the roads muſt have been infinitely precarious, have been regulated by the rains, and have been controuled by the floods. Such muſt have certainly been the conſequence at the fords of Ribcheſter and Penwortham over the Ribble, ſuch more particularly at the fords of Warrington, Stretford and Stockport over the Merſey, and ſuch even at the fords of Knotmill and Garret over the Medlock, at the way of Trafford over the Irwell, and at the paſſages of Huntſbank over the Irke and of Throſtleneſt-lane over the Cornebrooke. One of thoſe very rainy nights which are ſo common in our Lancaſhire winters would raiſe a conſiderable depth of water upon the fords, and would fix an abſolute bar to the progreſs of travelling. Thus, for want of a few bridges,

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the Roman roads muſt have been often rendered impaſſable during the winter, and often for a conſiderable part of the winter together. And thus, for want of a few bridges, muſt the Roman roads have been rendered frequently uſeleſs, the military communication between the ſeveral parts of the iſland have been frequently ſuſpended, and the Roman empire within it have been frequently expoſed to danger [7].

[1] From ſome Tumuli in the roads Dr. Stukeley infers both the Herman and the Watling Streets to have been never travelled even by horſes. Itin. Curioſ. p. 82, 104, and 106.—[2] Rothmell's Account of Overborough.—[3] Horace lib. i. ſat. 5. ſhews the Appian way to have been as rough in the Auguſtan age as it is in the preſent:

Hoc iter ignavi diviſimus, altiùs ac nos
Præcinctis unum; minùs eſt gravis Appia tardis.

—[4] Camden c. 199.—[5] See b. II. ch. ii. ſ. 2.—[6] The Romans had very few ſtations in the iſland at which they had conſtructed bridges. Only two are mentioned by Antoninus, Ad Pontem and Pontibus. And a third is mentioned by the Notitia, Pons Ælii.—[7] Dr. Stukeley, in the genuine ſpirit of an antiquarian, commends the wiſdom of the Romans for preferring durable fords to periſhing bridges. Itin. Cur. p. 72. See alſo a ſimilarly awkward expedient for croſſing the rills of vallies mentioned p. 82.

II.

TO the ſeven ſtations with which Mancunium was immediately connected we may add ſeveral others, not as the great and terminating ſtages of other roads, but as intermediate caſtra upon theſe or minute ſtations at a diſtance from them. And the ſtation of Mancunium appears to have had nine of them, three of them conſtructed with one view, two with another, and four with another.

The fortreſs of Mancunium appears to have had three caſtra in its neighbourhood, and all upon the three roads from it to Ilkley to Buxton and to Slack. One of theſe was at Littleborough, the ſecond at Caſtleſhaw, and the third at Hanford. The little ſtation at Caſtleſhaw is very evident on the preſent track of the road to Slack; a ſecond ſtation was certainly planted at Hanford; and theſe neceſſarily lead us to expect another upon the other road, a fortreſs conſtructed upon a ſimilar ſite and calculated for a ſimilar purpoſe. Fact convinces us of the one, and analogy requires the other. The caſtrum at Caſtleſhaw is ſeated directly at the foot of Stanedge, and within a couple of furlongs from the track of the Roman road. This I have evinced before to have been in all probability a previous fortreſs of the Siſtuntii, but to have extended along all the large area which riſes eminent over the reſt of the ground, and which is all equally denominated The Hus-ſteads and is all equally defined by the Caſtle-hills. The later fortreſs ſeems to have been contracted into a much narrower compaſs, and to have been incloſed within the foſſe that ſtill plainly appears encircling a rounded eminence near the center and encompaſſing about three-fourths of a ſtatute-acre. The caſtrum at Littleborough muſt have given denomination to the village, and ſeems to have been fixed upon the ground which is about half a mile to the eaſt of it, which is immediately on the left of the new road, and which is popularly denominated Caſtle. This is directly under the ſteep of Blackſtone-Edge, nearly adjoining to the courſe of the Roman road, and upon the margin of a briſk ſtream. And the fortification which gave name to the ground is of ſo antient a date, that both the remains of it have vaniſhed from the eye and tradition has forgotten its exiſtence. But we have better evidences of a little ſtation at Hanford. The Roman road from Manchester to Buxton runs conſiderably to the weſt of its general direction from Stockport, in order to touch at ſome intermediate ſtation. It proceeds by Pepper-ſtreet Fold in Bramhall and it paſſes over Streetfields beyond it, pointing plainly towards Hanford-mill on the Bollen. And Hanford appears clearly to have had three or four roads of the Romans

diverging

diverging from it. A Roman road muſt have croſſed the preſent road to Macclesfield about half a mile to the north of Adlington-Hall, a long lane on the left ſtill bearing its appellation of Street-lane, and in two or three miles muſt neceſſarily have coincided with the other about Hanford-mill. This is the continuation of the road from Manchester to Buxton, leaving the little ſtation at Hanford, and bearing directly for Buxton. And two other roads muſt have reached it from two other quarters, having bequeathed their names of Street to a lane in Alderley for three quarters of a mile and to a lane in Cheadle for more than a mile together. But ſituated as all theſe three ſtations were in a line directly under the ridge of our eaſtern hills, they could never be conſtructed for the purpoſes of exploration. They could be conſtructed merely for two purpoſes, the ſubordinate one of ſecuring the roads juſt entering the wild region of the hills, and the important one of being the neceſſary baiting-places for the ſoldiers juſt mounting the cliffs of the Britiſh Alps.

Six other ſtations were fixed in the more immediate precincts of Mancunium, and were conſtructed for the more immediate purpoſes of the garriſon in it. They were deſigned to protect their cattle in the paſtures, and to ſecure their convoys upon the roads. Such the Romans appear to have generally had in the neighbourhood of their ſtationary camps *. Such therefore muſt be equally obvious in the precincts of other ſtations within the kingdom, though they have never been noticed by any of our antiquarians. One of theſe has been previouſly mentioned by a Mancunian antiquarian, and without heſitation pronounced to be merely a camp for the ſummer *. But conſtructed as all of them are in the ſame manner, they can as little be all of them camps for the ſummer as any of them can be forts for exploration. They are all of them ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed from the latter by the height of their ſites, too low to be the ſites of exploratory forts. They are all of them ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed from the former by the extent of their areas, too ſmall to be the areas of ſummer-camps. Evinced to be ſtations by the expreſs mention of one of them in the Itinerary of Richard, by the ap-

pellation of Caſter which is given to another of them in an antient record, by the concurrence of ſeveral Roman roads at a third, and by the great uniformity in the aſpect of all of them; they appear to have been ſix of thoſe tumultuary forts, as Vegetius calls them, which the Romans generally made at a little diſtance from their ſtations and for the greater ſecurity of their cattle and their convoys [3]. And the Romans fixed them, as theſe are fixed, in the moſt advantageous ſites that the places afforded, fortified them, as theſe are fortified, not with a rampart of ſtone or even of earth, but only with large ditches, and lodged a ſmall garriſon in them [4].

One of theſe Cheſters is mentioned by Richard in his ſixth Iter, and is called from its poſition Fines Maximæ & Flaviæ. It was placed on the ſoutherly ſide of the Merſey, on the right hand of the road, and about muſquet-ſhot from the bridge. This the nature of the ground along the banks of the Merſey ſufficiently evinces of itſelf, that being the only ground in the neighbourhood of the road and upon the margin of the river which the Romans could ever have ſelected for the ſite of a ſtation. And this the voice of Tradition very remarkaly confirms, aſſerting in its own wild way of detailing the circumſtances of a fact, that the ſtones of the caſtle at Mancheſter were once tranſported to that part of the ground which is now denominated Scholes's Field in order to conſtruct a church with them, and that they were afterwards removed away in a ſupernatural manner and within the period of a ſingle night. The ſite is a riſing ground of gravel and marl, now divided into two fields, and muſt have been once denominated, as the nearer of them is ſtill called, the Rie or River Field [5]. This is ſtill bounded by a long deep broad ditch upon one ſide, the natural hollow having been greatly widened by the Romans, and now ranging in a regular even line more than twenty yards in breadth and three in depth. And this was formerly bounded by the Red or Read brook, which flowed directly under the bank and along the hollow, but is now intercepted by the courſe of the new canal; by the river Merſey, which received

ceived the current of the Read at the angle, and which rolled directly under the ſecond ſide; by a large ditch, I ſuppoſe, croſſing along the middle of Scholes's Field, on the third; and by a narrow hollow, which is now formed into a lane, on the fourth. But, in one of thoſe wild floods to which the Merſey is peculiarly ſubject, the river opened the ſoft bank of Lancaſhire, and now flows many yards within the county; having deſerted its antient bridge of three arches, and having left its antient channel under the Roman caſtrum. Such muſt have been the ſite of the little ſtation Fines Maximæ & Flaviæ, being about four Roman miles and a half from the ſite of the principal ſtation, and containing about two ſtatute-acres and a half within its limits. Placed near to the ford of the Merſey and nearer to the courſe of the road, amid the large expanſe of theſe level meadows it was well calculated to guard them both, to ſecure the convoys of proviſions that paſſed along the one and over the other from the neighbouring parts of Cheſhire, and to receive them into its area when the frequent floods prevented a paſſage acroſs the channel[r]. And a Roman road appears advancing towards it from the ſouth-eaſtern limits of the pariſh, traverſing the whole breadth of the pariſh on the ſouth, and ſtill carrying a conſiderable ridge in ſeveral parts of its courſe. It is particularly conſpicuous at Birch, is popularly repreſented as a breaſtwork thrown up againſt the Danes, and is popularly denominated Nico (or Devil's) Ditch. The waſteful ravages of the Danes in their plundering expeditions through the iſland were ſo ſtrongly impreſſed upon the feelings and fancies of our fathers, that the memory of them has generally ſuperſeded all the other traditions of the iſland, and the chronicles of the vulgar generally refer every remarkable monument to the Danes. And this road is noticed in a record of 1422 as actually travelled to that late period, ſome land being deſcribed as abutting upon a certain gate (or antient highway) which led from Gorton-green to Reddiſh, quandam portam qua itur a Gorton-grene uſque Redich ex parte auſtrali[s].

Another

Another ſtation was ſeated equally upon the courſe of a Roman road and upon the margin of the Merſey. It was ſettled at Stockport. This town appears evidently the one common center to three or four very variouſly directed roads of the Romans. The High-ſtreet advances to it from Manchester, and the Pepper-ſtreet haſtens to it from Hanford [8]. And in the pariſh of Aſheton and near the foot of Staley-bridge is a third road, commonly denominated Staley-ſtreet for a mile together. A branch of this muſt have been the above-mentioned road to Stretford. And the main line lies pointing clearly from Caſtleſhaw to Stockport. Theſe are ſure ſignatures of a Roman ſtation at Stockport. And the general ſameneſs in the poſition of this and the former fort, this being placed, like that, upon the limits of the two provinces and the banks of the limitary ſtream, and this being planted, like that, in the road betwixt two conſiderable ſtations, demonſtrates a ſameneſs in the deſign and requires a ſimilarity in the nature of both. This muſt have been fixed upon the ſite of the caſtle and the area of the caſtle-hill at Stockport. That is exactly ſuch a ſite as the Romans muſt have inſtantly ſelected for ſuch a ſtation. That is a ſmall area detached from the level ground of the market-place, and connected with it only by an iſthmus. And that is a ſmall ſquare knoll which projects from the ſouthern ſide of the river, looks down upon the long ſteep ſlope of the rocky bank, and has the young Merſey frequently rolling its rumbling torrents at the foot of it. The area muſt have been the actual ſite of a caſtle in the earlieſt period of the Saxon reſidence among us, as the caſtle muſt have originally communicated its name to the town, and as both were denominated Stock-port becauſe the former was a port or caſtle in a wood [9]. The area is about half a ſtatute-acre in extent, the ſite is ſtill incomparably ſtrong in itſelf, and the poſition is happily fitted for the ford. The ſtation muſt have had a ſteep of an hundred or an hundred and twenty yards in deſcent upon three ſides of it, and muſt have been guarded by a foſſe acroſs the iſthmus. And the Roman road into Eaſt-Cheſhire muſt have been effectually commanded by it, that road being obliged by the circling

current

current of the Merſey to approach very near to the Caſtle, and being evinced by the remaining ſteepneſs in the other parts of the neighbouring banks to have actually advanced up to it, and to have actually aſcended the brow in an hollow immediately beneath the eaſtern ſide of it.

Such was the poſition of the two ſtations on the borders of the two provinces. But the poſition of the four other Agrarian ſtations is very different from theſe. One of the four was on the right hand of the preſent road to Bury, immediately beyond Singleton Brook, and upon the firſt field in the pariſh of Preſtwich. The ſite was formerly denominated Low-caſter[10], and is now denominated ſometimes How-caſtle Field, but more popularly, though to the ſame purport, Caſtle-Hill. It is a riſing hillock of ſand, having a plane of half an acre and a fine ſpring of water under an aged oak. On the one ſide the ground falls away from it briſkly near the road and gently at a diſtance from it, and had probably a ſmall ditch at the foot of the fall. On the ſecond ſide was certainly another ditch, the remains of it ſtill plainly appearing, and the hedge of the field being now placed along the channel of it. The remaining ſides form a very ſteep ſlope of twenty thirty-five or forty yards; and the ditch is ſtill very evident below, now extending along the whole of one of them, and lately curving round the angle and proceeding for ſeveral yards along the other. At the termination of this ditch was the entrance into the Caſtrum, which ſtill appears aſcending the bank obliquely, and diſtinguiſhed to the eye by the remaining hollow of it. And fixed as this tumultuary fort was at the diſtance nearly of a mile from the courſe of the road to Ribcheſter, it could never be intended to have any particular relation to it. The garriſon in the one could not poſſibly, as ſuch, be any ſecurity to the convoys upon the other. The fort muſt therefore have been conſtructed with a different view. It muſt have been deſigned only for the protection of the cattle which paſtured along the adjoining fields on the weſt. And for ſuch a protection the Romans commonly eſtabliſhed a tumultuary fort[11]. The one whole townſhip of Broughton and Kerſall muſt in

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the time of the Romans have been all covered with an extenſive wood, as ſo covered it remained even to the period of the Norman conqueſt. And the cattle which the Romans muſt have kept within it were their hogs. For ſuch cattle the yearly-falling acorns of the oaks would afford a luxurious food. For ſuch cattle the wood appears through many ages to have ſhed the annual produce of its trees, and two or three fields that are near to Kerſall-moor and cloſe to the preſent bowling-green are ſtill denominated the Hog-heys. And for ſuch cattle a right of paſnage even along the unwooded extent of the preſent moor was recently conteſted in a court of Juſtice, the townſhip of Salford aſſerting a claim and the lords of Kerſall refelling it. The ſoil being ſtill friendly to the growth of oaks, the many acorns which the provident crows repoſite in tufts of graſs along every extended waſte, and which, being in winter forgotten and loſt, ſhoot up into little plants, are ſkilfully rooted up and eagerly devoured by the obſervant hogs. Thus was Lowcaſter deſigned to protect the cattle of the Romans that fed in the wood of Broughton. And thus the moor of Kerſall, which now annually receives at the races the gathering thouſands of the town and its populous precincts, was in the time of the Romans, perhaps in the time of the Britons before them, and certainly for many ages after both, a wood of oaks and a paſture for hogs; and the little knolls which ſo remarkably diverſify the plain, and are annually covered at the races with mingled crouds riſing in ranks over ranks to the top, were once the occaſional ſleeping-places of Roman porkers and the occaſional ſeats of Roman herdſmen [12].

But ſettled as the fort of Lowcaſter was at one extremity of the long wood, it pretty plainly required a correſpondent fort at the other. And ſuch was the high mount of gravel and ſand which riſes tapering from its ample baſe, overlooks the whole extent of the original wood, and is now denominated Raineſhow. Tradition aſſerts it to be the ſite of an antient camp: and, as it has only an irregular plane of an acre and an half at the top, it cannot be the ſite of any but an Agrarian camp. And it carries exactly the ſame appearances with Lowcaſter, having a ſteep deſcent

ſcent on every ſide, ditches encircling the hill, and a brook flowing at the bottom. The banks are much ſteeper and higher than the banks of Lowcaſter, having a ſharp deſcent of an hundred yards upon one ſide, a ſharper of eighty on another, and a ſteep fall of fifty and a gentle one of an hundred in the boggy grounds beyond on the reſt. The ditches, which are very viſible on one ſide, which may be eaſily traced along two others, and which form the preſent ditch of the field on the fourth, are not at the bottom of the ſlope, but conſiderably above the middle of it, and are twenty-five twenty and fifteen yards in depth. And the entrance is the preſent road of acceſs from the Moor, the road coming up the lane from the brook, and aſcending directly the ſteep of the hill [11].

Another little ſtation was placed within the Vale of Broughton, in the preſent townſhip of Pendleton, and near the extremity of the lane that paſſes through New-hall Fold to the river. It is an oblong hillock of ſand, and is popularly denominated Hyle or Hill Wood. It has an irregular plane of half an acre in extent, had its entrance, as it ſtill has, on the ſouth-weſt, and another opening behind to the river, and is ſurrounded in every part by deep ditches or ſteep aſcents or both that ſink fifteen twenty thirty or forty yards below the ſurface of the Hill. And amid the beautiful valley in which the fort was placed, the valley that is formed by the high grounds of Salford Pendleton Kerſal and Broughton, ſurrounded as it was by the pleaſing circle of theſe ſloping hills, and remote from every ſtationary road, it could have only one military object in view. That muſt have been the protection of the cattle which grazed along the ample level of the valley. For ſuch grazings the valley muſt have been particularly ſuited, as the brown hazel-coloured mold of it is remarkably rich, as the ſite of it was ſufficiently near to the great ſtation, and as the ſtream of the Irwell courſes thrice through the whole extent of it. The Irwell, entering the vale by a large opening on the north-weſt, and flowing directly beneath the weſtern hills to the ſouth, is turned to the north-caſt by the heights of Pendleton, is warped towards the eaſt by the heights

of Kerſal, is returned towards the ſouth by the hills of Broughton, and is again diverted to the eaſt and again beaten back towards the north by the high grounds of Salford. But theſe ſpeedily ſubſiding into a valley, the waters purſue the direction of the ground, and eſcape round Salford to the town of Mancheſter. Some ſite therefore was abſolutely neceſſary that ſhould riſe over the reſt of the ground, and naturally command the valley around it. But as none ſuch preſented its uſeful elevation within the whole circuit of the vale, art ſupplied the omiſſion of nature, raiſing the preſent mount, and fetching the materials for it from the ſandy bed of the river. This the particular nature of its ſituation evinces, placed as it is in the narrow point betwixt two reaches of the river, and ſecuring the avenue into the ample and beautiful horſe-ſhoe which is deſcribed by them. And this the particular nature of the ſoil demonſtrates, ſo different as it is from the native ſoil of the fields around it, and ſo plainly a mixed collection of water-ſand chequered with little fragments of reddiſh rock.

Cloſely connected with it was a ſimilar fortreſs in its neighbourhood. This is a rounded knoll, which is denominated Caſtle-hill, and which appears at a little diſtance from it upon the curving ſide of the Kerſal-heights. The ſoil is a collection of gravel and ſand, having an area of half an acre above, ſteep banks of twenty fifteen and ten yards in height on every ſide, and boggy grounds on three ſides around it. Upon the fourth, which had not the advantage of a deſcent from it, and had even the diſadvantage of a ſmall gentle deſcent to it, are two large ditches, an outer one and an inner, and are about twelve eight and ſix yards in depth, and twenty fifteen and twelve in breadth. And where theſe terminate was the road of entrance into the fort. Such is the little fortreſs upon the ſide of the hill, very near to Bents-houſe upon Kerſal-moor but nearer to the Grand Stand; and it has a ſtrong ſpring of water breaking out a little above and deſcending along the ſide of it. And ſuch is the fortreſs which the Romans muſt have formed with the ſame views with which they planned the ſtation upon Hillwood; and for the

the ſame protection of their cattle. The mount of Hillwood being fixed in the narrow opening into the curve which is deſcribed on the eaſtern ſide of the vale, and being ſeparated by an arm of the river from the large extent of the meadows on the weſtern northern and north-weſtern ſides, it could be deſigned to guard the cattle only that ranged within the compaſs of the curve. But the cattle in thoſe divided paſtures muſt have wanted a protection as well as the others. And the garriſon upon the mount could not afford it. The intervention of the river muſt have rendered the communication with theſe paſtures uncertain and the aſſiſtance of the garriſon precarious. Obſerving this, the Romans were obliged to form another Agrarian fortreſs. But they were not obliged to raiſe another artificial mount. They were obliged only to plant a fortreſs upon the northern ſide of the vale, as this great curve of the meadows opened only to the north. And they planted it upon a convenient projection from the ſide of the north-weſtern hills. For a connection with the fort at Hillwood and a defence of their cattle in the valley, the ſite was as properly calculated as it was almoſt neceſſarily choſen. For ſuch a connection and ſuch a defence only was the ſite properly calculated at all, being a good way upon the deſcent from the height and much below the level of the moor. And ſuch a connection is ſtill aſſerted by tradition, which fixes an army in both the caſtles, and ſets the one in oppoſition to the other [14].

This then was manifeſtly the deſign of the ſix little fortreſſes that we find in the immediate neighbourhood of Mancheſter. Three of them demonſtratively Roman, and all of them equally Romanized in their general aſpect, they were undoubtedly the Agrarian fortreſſes appendant to the ſtation on the Medlock. Two of them being calculated merely for the protection of the convoys on the roads, the other four were conſtructed for the ſecurity of the cattle in the paſtures. Theſe therefore were all planted in one particular quarter of our Mancunian precincts. Planted by pairs, each of the two evidently carries a ſtriking and particular relation to its fellow. And each of the pairs as evidently chal-

lenges a ſtriking but general affinity to the other. The high dry grounds of the hills, and the low moiſt meadows of the vale, muſt have been ſucceſſively and alternately the paſtures of the Roman cattle. The Romans appear to have regularly kept a ſimilar change and relay of paſtures for their ſhepherds in Italy, confining their cattle to the marſhes during the ſummer, and driving them up into the hills at the return of the winter [15]. And the Roman Britons are equally atteſted, though they are not equally known, to have adopted the ſame practice. Britain, ſays Gildas, abounds in hills that are very convenient for the alternate paſtures of our flocks and our herds, montibus alternandis animalium paſtibus magné convenientibus [16]. Theſe low meadows are generally overflowed every winter from the many arms of the Irwell that indent and interſect the face of them, and preſent a ſtrongly impreſſive ſcenery to the eye, an ocean of water in wild agitation tumbling round the valley. In winter therefore theſe meadows muſt have been totally deſerted by the Roman garriſon, and the Roman cattle muſt have beheld the growing deluge ſecurely from the hills above. And both together muſt have regularly formed the one great nurſery of the Roman cattle, and both together muſt have regularly ſupplied the little ſubordinate nurſery at the confluence of the Medlock and the Irwell.

Vegetius lib. iii. c. 8.—[2] Mr. Percival in Phil. Tranſ.—[3] Vegetius lib. iii. c. 8.—[4] See B. I. c. iv. ſ. 3. for another ſtation upon a field called Rie-Hey.—[5] The name of the brook Read is actually Britiſh. See b. I. ch. i. ſ. 3. note [11].—[6] Vegetius lib. iii. c. 8. Subvectio frumenti cæterarumque ſpecierum.—[7] A deed in the cheſt of the collegiate chapter at Mancheſter, entitled the feoffment made by the feoffees to John Huntingdon Warden.—[8] See B. I. ch. v. ſ. 3.—[9] And the neighbouring peninſula of Portwood muſt have been ſo denominated, becauſe it was more recently the ſite of the remaining wood of the caſtle.—[10] In a record of 1322, entitled Perquiſitæ Curiæ [de Mancheſter], and mentioning viam regiam inter Mancheſter et Burghton uſque le

Low-caſter (Kuerden fol. p. 279.)—[12] Vegetius lib. iii. c. 8. Animalium Paſcua.—[13] A full account of this wood will be given in B. III.—[14] More concerning this in B. III.—[15] It makes the army on Raineſhow to be Danes, and therefore ſometimes vainly fancies the name to be Daineſhow.—[16] Juſtin lib. viii. c. 5.—[17] Hiſt. c. i.

III.

THE Caſtra Æſtiva or ſummer-camps of the Romans are an addition to the regular ſtations which has been long noticed and is very common. As the latter were generally fixed upon the ſoutherly ſlope of an hill or bank, they were well calculated for the keenneſs of our winters, and as ill for the warmth of our ſummers. The Romans therefore naturally conſtructed an additional camp for their ſtation in the ſummer. For this they neceſſarily ſelected ſome advantageous ſite, which was in the neighbourhood of the regular ſtation, and which was fully open to the north. Such was apparently the general reaſon for which the Romans conſtructed their ſummer-camps. Such was conſequently the general principle upon which they ſelected the proper poſitions for them. And every ſtation in the kingdom that has a ſoutherly aſpect in itſelf, and any advantageous ground near it with a northerly one, muſt have regularly claimed the pleaſing appendage of a ſummer-camp.

The ſtation of Mancunium, having both the former, muſt certainly have had the latter. A ſummer-camp was abſolutely neceſſary at Mancunium, as the warm beams of ſummer are uncommonly fervid and ſcorching upon the ſlope of the Caſtle-field. But where would the Romans moſt probably ſettle the ſtation? The high grounds of Mr. Reynolds's park or the higher grounds which are immediately to the north of them, the heights of the Stony Knolls or the hills of Broughton, would each of them afford a ſufficient elevation and a defenſible ſite. Theſe

alſo

alſo would be near or upon the road to Ribcheſter. But theſe would be ſome of them too remote from the winter-ſtation, ſome of them too remote from a ſupply of water, and have none of them any veſtiges of a camp upon them. Shall we then pitch upon Howcaſtle-field or Hill-wood for the ſite of this additional caſtrum? One of the very few antiquarians that Mancheſter or its environs have hitherto produced did fondly ſuppoſe the former to be the actual ſite [1]. But as the latter is much too low and both are much too ſmall, ſo is the former as much too remote from the bank of the Medlock, being more than three meaſured miles and a half from it.

The real ſite appears to have been pretty near to the regular ſtation, and about a mile to the north of it, and is now the ſite of the Collegiate Church, the Collegiate Houſe or the Hoſpital, and many other buildings. This is infinitely the propereſt ſite in the vicinity of the town that can pretend to attract the notice of the enquiring antiquarians. This is abſolutely the only ſite in the vicinity of the ſtation that could pretend to attract the notice of the examining Romans. In the earlieſt period of the Saxon hiſtory of Mancheſter ſelected for the ſeat of its lord, as I ſhall ſhew hereafter [2], and accordingly denominated Baron's Hull and Baron's Yard, and a part of it ſtill retaining the appellation of Huntſbank, it, and it alone, is exactly ſuch a ſite as the exigencies of the Romans required. It is banked on two ſides by ribs of rocks either very ſteep or abſolutely perpendicular, and looks down from a very lofty ſummit upon the waters of the Irke ſtealing directly along it on the one ſide, and upon the ſtream of the Irwell breaking directly againſt it on the other. It ſpreads its area of dry compacted ſand gently leaning to the north and weſt, and from the lowneſs of the ground about it on the ſouth-weſt the weſt north-weſt and north-eaſt, and from the conſtant ventilations of the air by the briſkneſs of the currents below, peculiarly feels in the ſummer a ſucceſſion of refreſhing breezes. And thus admirably fitted for a camp by its formidable barriers upon two ſides, and incomparably adapted for a ſummer-camp by its poſition upon two concurrent ſtreams,

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its overlooking all the low grounds of Salford and Strangeways, and commanding a diſtant view of the country even as far as Horwich Moor; it had the Roman road to Ribcheſter ſtretching along the weſtern ſide of it, it ſtill ſhews the ſtriking remains of an antient ditch along the ſouthern and eaſtern ſides, and it juſt contains within its limits the requiſite number of acres for a ſummer-camp. The area comprized within the ditch and the rivers is exactly twelve ſtatute-acres and a half in compaſs.

The foſſe, commencing from the lofty margin of the Irke and from that point of it where the common ſewer now diſcharges its waters into the river, was not carried in a right line through the high ridge that directly oppoſed its courſe, but curved along the ground which muſt then have been ſomewhat lower than the reſt, and which now forms the ſtreets of Toad-lane and of Hanging-ditch. The names of the ſtreets evince the general direction, and the aſpect of the ſtreets demonſtrates the particular nature, of the foſſe. The line of both ſtill curves as the channel curved. And the level of both ſtill exhibits the hollow of a channel bounded upon each ſide by a ſteepy ridge. In the narrow ſtreet of Toad-lane the breadth of the channel, commenſurate nearly with the width of the ſtreet, appears to have been only four or five yards at the margin. In the larger ſtreet of Hanging-ditch the width of the channel, commenſurate equally with the breadth of the ſtreet, appears to have opened into eight or ten yards at the margin. And at the weſtern termination of the Hanging-ditch, making a conſiderable curve on the right in order undoubtedly to avoid the knoll at the end of Cateaton-ſtreet and to ſweep along the lower ground to the right of it, it runs very deep and very broad to the Irwell. The northern line of the houſes in Cateaton-ſtreet and all the buildings of the Hanging-bridge are ſeated within the channel of it. And the road to the church is carried over it upon two lofty arches of ſtone. For the greater ſecurity of a ſtation which had in all probability no vallum either of ſtone or of earth about it, the Romans naturally trenched through the whole width of the ground from the Irke to the Irwell. For the greater coolneſs

of a caſtrum which was certainly deſigned only for the heats of ſummer, the Romans as naturally diverted the waters of the Irke into the channel of the trench. An opening was made in the rocky margin of the Irke, which remains very viſible to the preſent period, the angles of the rock appearing rounded away, the chaſm extending four or five yards in width, and a ſewer of the town being now laid into the cavity. And three or four yards lower in the channel of the Irke the marks of the diverting dam remain equally viſible in the bank. The rock appears cut away for five or ſix yards in breadth and three quarters of a yard in depth, in order to receive one end of the dam into it, and to fix the whole frame ſecure againſt the violence of the obſtructed current. And the channel of the foſſe was ſunk conſiderably below the preſent level of it even in its deepeſt part about the weſtern termination, the ground a little to the weſt of the Hanging-bridge having been recently found to be merely adventitious for the depth of nine or ten yards, and the plane of the rock below appearing ſtrongly furrowed with the wheels of the carts that in ſome later ages have paſſed by this duct from Salford towards the Hanging-ditch.

This was the pleaſing impregnable ſite of the ſummer-camp of the Romans, lined with tall impracticable precipices behind, covered with a foſſe enormouſly deep and broad before, and inſulated by the three lively currents of water around it. Where for more than eight ſucceſſive centuries the public devotions of the town have been regularly preferred to Heaven, where for more than twenty ſucceſſive generations the plain forefathers of the town have been regularly repoſited in peace, the Romans once kept their ſummer-reſidence, and enjoyed the fanning breezes of the weſt and north: Where the bold barons of Mancheſter ſpread out the hoſpitable board in a rude magnificence of luxury, or diſplayed the inſtructive mimicry of war in a train of military exerciſes; where the fellows of the college ſtudied ſilently in their reſpective apartments, or walked converſing in their common gallery; and where young indigence now daily receives the judicious dole of charity, and folds his little hands in gratitude

to

to God for it; there previouſly roſe the ſpreading pavilions of the Romans, and there previouſly glittered the military enſigns of the Friſians.

The great entrance into the camp muſt have been along the road from Caſtle-field to Ribcheſter and acroſs the deepeſt part of the foſſe, as another muſt have been where the ſame road deſerted the area and at the foot of the Huntſbank. At theſe points muſt have been the two great gateways of the camp. And the road muſt have entered the ſummer-ſtation as it communicated before with the winter, by the uſeful intervention of a bridge. But juſt at the north-weſterly extremity of the area, and taking in a good compaſs of ground about it, appears to have been the citadel of the ſtation, the fortified ſite of the Prætorium. This is the part which has been more recently denominated the Baron's Yard and the Baron's Hull. This is neceſſarily from its ſituation, overhanging the point of the two uniting ſtreams, by much the cooleſt part of the area. This is neceſſarily from its nature, being at the angle of the two concurrent precipices, by much the moſt defenſible part of the ſtation [3]. And this has been undoubtedly ſecured by an interior foſſe. On opening the ground of the new burying-place, and of the adjoining land upon the eaſt, in the months of Auguſt 1766 and of July and Auguſt 1767, appeared evidently the hollow of a broad deep ditch filled up with rubbiſh, the northern border of the black earth ranging nearly in a line with the ſouthern wall of the burying-ground, and the ſouthern undoubtedly extending along the northern wall of the church-yard. The dry unctuous maſs reached above three yards in depth below the level of the ſtreet, and lay upon a bed of the native ſand. Commencing at the edge of the Roman road to Ribcheſter and near the beginning deſcent of the Huntſbank, it ranged along the Half-ſtreet to the end, and it deſcended the Long-Millgate to the School. There, under the ſecond houſe to the eaſt of the School, was it likewiſe diſcovered in the year 1765 on ſinking the cellar of the houſe, and appeared a channel cut through the ſolid rock, two yards in depth, about three in breadth, and four

or five in length, terminating at one end upon the edge of the rocky precipice, and pointing at the other up the line of the Millgate. And there is it expreſsly mentioned as a channel even in a late record of 1422, and thence is it expreſsly pointed up the line of the Millgate to the top [4].

Such was the ſummer-camp for the Friſian garriſon of Mancunium! Thither the garriſon removed in the beginning of our ſummer, and there they reſided during the continuance of it. Not that the whole body of the garriſon ever removed. Some undoubtedly remained in the winter-ſtation, as many as were ſufficient to ſecure it; and theſe were the more commodiouſly lodged in the abſence of the reſt. The number of theſe however muſt neceſſarily have been the ſmaller, as the ſtation of the ſummer was ſo near to the caſtrum of the winter. And the area of the former muſt have been covered, not with ſtructures of timber and ſtone, as the latter was, but with the cooler habitations of tents. Theſe muſt have been reared at the beginning of the ſummer and previous to the removal of the Friſians to the former. Theſe muſt have been taken down at the concluſion of the ſummer and poſterior to the return of the Friſians to the latter, and have been laid up during their reſidence at it in the little arſenal of the garriſon. And the aſpect of this caſtrum muſt have been nearly the ſame as that of the other, the tents of the ſoldiers being ranged in the ſame lines, the ſtandards of the centuries and the vexilla of the contubernia riſing over them, and the pavilion of the commandant the ſtandard of the cohort and the temple of the garriſon riſing equally together, and towering gracefully over the whole.

[1] Mr. Percival in Phil. Tranſ. — [2] B. II. ch. iii. ſ. 2. — [3] So at the ſtation of Brough in Derbyſhire. There, as here, the Prætorium was upon one ſide and along the lofty margin of the river-bank. — [4] In a record kept at the collegiate church of Manchester, entitled the feoffment made by the feoffees to John Huntingdon warden.

IV.

IT is ſuppoſed by the ſenſible and accurate Horſeley, that the Roman garriſon in Britain during the ſecond third and fourth centuries amounted only to three legions, the ſixth Victorious, the twentieth Valerian and Victorious, and the ſecond Auguſtan, and the auxiliaries regularly attendant upon them [1]. And with this ſuppoſition the Hiſtory of Dio the Geography of Ptolemy and the Itinerary of Antonine ſeem all to concur, as they all mention theſe three and only theſe three legions to be reſident in the iſland [2]. This number of legions, as appears from the complement of a ſingle legion during the ſecond third and fourth centuries, which was ſix thouſand one hundred foot and ſeven hundred and twenty-ſix horſe [3], and from the ſtated proportion of the auxiliary to the legionary troops, which was equal in the infantry and double in the cavalry [4], muſt have contained about thirty-ſix thouſand ſix hundred foot and ſix thouſand five hundred and thirty-four horſe. Such muſt have been the greateſt amount of them, even if every corps had its full complement of men. And we can have little doubt, but among a nation which was extremely numerous [5], and in a country which was only in part ſubdued, the legions and their auxiliaries were conſtantly ſupplied with freſh recruits and maintained in their full force.

But, thus conſidered, three legions and their auxiliaries are plainly inſufficient for the purpoſes of garriſoning the iſland. The long liſt which the two Itineraries give us of the Roman ſtations in Britain abſolutely demonſtrates them to be inſufficient. That liſt preſents us with one hundred and forty or one hundred and fifty ſtations, even after the Romans had retired to the vallum of Antoninus, and had abandoned all the ſtations that extended from Inverneſs to the Friths. Thoſe muſt certainly have been all of them conſtantly garriſoned by the Romans, as otherwiſe they would neither have been conſtructed at firſt nor have

been recited in the Itineraries afterwards. And I have ſhewn each ſtation to have been attended with various little cheſters, which muſt have required garriſons nearly equal in their amount to the complement of the principal ſtation. But it would be evidently ridiculous to diſtribute a body of forty-three thouſand men into one hundred and forty principal ſtations, as ſuch a diſtribution could allot only about three hundred and ſeven for a ſtation and its attendant caſtellets.

The garriſon of every ſtation in the Itinerary with its caſtellets, except five or ſix that were merely conſtructed Ad Fines, could not poſſibly have been leſs than four hundred effective men. A greater number muſt have been requiſite for moſt, and a ſmaller would not be ſufficient for any. And, even upon this diſpoſition, the total amount of troops requiſite for one hundred and forty garriſons would be fifty-ſix thouſand men. This is apparently the ſmalleſt number of troops that we can ſuppoſe to have reſided in the kingdom. But a much greater muſt certainly have reſided in it, as, during the diſperſion of the reſt, ſome more conſiderable bodies muſt have been kept together, the more effectually to overawe the conquered Britons within the walls and the unconquered Britons without. And ſuch bodies actually appear to have been kept together, one large corps being quartered at York, another at Cheſter, and a third at Caerleon in Monmouthſhire.

This being the caſe, there muſt neceſſarily have been more than three legions within the iſland. The poſitive teſtimony of Joſephus aſſures us, that there were no leſs than four in the iſland during the reign of Veſpaſian [c]. And the accounts of Richard, and the diſcovered inſcriptions of the Romans, evince that there were more afterwards. Several inſcriptions have been found at Caer Rhun or the antient Conovium in Wales, which clearly exhibited the name of the tenth legion. The fact is very particularly authenticated, having the united atteſtation of the reverend Mr. Brickdale and of Dr. Gale, each unknown to the other, and both concurring in the ſame teſtimony [d]. Hence the tenth legion appears undeniably to have been quartered among the

Ordovices

Ordovices in general and at the ſtation of Conovium in particular. And it muſt have long remained at the latter, becauſe the ſtill-remaining name of a neighbouring mountain, Mynydh Caer Lheion or the Mountain of the City of the Legion [7], ſhews the town to have obtained the ſame name among the neighbouring Britons, that Deva the ſeat of the ſixth legion for three centuries acquired on one ſide, and that Iſca Silurum the ſeat of the ſecond for as long a period ſtill retains on the other [8]. And to this we may add the Claudian legion, as the ſeventh was peculiarly called, having obtained that particular honour from the ſenate becauſe of its particular attachment to Claudius during the ſhort-lived but alarming rebellion of 42 [9]. This legion was ſettled at Glouceſter in the reign of Claudius [10]. And at Glouceſter it muſt have remained for a conſiderable period, as in the hiſtorical monuments of the Romans which Richard of Cirenceſter inſpected the town was denominated from it Legio Claudia, and as in our own monuments it ſtill retains the ſimilar appellation of Claudioceſtria [11].

Thus have we diſcovered five legions reſident for a long time within the iſland, two additional to the number ſuppoſed by Mr. Horſeley, and ſeemingly fixed by the Geography of Ptolemy the Hiſtory of Dio and the Itinerary of Antoninus. But the general liſts of the Roman legions in theſe authors are very defective. That of Dio, which is the fulleſt, mentions only thirty-one in the whole, that of Antoninus only twenty-ſix, and that of Ptolemy only ſeventeen. Such are their liſts of the Roman legions. And as the two laſt of them appear particularly defective upon a collation merely with the firſt, ſo is this expreſsly declared to be the liſt of thoſe legions only which conſiſted entirely of Roman citizens [12]. And the many legions that were compoſed of private volunteers from the ſubject nations, and which were very diſtinct from the bodies of auxiliaries ſupplied by the national authority of each, as the fifth legion of the Gauls, the tenth of the Batavians [13], and the twelve others that are recited in the following liſt, all theſe are abſolutely and profeſſedly omitted in this [14]. The authentic records of inſcriptions

demonſtrate

demonſtrate the number of both to have been fifty or ſixty at leaſt [15]. And the ſuggeſtions of common ſenſe, ſtill more authentic than records, evince the abſolute neceſſity of as many (independently of the national auxiliaries) to ſecure the wide-extended dominions of the Roman empire. The expreſs number of the Roman legions appears indeed from Dio to have been only about twenty-three or twenty-five from the reign of Auguſtus to the reign of Alexander Severus [16], and appears from inſcriptions to have never exceeded thirty-ſix afterwards. And this has been generally ſuppoſed by our antiquarians to be abſolutely the whole number of the Roman legions. But as ſeveral of theſe were certainly legions of foreign volunteers, ſo each of the others, except perhaps the eighth the eleventh the fourteenth and the thirtieth, had ſeveral extraordinary brigades of citizens or of foreigners belonging to them, every one of which had equally the complement and the denomination of a legion, and was diſtinguiſhed from each other and from the original brigade of the legion by ſome additional title. This title was generally aſſumed by theſe and by the original brigades from the kingdoms of their firſt or longeſt reſidence. Hence in Dio's catalogue of purely Roman legions we find ſo many of them diſtinguiſhed by the denominations of Gallic, Cyrenean, Scythian, Macedonian, Egyptian, Germanic, and Parthic [17]. And hence the tenth Twin legion, being long ſtationed in Germany, and the ſecond Auguſtan, being longer ſettled in Britain, appear under the particular appellation of the tenth Germanic and the ſecond Britanic legions in Ptolemy and the Notitia. The titles of the original and of the additional brigades were frequently derived from the name of the emperor under whom the legion or its brigades had been originally raiſed, or by whom the one or the other had been particularly favoured. And as the original and the additional battalions can ſeldom be diſtinguiſhed by the nature of their names, ſo may they conſtantly be diſtinguiſhed by the catalogue of Dio. Thus the ſeventh legion had the ſeveral legionary brigades which were called the ſeventh Claudian and the ſeventh Galban, two brigades

conſiſting

conſiſting of Romans and therefore ſpecified by Dio, and the ſeventh Twin, the ſeventh Twin Claudian, and the ſeventh Twin Antonian, three brigades conſiſting of foreigners, and therefore omitted by him [18]. And thus the tenth had the tenth Fretan and the tenth Twin, two enumerated brigades of Romans, and the tenth Antonian Auguſtan and the tenth Batavian, two unnoticed brigades of foreigners [19].

The tenth legion is mentioned by Dio, and is placed by him in Judea; and Joſephus had previouſly placed it at Jeruſalem [20]. And the brigade intended by both appears undeniably from the Notitia to have been equally denominated the tenth Fretan [21]. That brigade was ſettled in Judea by Titus: and in Judea it continued to the period of the Notitia. But the legion which was ſtationed in Wales, and which appears from the above-mentioned inſcriptions to have been certainly a brigade of the tenth, appears pretty clearly from a coin which was diſcovered in that country and which was inſcribed with the following name, to have been the tenth Antonian Auguſtan [22]. This from its appellation appears to have been a ſingle legion; but the ſeventh was a double one. Many of the legionary brigades were denominated Gemellæ, Geminæ, or Twins, becauſe they were compounded of two brigades and had a double complement of men [23]. Such was a brigade of the tenth of the thirteenth and of the fourteenth legions [24]. Such alſo, as appears above, were three of the five brigades in the ſeventh. One of theſe, the Twin Claudian legion, was that which was ſtationed at Glouceſter. It could not have been, as Dr. Stukeley ſuppoſes it to be, the brigade which was denominated more ſimply the ſeventh Claudian legion, which accompanied Cæſar in his firſt expedition into Britain, and which from the days of Dio to the period of the Notitia was ſtationed conſtantly in the Higher Mœſia [25]. Our Claudian legion appears to have been continued in the iſland after the days of Dio, and even to the days of Carauſius [26]. Our Claudian legion muſt therefore have been the only other brigade of the ſeventh which bore the title of Claudian,

dian, and which obtained the diſcriminative title of the Twin Claudian [27].

The troops then which the Romans maintained in the iſland were five legions, one of which was a double legion, and all of which had their attendant auxiliaries, or about ſeventy-three thouſand foot and thirteen thouſand horſe. The head-quarters of one of theſe legions, the twentieth, were in all probability fixed at Cheſter by the direction of Agricola and at the termination of his war. The twentieth legion certainly reſided at Cheſter within ſeventy years after that period [28]. And we have the poſitive teſtimony of Malmeſbury, perhaps the vehicle of tradition, but probably the copier of hiſtory, that one or more of the Julian legions, the legions commanded by Julius Agricola, were actually ſettled at Cheſter [29]. We have alſo the determinate the deciſive teſtimony of Richard, that Cheſter was originally conſtructed by the ſoldiers of the twentieth legion [30]. And the Friſian cohort which reſided at Mancunium muſt in all probability have been a part of its auxiliaries, one of the eight cohorts which were annexed to the ten of the legion, and which muſt ordinarily have accompanied the legion upon expeditions in war, and ordinarily have been diſpoſed within the ſtations that were neareſt to it in peace.

But the whole of the Friſian cohort, as I have previouſly mentioned, was not lodged in the ſtation upon the Medlock. Six detachments from it were conſtantly kept in the ſix ſtations of Stretford and of Stockport, of Lowcaſter and of Raineſhow, and of Caſtle-Hill and Hillwood. The firſt ſtation muſt have required about nine Contubernia or an hundred men for a garriſon; the third and fourth about an hundred and thirty men; and the fifth ſixth and ſecond about an hundred and twenty [31]. Thus three hundred and fifty of the Mancunian Friſians were conſtantly detached upon duty to theſe ſix ſubordinate caſtra. Each corps muſt have been under the regulation of the ſame diſcipline as the main body. And each muſt have been ſoon recalled to

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the duties of the principal ſtation, and have been ſoon ſucceeded by a new draught from the principal garriſon [32].

[1] B. I. ch. vi.—[2] Dion p. 794. and 795.—[3] Vegetius l. ii. c. 6. and 7. where he ſpeaks expreſly of Ordinatio legionis antiquæ. —[4] See Horſeley p. 87.—[5] Cæſar p. 88. Hominum eſt infinita multitudo.—[6] De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 16, Camden col. 801. Gibſon, and Gale p. 122. See therefore a miſtake in Horſeley concerning this legion.—[7] Camden col. 802.—[8] See a miſtake therefore in Dr. Gale p. 123.—[9] Dion p. 795. and Urſatus.— [10] Richard p. 24. 36. and 51.—[11] Richard p. 36. and Higden p. 198. Gale, &c. &c.—[12] Dio p. 794. στρατοπεδα Πολιτικα. and p. 797. των εκ τε Καλαλογε στρατευομενων.—[13] Suetonius in Cæſare cap. 24. and Gruter p. 514.—[14] Dio p. 797.—[15] See Sertorius Urſatus.— [16] Dio p. 794. and Sertorius.—[17] P. 794 and 797.—[18] Dio p. 795 and 796, the two legionary pillars in Gruter p. 513, and Sertorius.—[19] Dio p. 795, Notitia in Judæa, Gruter p. 514, and Gale p. 122. And ſee the annexed liſt.—[20] Joſephus p. 1297. Hudſon.—[21] P. 91. Pancirollus.—[22] Gale p. 122.—[23] Dio p. 796. and Sertorius, and Cæſar p. 284.—[24] Dio p. 795 and 796.— [25] Dio p. 795. and Notitia p. 104.—[26] Stukeley's Carauſius v. I. p. 175.—[27] And the additional title of Gemina to this legion is omitted in Stukeley's coins, as the appellation of Fretenſis to the tenth is omitted in Dio and Joſephus; as the epithet of Gemina to the fourteenth is never mentioned by Tacitus, though the legion appears from Richard to have had the epithet while it remained in Britain; and as the titles of V. V. or Valerian Victorious to the twentieth legion are dropt in the inſcription upon an altar at Wroxeter (Phil. Tranſ. 1755. p. 196). See alſo the annexed liſt.—[28] Horſeley's Cheſhire N° 3.—[29] So the Appian Way in Italy from Appius Claudius. So Cohors Ælia, Pons Ælii, &c. in Britain from Ælius Hadrianus. And ſo the Julian Way in Wales from Julius Frontinus.—Malmeſbury De Geſtis Pontificum Anglorum lib. iv. Sir H. Saville p. 164. has altered Julianarum into Militarium without aſſigning a ſingle reaſon.

The only reaſon, I ſuppoſe, was the remark of Leland p. 53. vol. ix. Oxford edit. 2d. And Mr. Selden has juſtly blamed Sir Henry for the alteration. The MSS. in Leland's time read Julianarum. And Mr. Selden's MS., one very near in date to Malmeſbury's time and formerly belonging to the priory of St. Auſtin at Canterbury, read the ſame (Poly-Olbion p. 182.)—[30] Romanorum Colonia Deva, opus viceſimæ legionis, Richard p. 24.—[31] Vegetius lib. ii. c. 13.—[32] Vegetius lib. ii. c. 19.

A LIST

A LIST

OF THE

ROMAN LEGIONS,

Collected from the Geography of Ptolemy the Hiſtory of Dio and the Itinerary of Antoninus. Such Legions as were compoſed of Roman Citizens I have noted accordingly. Such as were embodied in or before the reign of Auguſtus I have noticed by ſubjoining the name of Auguſtus to them. And ſuch as were embodied afterwards I have referred to their proper Emperors by a ſimilar note.

Ptolemy. Bertius.	Dio. P. 794—796.	Antoninus. Bertius.	
P. 53. Legio 1. L. Germany	Leg. 1. Minervia L. Germ. raiſed by Domitian.	— — — —	Citizens.
P. 63. Leg. 1 Adjut. H. Pannonia	Leg. 1. Adj. L. Pannonia raiſed by Galba	P. 15. Leg. 1. Adj. Pannonia	Citizens.
P. 88. Leg. 1. Ital. L. Mæſia	Leg. 1 Ital. L. Mæſia raiſed by Nero	P. 14. Leg. 1. Ital. Lower Mæſia	Citizens
P. 159. Leg..... on the Euphrates	Leg. 1. Parthic. Meſopotamia raiſed by Severus	— — — —	Citizens.
— — — —	— — — —	P. 14. Leg. 1. Jovia L. Mæſia	Foreigners.
P. 37. Leg. 2. Aug. Britain.	Leg. 2. Aug. Britain Auguſtus	P. 31. Leg. 2. Aug. Britain	Citizens.

Ptolemy.	Dio.	Antoninus.	
— — — —	Leg. 2. Adj. L. Pannonia raiſed by Veſpaſian	— — — —	Citizens.
— — — —	— — — —	P. 14. Leg. 2. Herculea—Scythia	Foreigners.
P. 53. Leg. Trajan. L. Germany	Leg. 2. Egypt. Traj. L. Germany raiſed by Trajan	— — — —	Citizens.
— — — —	Leg. 2. Italica Noricum—raiſed by M. Antoninus	— — — —	Citizens.
— — — —	Leg. 2. Media Italy raiſed by Severus	— — — —	Citizens.
P. 111. Leg. 3 Aug. Numidia	Leg. 3 Aug. Numidia Auguſtus	— — — —	Citizens.
P. 163. Leg..... Arabia	Leg. 3 Cyren. Arabia Auguſtus	— — — —	Citizens.
— — — —	Leg. 3 Gallica Phœnicia Auguſtus	— — — —	Citizens.
— — — —	Leg. 3 Ital. Rhætia—raiſed by M. Antoninus	— — — —	Citizens.
— — — —	Leg. 3 Parthica Meſopotamia raiſed by Severus	— — — —	Citizens.
— — — —	Leg. 4 Scyth. Syria Auguſtus	— — — —	Citizens.

of the ſame period the lord of Pilkington near Mancheſter is equally mentioned to poſſeſs one fourth of a fee from the ſame baron "in antient farm and finding one judge for the king [27]." Theſe courts determined all the diſputes emergent in the little kingdoms of the Britons. But to the king's own private determination were referred all cauſes that related to the crown, reſpected the king, or belonged to any of the royal family [28].

All theſe Gorſeddau or courts of judicature muſt have been conſtantly convened under the Romans, as they were certainly aſſembled at firſt, in the open air, upon the ſummit or the ſlope of an hill, within ſome appropriated circle of ſtones or ſome appropriated amphitheatre of ſtones and turf. In the regions of Caledonia and Ireland they were aſſembled for ages after this period upon the ſide of an hill, and the judges were ſeated upon green banks of earth; the grounds being formerly denominated the Mute or Moot Hills in Caledonia, and being now entitled the Parle or Parling Hills in Ireland [29]. And in the Romanized regions of Britannia Secunda or Wales even the ſupreme judicature of the kingdom, which was frequently held by the king in perſon, was in all cauſes of inheritance antiently convened in the open air as late as the tenth century [30]. The judges were paid for their deciſions by the gainer of the cauſe; and the rate of the payment was ſettled by the law [31]. And the judges determined by a Brawd-lyfr, a Cauſe-book, or a code of laws, which appears to have been drawn up before the reign of Howel, which was aſſuredly compiled in the period of the Roman reſidence, and which contained all the antient inſtitutes and authentic cuſtoms of the country, the common-law of Lancaſhire and of Britain [32].

The caſualties of wrecks and of treaſure-trove belonged to the king, who was neceſſarily in all the feudal kingdoms the general owner of ſuch property as was challenged by no other claimant [33]. The half of the former however was reſigned by the crown to the private lord of the domain upon which it was accidentally thrown [34]. The uninterrupted poſſeſſion of an eſtate reaſonably conferred an abſolute right to it; but it was the poſſeſſion

Ptolemy.	Dio.	Antoninus.	
—— —— ——	Leg. 10. —— Judæa Auguſtus	—— —— ——	Citizens.
—— —— ——	—— —— ——	P. 22 and 23. Leg. 10. Germ. and Gaul.	Foreigners.
—— —— ——	Leg. 11 Claud. L. Mæſia Auguſtus	P. 14. Leg. 11 Claud. L. Mæſia	Citizens.
—— —— ——	Leg. 12 Fulminans Cappadocia Auguſtus	—— —— ——	Citizens.
—— —— ——	—— —— ——	P. 23. Leg. 12. Germ. and Gaul	Foreigners.
—— —— ——	—— —— ——	P. 15 and 22. Leg. 13. Germ. and Gaul	Foreigners.
—— —— ——	Leg. 13 Gemina Dacia Auguſtus	—— —— ——	Citizens.
P. 63. Leg. 14 Germ. H. Pantonia	Leg. 14 Gemina H. Pannonia Auguſtus	P. 14. Leg. 14 Gemina—H. Mæſia	Citizens.
	Leg. 15 Apollin. Cappadocia Auguſtus		Citizens.

Ptolemy.	Dio.	Antoninus.	
— — —	— — —	P. 23. Leg. 15. Germany	Foreigners.
— — —	— — —	P. 22 & 23. Leg. 16. Gaul and Germ.	Foreigners.
P. 14. Legio .... Gaul	— — —	P. 22. Leg. 18. Gaul	Foreigners.
P. 37. Leg. 20 Vict. Britain	Leg. 20 Val. Vict. Britain Augustus	P. 29. Leg. 20 Vict. Britain	Citizens.
— — —	Leg. 20 Val. H. Germ. Augustus	P. 23 and 14. Leg. 20 or Leg. Valer. Germ. & L. Mæs.	Citizens.
— — —	— — —	P. 23. Leg. 22. Germ. and Gaul	Foreigners.
— — —	— — —	P. 23. Leg. 23. Germany	Foreigners.
— — —	— — —	P. 23. Leg. 24. Germany	Foreigners.

P. 23.

Ptolemy.	Dio.	Antoninus.	
		P. 23. Leg. 25. Germany	Foreigners.
P. 53. Leg. 30 Ulpia L. Germany	Leg. 30 Ger. Ulpia raiſed by Trajan	P. 15. Leg. 30 Ulpia Germany	Citizens.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

I.

REGULARLY as the Romans extended their conqueſts in the iſland, they appear equally to have erected ſtations for themſelves and to have conſtructed cities for the Britons. Thus the towns of Glouceſter Colcheſter London and Verulam were certainly erected by Claudius, and immediately after the firſt permanent conqueſt which the Romans effected amongſt us [1]. And as many inferior towns muſt have been equally conſtructed at the ſame period, ſo remains demonſtrate Chicheſter and tradition aſſerts Cirenceſter in particular to have been both conſtructed at it [2]. Such was the practice of the Romans in their firſt, and ſuch muſt have been equally their practice in their ſubſequent, conqueſts of the Britons. By this means the progreſs of their arms was diſtinctly marked by the progreſs of cultivation, and the face of the iſland was gradually brightened up as the line of their conqueſts was advanced. By this means, when Agricola invaded the county of Lancaſter, the country upon one ſide of the line, beneath the refining government of the Romans, exhibited a pleaſing picture of populous cities and ſpreading corn-fields in the boſoms of extenſive woods, and the country upon the other preſented one uniformly dreary ſcene of moſſes, woods, and marſhes, embrowned heaths, and ſolitary manſions.

But this was not long the general aſpect of Lancaſhire. The Romans advanced into the county, and imported all the uſeful refinements of civil life. Theſe they introduced, not with the godlike deſign of ſoftening the rough genius of Lancaſhire and of diffuſing the ſweets of ſocial happineſs among its inhabitants,

but merely to promote the little purpoſes of their own ſelfiſh policy. That eternal wiſdom however which gave all the central regions of the globe to the Romans, and gave them for reaſons worthy the great Father of Humanity, directed the low cunning of man to his own exalted ends, the higher cultivation of the rational powers, and the better propagation of the ſyſtem of redeeming benevolence, among the Britons of Mancunium and of Lancaſhire.

Agricola ſubdued the county in his remarkable campaign of 79. In the autumn of that year he ordered the ſtationary forts to be erected. This was neceſſarily the firſt object of his attention. His ſecond had a deeper reach and more permanent conſequences. Actuated by the ſame principles of policy as had actuated the conduct of the preceding legates, he adopted the ſame political expedients. If the Britons of Lancaſhire adhered to their original mode of living, and dwelt diſperſed amid their extenſive foreſts or roved uncivilized among their extenſive marſhes, they would keep alive in their breaſts their original ſpirit of independency, and be ever prompt for inſurrections. Agricola therefore exerted all his addreſs by private encouragements and public aſſiſtances, by praiſes to the willing chieftains and by rebukes to the unwilling, to invite the Siſtuntii from their habitations in the one or the other to a common reſidence in towns. And his addreſs prevailed. Many of the Siſtuntii deſerted their woods and ſwamps, and formed themſelves into the little communities of cities [3].

Such was the firſt and original commencement of the preſent towns of Lancaſhire in general. Such was the firſt and original commencement of the town of Mancheſter in particular. In the autumn of 79 aroſe the eight towns of Lancaſter, Overborough, Freckleton, Blackrode, and Ribcheſter, Colne, Warrington, and Mancheſter. The erection of the towns in general is expreſsly aſſerted by Tacitus. The erection of theſe in particular is ſufficiently atteſted by that Itinerary which was compoſed about ſixty years only after the conqueſt of Lancaſhire. Six of theſe are particularly mentioned in it, and mentioned not merely

as ſtations but as cities, as cities adjoining to the ſtations, and as included in the ſame names and forming the ſame towns with them. Hence, and hence only, are ſome of the ſtations in that Itinerary mentioned as enjoying the honourable title of Colonies, more of them as poſſeſſing the Freedom of Italy, and ſtill more as being only Stipendiary.

Thus was the autumn of 79 the very remarkable epoch of the firſt erection of our preſent towns in Lancaſhire. And theſe were all placed in the neighbourhood of the Roman ſtations. So placed were all the towns that had been previouſly conſtructed in the ſouth, ſuch only excepted as were formed into colonies from the beginning and had therefore no ſtations attendant upon them. The town of Londinium in particular, which even in the reign of Nero was famous for the number of its merchants and the extent of its commerce, but which was not then converted into a colony, was erected near to the ſtation on St. Paul's Church-yard, and was carried along the line of the preſent Watling-ſtreet and Cheapſide[1]. And all the towns of Lancaſhire muſt have been erected upon ſimilar ſites. So ſituated, they beſt anſwered the policy of the legate and the accommodation of the garriſon. And ſo ſituated all the Roman accounts of the iſland plainly ſhew them to have been, almoſt every ſtation in thoſe accounts being cloſely connected with one or other of our preſent towns, and antiquarian criticiſm being conſiderably employed in aſcertaining the particular connection.

The town of Rerigonium was erected immediately to the north of the caſtrum, ſpreading from the influx of a brook into the Ribble up to the foſſe of the ſtation.* At that point which now forms the bank of the town, the channel of the Ribble, and ſome meadow-ground to the ſouth of both, have been diſcovered the moſt conſiderable remains. The Ribble has been almoſt the only diſcoverer of antiquities. And as he yearly bears down the bank of the town, and transfers a part of its ſite to the ſouthern margin of his current, the floorings and foundations of houſes have been viſible in the face of the bank and about two or three feet only beneath the ſurface of it. The town of Coccium,

as the regular tradition of the preſent Blackrode aſſerts, was erected along the ſlope of the preſent hill, and was continued within a few yards from the ſtation, from the barrow called Haſty-knoll, and from the river Douglas. And the town of Veratinum was built upon the humble elevation of the ground which terminates the marſhy level of the Broad Howley on the north-eaſt, and which is the boundary of the flooding Merſey. This was the neareſt ſite to the ſtation that was raiſed above the reach of the floods. There the antient church and the attendant parſonage continue to the preſent period. There was originally the mote or court of the town, a ſmall rounded knoll a little to the eaſt of the church being formerly denominated the Mote-hill. And there the town of Warrington continued to the concluſion of the fifteenth century, even till the paſſage over the antient ford was deſerted, a bridge was thrown acroſs the Merſey below it, and the road was diverted from the one to the other. And as the town of Lancaſter was conſtructed in the vicinity of the ſtationary hill, and upon the later ſite of the friery; the town of Overborough cloſe to the ſtation, and, like it, betwixt the two currents of the Lac and the Lune[6]; and the town of Colne aſſuredly in the immediate vicinity of Caſter-cliff; ſo the town of the Siſtuntian Harbour was raiſed upon the neareſt convenient ſite, where the high grounds of the Neſs began to ſlope gently towards the Ribble, and where the little village of Freckleton ſtands pleaſantly at preſent. The town of Mancheſter was originally conſtructed, not as the old central parts of it are now planted, at the diſtance nearly of a mile from the Caſtle-field, but in the nearer the more immediate neighbourhood of the ſtation. No tradition however aſcertains the particular ſite. In the vicinity of a great town and in a multiplicity of commercial avocations, little attention is generally paid to the remains of antiquity or to the whiſpers of tradition concerning them. But there is a ſmall diſtrict which encompaſſes the Caſtle-field upon three ſides, which is very frequently mentioned in our records, and which is all denominated ALDPORT or Old Borough. Some-

where

where therefore within the compaſs of this diſtrict muſt the town have originally ſtood. And a little fold of houſes remains in this diſtrict to the preſent period, which carries in all the records of the place the actual appellation of ALDPORTTON or Old Borough Town [7]. On the ground therefore immediately contiguous to theſe houſes muſt the town have been originally planted. And betwixt the Caſtle-field and the fold is an area of ſixteen or ſeventeen acres, which is now converted chiefly into gardens, and which was certainly the original area of the antient Mancheſter. This lies immediately without the northern barriers of the ſtation, and this extends up to the new houſes and the new church in the Camp-field. In the immediate ſkirts of a great town the plough muſt have long and frequently ranſacked the ground. And the many antiquities which it called into light would either be never attended to at all or be ſeen admired and forgotten. But the ſoil of the ſouthern part of this area is abſolutely one great body of adventitious earth, fragments of bricks, pieces of hewn ſtones, and remnants of urns. Huge blocks of a millſtone-grit, ſuch as appeared in the rude foundation of the Britons within the Caſtle-field, and what had undoubtedly been brought down by the torrents of the Medlock, have been recently dug up within the circuit of the area with their mortar firmly adhering to them. And the whole level of the ground appears to have been traverſed with ſtreets of regular pavement in a variety of directions acroſs it.

Upon that particular ground then which is terminated by an high ſteep bank and a moraſs below it on the weſt, by the great foſſe of the ſtation on the ſouth, by the preſent highway or Aldport-lane on the eaſt, and by Ticklepitcher-lane or Camp-field on the north, was the TOWN OF MANCHESTER originally erected. Upon this plat, then in the depth of the extenſive wood of Arden, were the Siſtuntii of this region induced by Agricola to erect a town. Thus induced, they felled the trees which from the firſt poſſeſſion of the iſland had been the only tenants of the ſoil. They laid open the area, then firſt laid open,

to

to the influence of the ſun and winds. And they conſtructed their houſes with the timber. The town was undoubtedly erected along the courſe of the road to Ribcheſter, commencing at firſt near the foſſe of the ſtation, extending in one direct ſtreet along the road, and afterwards forking off from it into others. And the ways of our towns muſt have originally received the Roman appellation of ſtreets, becauſe the rows of our houſes were originally conſtructed along the line, and the paſſages between them were originally carried along the courſe, of the Roman highways or ſtreets.

Such was the ſpot which Agricola ſelected for the poſition of the town of Mancunium. And ſuch was the commencement of a town that was to become ſo conſpicuous afterwards, to lengthen out into fair ſtreets, and to open into graceful ſquares, to contain aſſembled thouſands within her ample circuit, and to extend her varied commerce beyond the barriers of the ocean. The TOWN OF MANCHESTER commenced very early in the ſhort reign of the amiable Titus, about the period of the firſt famous eruption from the flaming Veſuvius, the deſtruction of Herculaneum, and the death of the elder Pliny, and about the months of September and October in the ever-memorable year 79.

[1] Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 33. and lib. xii. c. 32. and Richard p. 24.—[2] Richard p. 24. and Stukeley's Itin. Curioſ. p. 195.—[3] Ut Homines diſperſi ac rudes, eóque bello faciles, quieti et otio per voluptates aſſueſcerent, hortari privatim, adjuvare publice, ut templa, fóra, domus extruerent, laudando promptos et caſtigando ſegnes, &c. Tacitus Agric. Vit. c. 21. Theſe and the ſubſequent words have hitherto been ſtrangely applied to the conquered Britons at large. But, as I have here ſhewed, towns had been erected in the ſouth before.—[4] Richard p. 36, &c.—[5] Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 33. and Wren's Parentalia p. 265.—[6] Camden p. 617. and Leland vol. v. p. 82.—[7] From ſome conſtructions made here about forty years ago by a gentleman of the name of Hooper the old appellation has been popularly altered

tered into Hooper-ton. So Aldport itſelf, being once made a park, has the name of Aldparc in Camden.

II.

TO this period the Siſtuntii of the neighbouring diſtrict had lived as the unconquered Britons of the ſouthern countries had lived before, and as the unconquered Britons of the northern continued to live. They were divided into little clans or families, and each acknowledged the authority of its proper chief. The number of ambacton or clients in each was different in different families, and was naturally greater or leſſer according to the reſpective wealth of the chiefs. And theſe retainers always attended the car of their lord to war, and were always ſettled around his habitation in peace [1].

The lord's habitation was ſometimes fixed conſpicuouſly upon the ſummit of a hill, peeping over the tops of the ſurrounding trees, and commanding all the neighbouring country [2]. More commonly it was placed within the cavity of a valley, and either upon the margin of one ſtream or at the confluence of two, for the conveniency of water and the ſecurity from winds [3]. In both caſes the ambacton lived either more immediately about the perſon of their chief, or in little booths along the windings of the vale; the latter however being always within reach of the uſual ſignals from the manſion, the ſtriking the ſhield or the blowing the horn of the chief [4].

The manſion was all conſtructed of wood, was all one ground-ſtory, and all compoſed a large oblong and quadrangular court [5]. A conſiderable portion of this was taken up by the apartments of ſuch as were retained more immediately in the ſervice of the ſeignior. And as the reſt was more particularly his own habitation, ſo it conſiſted of one great and ſeveral little rooms [6]. In the great room was the armoury of the lord; the arms of his fathers, the gifts of friends and the ſpoils of enemies, being diſpoſed in order around the walls [7]. In the great room ſat the

lord

ſord with his family and his gueſts about him, all liſtening to the hiſtorical ſong and the five-ſtringed harp of his bards or to the ſongs and the harps of his daughters, and all drinking from cups of ſhell [8].

The veniſon of the Britons was prepared in a manner equally curious and artful. It was laid upon a bed of flaming fern, and it was covered with a layer of ſmooth flat ſtones and another of fern above it [9]. And their ordinary liquors were only water, milk, or metheglin [10]. But upon all feſtival occaſions they drank that well-known beverage which was then denominated Curmi and is now denominated Curwi by the Welch and Ale by the Engliſh [11]. This liquor, originally the ſubſtitute of wine in ſuch countries as could not produce the grape, was originally made in Egypt, the firſt planted country in the diſperſion from the eaſt that was found unable to produce it [12]. And as the great Noachian colonies pierced further into the weſt, they found or thought they found the ſame defect, and ſupplied it in the ſame manner. Thus the natives of Spain the inhabitants of France and the aborigines of Britain all uſed an infuſion of barley for their ordinary liquor, which was called by the various names of Cælia and Ceria in Spain of Cerviſia in France and of Curmi in England, all literally importing only the ſtrong water [13]. This was more particularly the drink of the Britons. And this alone was tranſmitted from hand to hand in their cups of ſhell, when they feaſted with their chief, when the burning oak lighted up the circuit of his hall, and when the winds whiſtled through his open windows [14].

With this every chief muſt have been ſufficiently provided, the barley being undoubtedly brought into Lancaſhire from the more ſouthorly regions of the iſland, and being regularly exchanged with the Siſtuntians for their cattle. For ſuch or a ſimilar commerce only could the Siſtuntians have maintained half their numerous herds of cattle, as they appear to have lived equally upon veniſon as them [15]. And ſuch a commerce appears to have been actually carried on, even after the arrival of the Romans, to the extremeſt boundaries of the north [16]. Each

chief

chief therefore muſt have been furniſhed with the implements of a brewery, and muſt have prepared his own liquor. But as the implements muſt have been very few and the preparation very ſimple, ſo the liquor appears to have been very ſtrong, and both in colour and in flavour little inferior to wine [17].

In this ſtate of rural magnificence did the chiefs of the Mancunians live, when Agricola firſt urged them to reſide near the ſtation. From this ſtate of rural magnificence did Agricola induce one of them to depart, and to build the town of Mancunium. Attended by his train of followers, he relinquiſhed his abode either upon the airy ſandy heights of Pilkington, upon the brawlings of the ſylvan Roche, or along the mountain ramblings of the paſtoral Irwell, and ſettled with his clan upon the northern bank of the Medlock [18].

[1] Cæſar p. 120 and Diodorus p. 352 of the Gauls, and Tacitus Agric. Vit. c. xii. and Oſſian vol. I. p. 136 &c. of the Britons.—[2] Oſſian vol. I. p. 157 &c.—[3] Oſſian vol. I. p. 99, 129, &c. and vol. II. p. 183.—[4] Oſſian vol. I. p. 136 and vol. II. p. 71.—[5] Oſſian vol. II. p. 36, and Mona p. 89 and 246.—[6] Oſſian vol. I. p. 110.—[7] Oſſian vol. I. p. 99, 165, and vol. II. p. 222.—[8] Oſſian vol. I. p. 72, 240, 16, and 27, and Pegge's Coins of Cunobeline claſs 4. N° 1. and 3.—[9] Oſſian vol. I. p. 15 for Caledonia. The ſame mode of cookery was practiſed in Ireland, and is ſtill in ſome meaſure retained by the preſent Highlanders on their hunting parties; ſee Critical Diſſ. p. 132.—[10] Cæſar p. 89, Diodorus p. 350 of the Gauls and 357 of the Spaniards, and Strabo p. 305.—[11] Voſſius de Vitiis Serm. in Curmi, and Camden p. 419.—[12] Diodorus p. 24.—[13] Diodorus p. 350, Strabo p. 233, and Voſſius and Camden ibid. See alſo a Note below.—[14] Oſſian vol. I. p. 139 and 168.—[15] Dio p. 1280, ἐκ τε νόμης καὶ θηρὸς ζωντες.—[16] Oſſian p. 116. vol. I. and Richard p. 32. Mr. Macpherſon vol. I. p. 74 is inclined to think, that the Britons of Caledonia generally drank wine in the time of Fingal. But this is utterly incredible; and p. 116. vol. I. entirely refutes the notion.

notion. Speaking of cups ſtudded with gems, the tranſlation ſays thus, "*The* BLUE *Water* trembles on their ſtars and ſeems "to be ſparkling *Wine*." This ſufficiently proves the Caledonians to have been acquainted with wine, but to have generally drunk a different liquor. What idea however the ingenious tranſlator annexed to the words *Blue Water*, it is not eaſy to conceive. Curmi, the Britiſh word for Ale, may ſignify alſo Blue Water, Curm meaning Blue and Ui Water. And Curme is now the Highland word for a Great Feaſt (Crit. Diſſ. p. 329). This therefore was undoubtedly the word in the original; and the tranſlator, not adverting perhaps to the particular meaning of his author, or not acquainted with the explaining paſſages of the antients, has put down the one ſignification for the other. And this among other reaſons induces one ſtrongly to wiſh, that the truly ſpirited tranſlator would either publiſh the originals or depoſit them in ſome public library. See Preface to vol. I.—The true word however for Ale (as appears from the names Cæl-ia, Cær-ia, Cer-viſia, and Cur-mi or Cur-wi) is compounded of Ui or Uis Water, and of Cæl, Cer, and Cur, all one and the ſame word, and importing Strong; Gar, Ger, or A-kar ſignifying literally Sharp or Rough: See Baxter in Garionenum, and Catalogue under Eager in B. II. ch. vi. ſ. 2.—" Diodorus p. 4, 41, 242, and 248, and Oſſian vol. I. p. 74 and 116.—" B. II. ch. iii. ſ. 2.

III.

UPON the ſettlement of the neighbouring Siſſuntii in the immediate vicinity of the Roman ſtation, ſuch parts of the wood of Arden as cloſely ſkirted the ſite of the town muſt have been inſtantly cleared away. This was an employ with which the Mancunian ambacton were ſufficiently acquainted, and for which they were ſufficiently provided with inſtruments. The Britons, as I ſhall ſhew hereafter, had large forges and many artiſts employed in them. Furniſhed therefore with the requiſite weapons from

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the ſtorehouſe of their chieftain, they proceeded to the neceſſary buſineſs of deſtroying the immediately ſurrounding woods and of opening a ſufficiently ample area.

Loud ſounds the axe, redoubling ſtrokes on ſtrokes;
On all ſides round the foreſt hurls her oaks
Headlong; deep-echoing groan the thickets brown,
Then ruſtling, crackling, crashing, thunder down.

The actual ſite of the preſent Mancheſter muſt have been now firſt cleared of its venerable oaks. The region directly around the preſent Mancheſter muſt have now firſt felt the hand of cultivation. And both muſt have ſoon preſented to the eye a gaily mingled ſcene of paſtures meadows and corn-fields, finely contraſted by the gloomy majeſty of the encircling woods.

The uſeful arts of agriculture had been ſucceſsfully proſecuted among the Romans. This the variety of their writers upon the ſubject ſufficiently atteſts. And the ſame arts had been as ſucceſsfully purſued by all the tribes of the Gallic and by many of the Britiſh Celtæ. Of this the many particulars which the antients have mentioned concerning both are a ſufficient evidence [z]. But as the Celtæ varied from the Italians in ſome particulars of their rural conduct, the two different modes of management compoſed two diſtinct ſyſtems of agriculture. Of theſe the Britons of Mancunium might be naturally expected to have adopted the Roman. But they actually adopted the Celtic. The latter had been long tried in theſe northern climates, had been long approved by their brethren of Gaul and South-Britain, and was therefore ſuppoſed to be beſt adapted to the northern latitude of Lancaſhire.

Among the various manures with which the Roman farmers enriched their lands, they were totally unacquainted with the uſe of marle. The Celtæ of Britain and of Gaul were the firſt that had marked this unctuous clay in the boſom of the earth, and the firſt that had drawn it out and applied it to the purpoſes of agriculture. This they had found the moſt forceable and laſting of all manures, and had given it the honourable appel-

lation of Marrow, Marg, Margil, or Marl [3]. This they had even the credit of recommending to the Greeks, who had a communication with both through the colonists of Marseilles residing in the country of the one and trading to the natives of the other [4]. And this was distinguished into two sorts, the rough and the rich, both equally discriminated in the handling, and both greatly useful either for the corn-field or the grass-land [5]. And many other sorts were classed under both, the white tophaceous and the red or smoke marle under the former, and the white the pidgeon and the sandy marle under the latter [6]. The white tophaceous was reckoned infinitely fruitful upon corn-fields, if it was gathered from a springy soil, and was thought to burn the ground, if it was laid upon it in too great a quantity [7]. The red was mingled with gravel-stones, and was thought to be seasoned with salt, but was not half so heavy in the carriage as the others, and was spread in a thin coat upon the ground [8]. And both retained their fructifying influence for fifty years together upon corn-fields meadows or pastures [9]. The white was the principal of the rich marles, and was subdivided into several sorts, the very biting the silvery and the fat marle; the second being the favourite of the Britons, and the soft unctuous chalk of our Kentish farmers at present, and lasting eighty years upon the ground [10]; and the third being particularly used for grass-lands, often producing a good crop of grass upon corn-lands betwixt the end of the harvest and the commencement of the seed-time, and lasting thirty years [11]. The pidgeon marle was collected at first in hard stone-like glebes, but by the force of the sun and the power of the frost was dissolved into very thin and slender flakes, and was equally useful as the other [12]. The sandy marle was never used for any but the swampy ground, if any other could be got, and was preferred to every other for that [13]. And as the dry marle was laid upon the moist lands, the fat upon the dry, and either the silvery or the pidgeon upon lands of a proper temperature; so was every species ploughed into the ground, was mingled with a little dung, and produced no crop till the first year afterwards [14].

This account of the Celtic manure clearly points out to us the induſtrious reſearches, the minute diſcriminations, and the accurate knowledge of the Celtic farmers. And of theſe the Britiſh appear to have been the beſt, as they chiefly had marked the ſuperior excellence of the ſilvery marle [15]. Both the Gallic and the Britiſh farmers had made the diſcovery of ſeveral of theſe marles juſt a little before the conqueſt of Lancaſhire [16]. And the knowledge of this incomparable manure and its ſeveral kinds the Britons of the midland regions muſt have previouſly adopted from the ſouthern, and have now communicated to the Britons of Mancunium. The Siſtuntii now firſt opened their inexhauſtible treaſures of marle, and purſued the ſpreading veins of it in the ground, not following them, as the Britons of the ſouthern countries were obliged to follow them, and as we now trace the veins of coal, not enlarging their quarries from a narrow mouth above to an ample cavity below [17]. In France, where the marle generally ſinks eighty or ninety feet beneath the ſurface, and in South-Britain, where the unctuous chalk was denominated the ſilvery marle, ſuch a mining proceſs would be abſolutely neceſſary and is ſtill purſued in both. But the genuine marle of Britain lies much nearer the ſurface, ſeldom more than ſeven or eight feet below it, and commonly about three or four only. And in our own county particularly this beneficial manure is commonly found about two or three feet only beneath the level of the ground, and muſt therefore have been always purſued, as itis ſtill dug, to the depth of as many yards only. And the marle-pits which the Mancunians now made, and which were for ages probably the common marle-pits of the Mancunian precincts, appear pretty certainly to have been thoſe large cavities upon Shudehill and in Marketſtreet-lane which are now called, and have been for centuries denominated, THE DAUBHOLES or the quarries of marle. The original quarries were certainly near to the town, becauſe the precincts at that time extended only a little way from it. And theſe remained very lately in their original condition of marle-pits, and appear ſufficiently from the

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emphaticalneſs of their name to have been always the moſt remarkable about the town.

This manure was peculiarly adapted to the ſtrangely contrariant nature of the Mancunian ſoil, which is a compact clay, a light moraſs, a ſtrong gravel, or a deep ſand. This manure muſt have been now firſt introduced into the precincts of the town, where it is ſtill the one principal manure of the lands and the one principal cauſe of their great fertility. This manure muſt have been now firſt introduced into the county, where and in the adjoining Cheſhire the uſe of it is better underſtood than in any other part of the kingdom, and in both which it has changed the broad extent of our barren heaths and turfy moſſes into ſome of the beſt lands within them.

There were two ſorts of ſcythes that were uſed at this period in Europe, the one called the Italic or Roman, and the other denominated the Gallic or Celtic. The former of theſe was a ſhort one, like our preſent ſickle, and, like it, was managed by the right hand alone. The latter was a large one, like our preſent ſcythe, and, like it, was managed by both hands together [18]. The Britons of Mancunium preferred the Celtic to the Roman ſcythe, and firſt introduced it among us at this period. There, as all over the kingdom, it has continued to the preſent moment. There, as all over the kingdom, our preſent farmers ſtill continue to act upon the model of the Celtic huſbandmen, to cut the herbage at a diſtance from the ground, and to leave a conſiderable remainder behind [19].

Theſe are two diſtinguiſhing particulars which the Mancunian Britons adopted from their brethren of the ſouth. And from them they ſeem alſo to have derived the knowledge of the ſwinging flail and of the watery whetſtone. The only expedients among the Romans for the ſeparation of the grain from the ſtraw, in the reign of Auguſtus, were either to trample the corn with cattle or to preſs it with the tribulum [20]. And the uſe of the flail was firſt introduced into Italy about the period of the firſt Roman conqueſt in the ſouth of Britain [21]. The colonies of the Belgæ

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and the tribes of the neighbouring Britons muſt therefore have already adopted the Gallic inſtrument of threſhing: and whatever they had adopted in general the more northerly Britons appear to have faithfully copied from them. This inſtrument however was pretty certainly the flail; and it was pretty certainly introduced into Italy from Gaul. The Romans had conſiderable connections with Gaul in the matters of agriculture[22]. Such an implement was the more likely to be invented in Gaul, as the Gallic farmers generally cropped only the ears of their corn, and as the tribulum or the cattle were found leſs effectual upon theſe than the flail[23]. And when the flail was firſt introduced among the Romans, it was uſed only as the Gauls would have uſed it, only upon ſuch corn as had been reaped in the Gallic manner[24]. The Romans had formerly imported their whetſtones at a conſiderable expence from the iſle of Crete, from Laconia, and from other equally diſtant places. And as theſe were of no efficacy without the aſſiſtance of oil, the Italian haymaker was obliged to carry conſtantly an horn of oil by his ſide. But, ſome little time before the conqueſt of Lancaſhire, Italy was found to produce very excellent whetſtones, which were equal to a file for the purpoſes of ſharpening, and required only the aſſiſtance of water. Such however had been long uſed by the Gauls, and were denominated Paſſernices among them[25]. And ſuch muſt have been equally uſed by both the ruder and the more civilized Britons, for the ſharpening of their axes their daggers and their ſwords, and for giving a finer edge to their razors[26]. Theſe might the Mancunians have eaſily procured in the vicinity of the town and in the vale of Saddleworth. And one of them was actually diſcovered about ſixty years ago at Craven in Yorkſhire, as another was found about ſeventy years ago in a moſs within our own county. The latter was accompanied by an axe-head of copper, and the former by an axe-head of poliſhed marble and one or two inſtruments of pointed bone; and both the one and the other were thereby evinced to be equally Britiſh with all. The Britiſh bone which was found in our own county was a ſtone of a very uncommon ſpe-

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cies. And the hone which was diſcovered in Yorkſhire was a blue-grey ſtone three inches in length, nearly one in breadth, and an eighth of an inch in thickneſs [27].

Thus the Gallic ſyſtem of huſbandry, which muſt have been originally purſued by the Gallic Belgæ of the ſouthern ſhores, which had been ſucceſſively tranſmitted from them to all the ſucceſſively civilized tribes of the natives, and which had therefore before the year 79 extended into Staffordſhire Derbyſhire and Yorkſhire, was now brought from thoſe counties into Lancaſhire. And the ſorts of grain which were now introduced with it muſt have been only ſuch as the farmers of Gaul and the ſouthern and midland nations of Britain had previouſly known. Barley, long familiar to all the various tribes of the Celtæ, and previouſly imported for the uſe of the Siſtuntian breweries, muſt have been now raiſed as the breweries were continued among us. And the wheat was not of the Italian ſort, white and heavy, but of the Gallic, red and light. This was originally the peculiar produce of Gaul, but muſt have been long accuſtomed to the ſoil of Britain, and ſtill continues to be the only wheat of Lancaſhire; being then called by the natives of both Breac Brac or red-coloured [28].

The flour of this wheat was firſt refined by the horſe-hair ſieves which the Gauls originally invented and our Mancunians continued to uſe within theſe fifty years, and was then kneaded into bread [29]. That lighteſt and propereſt aliment for the human body had never hitherto been taſted in all probability by the Britons of Lancaſhire, and was now firſt introduced into the preſent pariſh of Mancheſter. And the Brac was remarkable for the neatneſs of its grain, and for yielding near a fourth more of flour from any common quantity than any other ſpecies of wheat [30].

The loaves of the Romans were very various, molded into different forms, and compoſed of different ingredients. And about the time of Agricola's entrance into Lancaſhire a new ſort of loaf had been introduced at Rome, which was formed only of water and flour, and was much eſteemed for its lightneſs.

neſs. This was called the water-cake or the Parthian loaf, the former name being given it from its ſimple compoſition, and the latter from its original inventors. But even this was not comparable to the French or the Spaniſh bread for lightneſs. The uſe of Curmi and the knowledge of brewing had acquainted the Celtes with an ingredient for the compoſition of bread, which was much bettter calculated to render it light and pleaſing than the leaven, the eggs the milk or the wine-mixed honey of other nations. This was the ſpume which concreted on the ſurface of their fermenting liquor, which they denominated Burm, and which we denominate Burm Barm or Yeſt. This the Celtes of Gaul, of Spain, and moſt probably therefore of South-Britain, had long uſed; and their bread was in conſequence of it ſuperior in lightneſs to that of any other nation in the world. And the uſe of this ingredient muſt have been now firſt introduced among the citizens of Mancunium, as it has continued uninterruptedly among them to the preſent moment [31].

[1] B. I. c. ix. ſ. 2.—[2] Pliny lib. xvii. c. 15. and lib. xviii. c. 30. and Palladius lib. vii. c. 2.—[3] Pliny lib. xvii. c. 6. But it is called Margil in Gallick (Baluzius tom. ii. C. 188.), Marla in Iriſh, and Marle in Welch.—[4] Pliny c. 6. Gallia et Britannia invenere, and c. 7.—[5] Pliny c. 7.—[6] Pliny c. 7. and c. 8.—[7] C. 7.—[8] Ibid. [9] Ibid.—[10] See ſome of theſe quarries of the ſilvery marle in Camden p. 236 (Kent) and in p. 318 (Eſſex).—[11] C. 8.—[12] Ibid.—[13] Ibid. [14] Ibid.—[15] Ibid. Hâc maximè Britannia utitur.—[16] C. 7. Duo genera fuerant, plura nuper exerceri cœpta proficientibus ingeniis.—[17] c. 8.—[18] Pliny lib. xviii. c. 28.—[19] Ibid.—[20] Virgil's Georg. lib. i. 164. and Varro de Re Ruſticâ lib. i. c. 52.—[21] Columella lib. ii. c. 21. Baculis excuti, and meliùs fuſtibus tunduntur, and Pliny lib. xviii. c. 30. Perticis flagellatur. This however had been long uſed in the Eaſt (Iſaiah xxviii. 27. &c.) —[22] See Pliny lib. xvii. c. 15. lib. xviii. c. 30. &c.—[23] Pliny lib. xviii. c. 30, Palladius lib. vii. c. 2, and Columella lib. ii. c. 21. *Ipſæ* autem *Spicæ* meliùs fuſtibus tunduntur.—[24] Columella lib. ii.

c. 21.—[25] Pliny lib. xviii. c. 28. and lib. xxxvi. c. 22.—[26] Cæſar p. 89.—[27] Diſſert. prefixed to Hearn's Leland vol. iv, Leigh's Lancaſhire b. i. p. 18. and b. iii. p. 181, and Montfaucon's L'Antiquité Expliqué tom. v. p. 195 for ſome weapons of ſharpened bone diſcovered in a Gallic ſepulchre and among Gallic weapons upon the continent. See alſo a draught of the Lancaſhire whetſtone in Tab. iv. N° 2. of Leigh. It was found in a moſs at Sawick, about nine miles from Marton Mere.—[28] Pliny lib. xviii. c. 7. Galliæ quoque ſuum genus farris dedere, quod illic brace vocant, apud nos ſandalum. The Romans called it by a Latin name exactly ſimilar to the Gallic, Sandalum, being the ſame in import as Brac, and both calling the wheat from its ſimilitude in colour to the brogues or red ſhoes of the Celtæ.—[29] Pliny lib. xviii. c. 11.—[30] Pliny lib. xviii. c. 7.—[31] Pliny lib. xviii. c. 7. and 11.

IV.

THE town of Mancunium being now erected in our extenſive Arden, and the woody circuit of it being now laid open, the ſeveral parts of the latter neceſſarily began to aſſume their ſeveral denominations. What theſe were we know but imperfectly, few of the Britiſh names having deſcended to us. The appellations of our places have been all loſt. But the appellations of our rivers have been generally preſerved. The little names of places are confined to a ſmall extent of region, and are known only to a few. But rivers flow through a length of country, and communicate their names and their waters to different diſtricts and to various aſſociations of men. While thoſe therefore are eaſily loſt, theſe are pretty faithfully retained. Hence moſt of our rivers in the kingdom retain to the preſent hour the names which were impoſed upon them two thouſand years ago, and ſtill as they flow point out that remarkable æra in our hiſtory, when the large ſtag of the Britiſh foreſts took ſhelter

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in their cooling ſtreams from the chace, or when the bold bands of the Britiſh warriors were muſtered upon their banks for fight. Such are the Avons the Cams the Tames the Tynes and the Edens of other countics; and ſuch are the Ribble the Douglas the Lan and the Calder of our own. And thus moſt of our Mancunian currents received at or before this period the very ſame denominations with which we diſtinguiſh them at preſent.

The rivulet which riſes in the hills of Oldham, leads its wildly-plaintive ſtream along the narrow bottom of the deep dale that divides Droylſden and Failſworth, Clayton and Newton, and at laſt winded in more ſilent dignity around the ſylvan fortreſs of the Britons in the Caſtle-field, received a particular denomination from them, and was called Medlock or the Fair Stream. Med Mad or Mat ſignifies fair, and Lug Log or Loc the water. The former conſtitutes half the name in the famous Medway or the Roman Madus, as the latter forms the whole of the name in the river Loxa of Scotland and in the river Logia of Ireland [1]. And both were formerly united together in the title of a current in Derbyſhire, which, as appears from the name of the gay mountain-village on its banks, was originally diſtinguiſhed by the ſame appellation of Matlock.

The little brook that ſkirts the gentle eminence of Calley-banks on the weſt obtained the appellation which it ſtill retains of the Tibia or Tib. This ſtreamlet, oozing from a ſmall collection of water which ſtagnates in Newton-lane and is fed by the drainings of the contiguous fields, lingers along the ſide of the lane, and has almoſt all its waters diverted into the great reſervoir of the town at the concluſion of it. Thus conſiderably reduced, it trickles unobſerved acroſs the road to Shude-hill and beneath a ſmall bridge of ſtone; and ſcarcely conducts its little rill along the borders of the growing town, athwart the upper end of Market-ſtreet-lane, and acroſs the opening into Tib-lane, but communicates its name to the latter, and a little below Calley-banks very feebly diſcharges its waters into the Medlock. The Britiſh denominations of our rivers have been

ſtrangely explained in general by all the interpreters of them. And the characteriſtic genius of the Britiſh language has been little conſulted in the explanations. I have previouſly ſhewn the Britiſh Avon to have been frequently contracted into Aun An or Un [a]. And as D-avon and T-avon are both the ſame with Avon, ſo are they contracted in the ſame manner. The former is contracted into Dane the popular name of the Daven at Middlewich, into Danus Don or Dun the antient and preſent name of the current at Doncaſter, into Done the name of a ſtream in the county of Mar, into Se-teia equally with Devana Ptolemy's name for the Dee of Cheſter, and into Deen equally with the Dee the popular appellation of the river at Aberdeen. And the latter is contracted into Tayne the name of a frith in Scotland, into Taune or Tone the name of a river in Somerſetſhire, and into Teyne the name of a current in Staffordſhire. But the latter is ſometimes lengthened by the præpoſitive article or the Britiſh language, and Y Tavona is formed into I-tuna the antient name of the Solway frith, and Tyne Tayne or Ten is formed into E-den the preſent ſimilar appellation for it. The name of Tibia or Tib actually occurs in the eleventh Iter of Richard, the antient denomination of the river at Cardiff in Wales. And the name of Tibia or Tib, like the Tavee the Daff and the Diff the preſent varying appellation for the Tibia of Richard, like the antient Tavus and Tobius, and like the Teivi the Towey the Dove or the Dee at preſent, is merely an appellative, and ſignifies merely the water [b].

The ſtream which burſts in many ſprings from a wild heath at the foot of the greater ridge of the Yorkſhire hills, paſſes by the town of Aſhton, and frets and chafes againſt its own obſtructing bed of rock or its own encroaching ſhoals of gravel, till it iſſues into the Merſey below Portwood Bridge, was denominated by a name equally indiſcriminative and exactly the ſame. Various are the ſubſtitutions of one letter for another in the flexible language of the Britons: and Tib Tav or Tam are the ſame words with the ſubſtitution of a different letter. Thus

did the puny Tib receive from the Siſſuntians the ſame appellation as the mighty Tay. And thus did a ſhort mountain-torrent participate the denomination of the long and majeſtic Thames.

Theſe all obtained general and undiſtinguiſhing names. But others received names particular and appropriate. The little current which riſes in the townſhip of Gorton, croſſes the road to Stockport, and paſſes along the Moſs-ſide, which often ſwells in a moment and aſſumes a momentary fierceneſs, furrowing a deeper channel for itſelf, and haſtening in greater ſtate to the neighbouring Irwell, was denominated Cor-aun, Corne, or Little Stream. And the ſame deſcriptive appellation was originally given to the rivulet that waters the antient Corinium, Durocornovium, or Cirencester, as it is ſtill continued in the preſent half-ſoftened denomination of the Ciren or Churn [4]. Such alſo was the briſk ſtream that ſprings at the foot of an hill in the chapelry of Shaw, puſhes its haſty current by Ryton Chatherton and Blakeley, and formerly ſallied into the Irwell at Huntſbank. But retarded by the variety of mills upon its current, and almoſt ſtagnated by the multiplicity of dams within its channel, near the concluſion of its courſe it now ſcarcely covers the level of its deep bed, and only murmurs round the ſtepping-ſtones that ſometimes ſtretch acroſs its channel. Its former briſkneſs however is plainly evinced by its preſent utility, by the force which it communicates to ſo many mills at ſo little a diſtance from each other. And from the natural livelineſs of its current it acquired the figurative appellation of Iwrck, Irke, or Roebuck; as ſome rivers in Wales have received their denomination from the leaping goat the rooting hog or the milkleſs ewe, and others in Wales and one in Shropſhire, like this, from the ſwiftly-footed roe [5].

But ſome of our rivers muſt have certainly received their denominations before or during the exiſtence of the Britiſh fortreſs, and long previouſly to the conſtruction of the Roman-Britiſh town. The large and important current of the Merſey, which ranges along the confines of the pariſh for many miles together,

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muſt have received an appellation from the Britons as early as the period of the firſt population of Lancaſhire. Rambling a lively rill amid the waſtes of Woodhead and the moors of Mottram, and ſucceſſively receiving the Goit the Tame and the Irwell, it becomes equally rapid and deep, the mighty monarch of all the contiguous rivers, and the natural boundary of kingdoms and provinces in every period, and was aptly denominated by the Britons Beli-ſama, the Head-ſtream, or the King of Currents [6]. In a later age, while the Siſtuntii reſided in Mancenion, they muſt neceſſarily have given an appellation to the river which led its waters directly againſt the rocky ſite of their woodland fortreſs, and which is made to ſweep round the front of it in an ample curve. And as the adjoining Irwell muſt have equally received a denomination from the garriſon, ſo it actually retains to this day an appellation expreſſive of its local relation to the fortreſs. Welling gently from a double fountain near the upper part of an hill betwixt Broad-Clough and Holme in Roſſendale, wantoning in wild mæanders along the vale of Broughton, and wheeling nearly in one vaſt circle about the townſhip of Salford, the torrent carries its waters along the weſtern ſide of Mancenion, and was therefore denominated Ir Gueil, Ir-well, Ir-will, or the Weſtern Torrent [7]. The Siſtuntii muſt likewiſe have given names to moſt of the more remarkable objects around their town, to the current of the Cornebrooke and the eminence of Huntſbank, to the valley of Broughton, the Irke, and the High Knolls. This muſt neceſſarily have been the caſe with the precincts of the primæval Mancenion. And this happily ſerves to clear up a conſiderable difficulty to us with regard to the primæval fortreſſes of the Britons in the north.

As the rivers Eden and Irthing muſt have divided the Volantii from the Gadeni and the Selgovæ, and as the Tyne and the Tippal muſt have ſeparated the Brigantes from the Ottadini, when encroachments were attempted and jealouſies entertained by theſe northern powers, the four rivers were all naturally ſecured with a chain of fortreſſes. The Gadeni appear to have

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erected, among others, the fortreſs of Aballaba upon the river Irthing and againſt the Volantii, and the Ottadini to have conſtructed the more numerous fortreſſes of Vindolana, Procolitia, Vindobala, and Segedunum along the ſtream of the Tyne and againſt their more dangerous enemies the Brigantes. The Volantii appear to have raiſed the forts of Axelodunum and Luguvallium upon the Eden againſt the Selgovæ and the Gadeni, and the Brigantes to have conſtructed the fort of Gallava upon Eaſt-Allon river and againſt the Ottadini. Theſe appear deciſively diſtinguiſhed from the other fortreſſes about them that carry Britiſh appellations by their vicinity to the bounding currents and by the peculiar ſignificancy of their names. Theſe are almoſt all of them planted directly upon the margin of the bounding cufrents. And theſe are abſolutely all of them evinced by their appellations to have been actually the original fortreſſes of the Britons. Vindo-lan-a and Vindo-bal-a ſignify merely the Forts upon the Vents or Heights, and Lugu-vall-ium. Gal-av-a and A-ball-ab-a ſignify merely the Forts upon the Water. Gual a Rampart is formed into Wall, Val, Bal, and Ual or Al. Hence Bala remains to the preſent period the Welch and Iriſh appellation of a town. Hence we meet with Bano-val-um or the fort on the River Bane in the Roman Chorography, and Al-teutha Bal-clutha and Alcluid the Towns on the Teutha and Clyde in Oſſian and in Bede, the Al-cluid of Bede being the ſame town as the Bal-clutha of Oſſian. And as Sege-dun-um and Axelo-dun-um carry exactly the ſame import, the High and the Dry Town, ſo Procolit-ia means merely the Fortreſs in the Woodlands. Such in part muſt have been the ſtate of the boundaries about a century before Agricola invaded the north. The boundaries of other tribes in the iſland were undoubtedly fortified for the ſame reaſon and lined with fortreſſes in the ſame manner. But the more numerous conſtruction of Roman forts in theſe than in other parts of the kingdom, and the preſervation of their names in the Imperial Notitia and the two Itineraries, have accidentally given us a more particular account of the primæval fortreſſes of the Britons in them. And, in the fortified ſtate of theſe extenſive

five frontiers, the precincts of the ſeveral fortreſſes muſt have had their particular objects all diſtinguiſhed by particular names. Thus the Voluntian garriſon of the previouſly denominated Axelodunum muſt have given the appellation of Goats-Head to a remarkable eminence which was in their neighbourhood, which was upon the edge of the previouſly denominated Tunnocelum or Solway Frith, and on which the Romans afterwards conſtructed the ſtation of Gabrocentum. The Gadenian garriſon of Aballaba or ſome nearer fortreſs muſt have given the name of Congavata or the Shelving and of Amboglanna or the Rounded Dale to two remarkable vallies in the vicinity of the fort. And the Ottadini of Vindolana, Procolitia, Vindobala, and Segedunum muſt have conferred the names of Æſica or Water upon a neighbouring Rivulet and of Cilurnum or the Creek upon a receſs in the bank of a neighbouring ſtream, and have given the appellations of Hunnum Cunnum or the Height and of Condercum Cond Ar Gui or the Height upon the Water to two neighbouring eminences [9]. Thus muſt the ſtriking objects in the vicinity of theſe Britiſh forts have been all diſtinguiſhed by particular names among the Britons. Theſe names the Britons muſt have impoſed upon the places before the Romans had invaded their country. Theſe names the Britons muſt have continued to the places when they erected their towns in the vicinity of the Roman ſtations. And the Romans naturally retained the one when they conſtructed their little cheſters on the other [10].

For want of the ſame notices as the Romans have accidentally tranſmitted to us concerning the Britiſh fortreſſes in one particular region of the north, the names of the principal objects in the vicinity of the original Mancenion are now moſt of them loſt. And the Irwell the Medlock the Cornebrooke and the Irke are almoſt the only remainder of them. What the others were, however, we may pretty nearly conjecture in general from the above-mentioned names in the neighbourhood of the above-mentioned fortreſſes. The valley of the Roman cattle, being nearly encircled with a ſweep of gently riſing hills, might have received

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the peculiarly appoſite denomination of Amboglanna. The little eminence of Calley-Banks might have received the name of Gun; the well-watered elevation of the Huntſbank might have adopted the appellation of Condérou; and the High Knolls might have borne the denomination of Gabrocentom. And ſo conferred, would theſe and the other names be neceſſarily tranſmitted from the ſoldiers of the old town to the citizens of the new, would receive an addition of others from the latter, and would be all regularly continued among the Britons of Mancunium to the laſt ſad period of the Siſtuntian poſſeſſions and to the laſt ſad æra of the Siſtuntian name".

'Richard Iter 15, Ptolemy in Ireland and Scotland, and Richard in Scotland p. 32. See alſo Gale p. 75, who ſuffered himſelf to be puzzled with the name. So Loch ſtill ſignifies Water in Erſe, being applied equally to lakes and to rivers.—[2] B. I. ch. v. ſ. 1.—[3] So Dun-dee a town upon the Tay, Lan-daff and Caer-diff towns upon the Tavee, &c. And ſee a variety of errors in Baxter, Camden, and others, under Veratinum, Ituna, &c.—[4] See Baxter's ſtrange etymology for Corn or Corinium; which makes it ſignify a great or principal river, in oppoſition at once to the true principles of etymology and to real fact. There are many rivers in England ſo called, but all mean and trifling, as the Corne near Ludlow &c.—[5] Lhuyd in Baxter p. 267 and 273.—[6] So the preſent Ribble, Rhi-bel, or King-river. So Conovius or Conway river, Con-av or Con-ui the Head or Principal Water. And ſee b. I. ch. v. ſ. 1, which proves the Merſey of the preſent times to be the Beliſama of Ptolemy.—[7] The name is written oftener Irwil than Irwel in our antient records; and thus we have Er-in or Ireland for the ſame iſland, and Ir-won the name of a river in Brecknockſhire. And as Gueil-Gui is a Torrent of Water in Welch (ſee Lhuyd in Torrens), ſo we find the word Guill-ey in the Britiſh name of a river within the county of Caermarthen,

and Gueil-ui (Gueil-ou, as Aſſerius gives it us in Vitâ Alfredi p. 25, Wiſe) or Will-y in Wil-tonſhire or Wiltſhire. And Wyll was afterwards retained by the Saxons for a Torrent.—[s] See alſo Al-nechmact in b. I. ch. xii. ſ. 4, Baxter's various miſtakes under theſe and ſimilar names, and Horſeley for the ſites of theſe towns.—[t] Baxter has ſtrangely interpreted ſome of theſe names. Gun is ſtill the name of an hill near Leek in Staffordſhire.—[u] Magnis, Borcovicus, Petriana, Corſtopitum, and Pons Ælii have all merely Roman names. See Baxter for Borcovicus and Corſtopitum.—[w] Of the rivers mentioned and not explained in this ſection it may not be improper to note, that the Cam ſignifies the Bending and the Dou-glas the Blue-Green Water and are merely the appellatives of rivers; that the Lan is the contraction of Lug Avon or Lugaun, and means a Stream of Waters; and that the Cal-der imports the Narrow River, as Col-aun Colne and Calne before. See Mr. Baxter's miſtakes in Alauna, Bremetonacis, Durolanis, Lugandinum, for the river Lan; and in Cambodunum and Lagentium for the Calder.

V.

WHEN Agricola made his firſt application to the chiefs of Lancaſhire, and urged them to unite with their clans into the little communities of towns and to ſettle in the neighbourhood of the Roman ſtations, the prejudices which they had received from education, and the pride which they took in their ſolitary dignity, muſt have naturally prevailed upon all of them at firſt to reſiſt his ſolicitations and to neglect his rebukes. But ſome of them did not long either reſiſt or neglect. By the ſenſible management of the legate and by his happy application to their paſſions, the ſcheme of erecting towns became the mark of affected politeneſs, and the deſire of immediately ſettling in them the ſubject of honourable emulation. Thus was a ſpirit excited by Agricola, which of itſelf ſoon executed all his political deſigns.

ſigns. The new citizens quickly paſſed from the conveniences to the refinements, and as quickly deviated into the luxuries, of a town-life. When once the old revered aſſociations of ideas are broken, and the ſullen adherence to old revered cuſtoms is overcome, the natural impotence of the human mind tranſports it generally into the rage of innovations and the violences of exceſs.

The dreſs of the Siſtuntian chiefs to this period muſt have been the ſame with the dreſs of the Britiſh chiefs in general, of the Celtic in France, and of the Iberian in Spain. And this is the curious delineation of it.

Equally in the chief and in the client the hair, generally yellow and always long and buſhy, was turned back upon the crown of the head, and fell down in a long wreath behind [1]. And the beard of both was ſuffered to grow to a conſiderable length, but was entirely confined to the upper lip [2]. Both of them appeared naked in battle. And this rude cuſtom was attended with two others, the painting of their bodies for the fight, and the wearing of a ring round their middles. On all other occaſions the common people in general (as I ſhall ſhew hereafter [3]) muſt have been cloathed in ſkins, and the chieftains in particular muſt have regularly appeared in the one fanciful uniform of the chiefs through all the weſtern regions of Europe [4].

The trunk of the chieftain's body was ſheathed in a tunic, which the Britons called a Cota and we ſtill denominate a Waiſtcoat, and which was plaided, was open before, had long ſleeves extending to the hands, and reached itſelf to the middle [5]. The lower part of the body was covered with a pair of trowſers, which the Britons called Brages or Breeches, which wrapped looſely round the thighs and legs, and which were terminated at the ancles [6]. Theſe alſo were plaided, as the Britiſh appellation of them ſufficiently evinces, Brac or Brag ſignifying merely a party-coloured object [7]. And theſe were equally worne by the Batavi of Holland and the Vangiones of Germany in the weſt, by the Perſians in the eaſt, and by the Sarmatians of Poland betwixt both [8].

Over the waiſt-coat and the trowſers was a looſer garment, denominated by the Celtæ a Sag or Sack, being equally plaided with both, being of a thick ſtrong contexture, and being faſtened round the body with buttons and bound under the breaſts with a girdle [p].

Round the naked neck was a large chain, which hung down upon the naked breaſt; and on the middle or ſecond finger of both hands was a ring. Both were made of gold among the chiefs, and both were made of iron among their followers [q]. They had ſhoes upon their feet which muſt have been equally party-coloured as the reſt of their dreſs, as they were equally with the trowſers denominated Brae or Brag and are ſtill denominated Brôg. And they wore round bonnets upon their heads [r].

This the remarkable dreſs of our Britiſh anceſtors, which continued very nearly the ſame to the commencement of the laſt century among the natives of Ireland [s], and has actually deſcended to the preſent century among our northern mountaineers of Scotland, and which is therefore rendered very familiar to our ideas, carried in it an aſtoniſhing appearance to the Romans [t]. And this was equally the dreſs of the men and the women among the chiefs of Britain [u]. But in a few years after the erection of the Roman-Britiſh towns in the north, and in the progreſs of Roman-Britiſh refinements among them, this antient dreſs began to be diſeſteemed by the chiefs of the cities, and to be looked upon as the badge of antient barbariſm. And the growing prejudices were ſoon ſo greatly improved, that, within twenty years after the conſtruction of the towns, the Britiſh Sagum was actually reſigned and the Roman Toga actually aſſumed by many of them [w].

The Roman Gown or Gown however never became univerſal in Britain. It muſt have been adopted only by the chiefs of the cities and the officers of the crown, and has therefore been tranſmitted to us as the peculiar robe of reverence, the enſign of literature and the mantle of magiſtracy. The woollen plaided garments of the chiefs having naturally ſuperſeded the ſkinny veſtures of the ambacton,

the

the former were ſtill worne by the generality of the Britons. The former muſt have been retained by the chiefs of the country and by the ambaſtor both of city and country. That this muſt have been really the caſe, appears evident from the conduct of the Gauls, who retained their Virgata Sagula and communicated them afterwards to the Franks [m]. That this was actually the caſe, appears more evident from the conduct of the Britons, who muſt have equally retained their Saga to the laſt as they equally communicated them to the Saxons afterwards [n]. And the plaided drapery of the Britons muſt have ſtill diſplayed its ſober variety of colours and its multiplicity of little dies in the ſtreets of Mancunium, and have formed a pleaſing contraſt to the dreſs of the chief, the uniformly darkſome mantle of the Italian climes [o].

The Romans therefore appear plainly not to have foſtered any prejudices in the Britons againſt the habits of their fathers, or to have endeavoured, with the policy of the Tartar conquerors of China, to aſſimilate the natives to themſelves in the diſtinguiſhing exteriors of dreſs. The general dreſs of the nation was actually Britiſh, improved only with ſome additions from the Roman wardrobe. The Britiſh chiefs, like the Gallic, certainly retained their antient ornament of chains [p]. The Britons in general muſt aſſuredly not have adopted the ſcanty protection of the Pileus or the ſpreading umbrella of the Petaſus as a covering for their heads, but muſt have continued their own Kappan Hata or Boined in uſe, as they have tranſmitted the ſame coverings to us under the ſame appellations [q]. The Britons muſt have retained the tunic of their anceſtors, the long-ſleeved waiſtcoat having remained among us nearly to the preſent period the general dreſs of the nation, and ſtill continuing the general ordinary dreſs of our Mancunian ruſtics at preſent [r]. The Britons, like the Gauls, muſt have preferred the ſtructure of their own ſhoes to that of the Roman, ſtill making them frequently of hides and nearly in the form of our preſent half-boots, ſtill denominating them Bottaſen Butais or Botes, and leaving the name and the ſhoe to their brethren of Armorica and Wales and

to their conquerors the Saxons of England [24]. And the Britons muſt have kept their antient trowſers, as they afterwards communicated to the Saxons their own appellation of Brages or Breeches for them. But the Britons muſt have certainly borrowed ſome additions to their native dreſs from the fuller wardrobe of the Romans. They muſt now have worne that interior garment which the Romans called Subucula and the Britons denominated a Sguird Skirt or Shirt [25]. This at the beginning of the Roman reſidence among us was not compoſed of the ſoft ſmooth ſubſtance of linen, but was merely a white jacket of flannel [26]. And this muſt have been generally worne in the nation, as it remains to this day the ſhirt of ſome peaſants in the more northerly parts of England. But as the Roman ladies always wore ſubuculæ of linen [27], their conduct would naturally be followed at laſt by the gentlemen; and a garment ſo promotive of bodily elegance, and ſo productive of bodily complacencies, would be common to both. The gentlemen at Rome had accordingly adopted it before the cloſe of the third century, and at the commencement of the fourth it was become univerſal [28]. And familiar in Britain before the departure of the Romans, it was retained by the Britons of the tenth century and communicated to the Saxons and to us [29]. Stockens are alſo another article in the dreſs of the Britons which muſt have been derived from the Romans. The uſe of ſtockens was introduced among the Romans about the concluſion of the commonwealth, and Auguſtus is the firſt perſon that is mentioned to have worne them [30]. It was late before that uſeful and agreeable habit was originally contrived, and it was long before it was univerſally adopted. But it muſt have been adopted by the Romans in Britain, and it muſt have been copied by the Roman-Britons, as it was denominated by the latter both Stoka and Hoſan, and as it was communicated to the Saxons under the Britiſh appellation of Stockens or Hoſen [31]. And in conſequence of this introduction of ſtockens the brages muſt have been greatly abridged of their cuſtomary length, and have been naturally reduced to the form of our preſent breeches [32]. But the ſtockens muſt not

have

have been very commonly worne by the populace of the provinces, as may plainly be collected from the mode ſubſiſting among the lower natives of Valentia and even occaſionally followed by the peaſants of Mancheſter at preſent. And with this miſcellaneous dreſs, partly Roman and partly Britiſh, the provincials certainly retained the diſtinguiſhing cuſtom of their anceſtors, and ſtill ſtreaked all the naked parts of their bodies with paint. The whole united corps of hiſtorians and antiquarians have indeed ſuppoſed and aſſerted the direct contrary: but they have ſuppoſed it without authority, and they have aſſerted it againſt proof. We ſhall hereafter find the Saxons retaining this extraordinary cuſtom in the higheſt advances of their civil refinements and to the final period of their empire. They could not have imported the cuſtom with their colonies from the banks of the Elbe, this Indian faſhion being abſolutely and utterly unknown to all but the Arians in Germany. And they muſt therefore have certainly received it, they are expreſsly declared to have actually received it, with many other modes of perſonal decoration, from thoſe provincial Britons over whom they triumphed and among whom they ſettled in the iſland [11].

A body of men juſt emerging from a ſtate of real or ſuppoſed barbariſm, and copying the real or ſuppoſed refinements of their neighbours, will never proceed with a ſober diſcretion and a ſenſible diſcrimination. The aſſociation of vicious with refined manners is eaſily avoidable in ſpeculation, and yet it was never avoided in practice. The city-chiefs, copying the refinements of the Roman politeneſs, copied alſo thoſe wretched accompaniments of all refinements, indulgencies which relaxed the body and ſoftneſſes which unbraced the mind. The robuſt and hardy Briton, whoſe nerves had been ſtrung by the healthful energy of toil, now either repaired to the ſulphur-tinctured ſprings of Buxton, or bathed in baſons of artificial warmth, and wantoned in gentle indolence amid the relaxing waters. The robuſt and hardy Briton, whoſe blood had been purified by a healthful ſimplicity of diet, now mimicked the elegance of the Roman tables. And the plain honeſt Briton now raiſed the pillared portico on high,

high, and affected the luxury of an airy ſaunter in a walk of ſtate [12].

Theſe however are ſtriking evidences of the ſpeedy growth of civility and the rapid progreſs of politeneſs among the natives of the north; of a civility which muſt have been more and more widely diffuſed, and of a politeneſs which muſt have been more and more greatly refined, through the courſe of the ſubſequent ages. And in all theſe improvements the mind muſt neceſſarily have ſhared. The ſons of the chiefs were now taught to expand their views beyond the little circle of an hunting life and the recent details of a traditionary hiſtory, and to enlarge their minds with acquiſitions of knowledge. Their connection with the Romans now put into their hands the great volume of human literature, the hiſtory of man and the aſſemblage of the ſciences; and they determined to read it. The difficulties of the Roman language gradually ſunk before them, and the unknown worlds of ſcience lay open to their view. They entered, ſeized the literary treaſures of antiquity, and, for the firſt time, introduced them into the regions of the north. Nor did they reſt here. The luxury of ſtudy and the pride of intellect ſoon led theſe new votaries of learning from the uſeful and the inſtructive to the ornamental and the pleaſing branches of Literature. They invaded the fairy regions of claſſical taſte. They ſtudied the purity of the Roman language. And they cultivated the graces of the Roman compoſitions [13].

[1] Honoris emulatio pro neceſſitate erat. Agric. Vit. c. 21.—Strabo p. 305, Dio p. 1003, Diodorus p. 351, and Cæſar p. 89.—[2] Cæſar p. 89, and Oſſian vol. II. p. 15 &c.—[3] B. I. ch. xi. ſ. 1.—[4] Cæſar p. 89; Diodorus p. 353, ſpeaking of ſome Gauls that ſtill continued to fight naked; the general Account of Hiſtorians reduced to a conſiſtency; and Herodian lib. iii. c. 47. The cuſtom of fighting naked among the Britons was ſo far retained by their deſcendants the Highlanders of Scotland, that even as late as the battle of Killicranky the latter threw off their plaids and ſhort coats and fought in their ſhirts (Macpherſon's

ſon's Crit. Diſſ. p. 164.)—[5] This is called χίτων by Dio p. 1003. ſpeaking of Bunduica, and by Diodorus p. 353. ſpeaking of the Gauls, is ſaid by the former to be παμποικιλος or all variegated, and is declared by the latter to be χρωμασι παντοδαποις διηνθισμενος or flowered with various colours in diviſions. And ſee Strabo p. 300.—[6] Martial lib. xi. E. 21. of the Britons, Diodorus and Strabo (ibid.) of the Gauls, and Himerius in Photius's Bibliotheca c. 1135. Rothom. —[7] See Oſſian vol. I. p. 210, a Note, and Critic. Diſſ. p. 166.—[8] Voſſius de Vitiis Serm. in Braccæ.—[9] Dio p. 1003 and 1004, Diodorus and Himerius ibid., and Strabo p. 233 ανθινος, p. 265, and p. 300. Sagum (ſays Varro) is a Celtic word; and Saic ſignifies in Celtic a Skin or Hyde, the original name probably of the antient dreſs (Critical Diſſ. p. 166).—[10] Dio of Bunduica p. 1003, Diodorus p. 351. of the Gauls, Herodian lib. iii. c. 47, and Pliny lib. xxxiii. c. 1.—[11] See the figure of a North-Briton upon a Roman monument in Horſeley N°. 3 of Scotland.—[12] See Camden p. 707. edit. 1607.—[13] Diodorus p. 353.—[14] Dio of Bunduica.—[15] Inde habitus noſtri honor & frequens toga (Tacitus c. 21).—[16] See an old author in Baluzii Capitularia c. 741. tom. II.—[17] See b. I. ch. vi. ſ. 1.—[18] Martial l. xiv. E. 129.

Roma magis fuſcis veſtitur, Gallia rufis.

From this paſſage, as well as from the ſecondary ſenſe of the word Brac or Brog, ſignifying Rufus or Red in the brac or red wheat mentioned before, the red, and not the blue, appears to have been the predominating colour in the Celtic garments. Dr. Macpherſon's tradition therefore (Crit. Diſſ. p. 166) muſt be as wrong as his application of Claudian is unjuſt. Cæruleus or Blue (as Cæſar aſſures us p. 89) was the favourite colour, not of the Britiſh cloaths, but of the Britiſh paintings upon their bodies. And for that reaſon Claudian gives Britannia a Cærulus or blue garment,

Cujus veſtigia verrit
Cærulus, oceanique æſtum mentitur, amictus.

—[19] Evans's Welch Poems 1765 p. 72. Eurdorchawd, and p. 78.
—[20] See Suetonius p. 82. Oxon. 1690. Solis—ne hiberni quidem

patiens [Auguſtus] domi quoque non niſi Petaſatus ſub Dio ſpatiabatur, and Montfaucon plate 15. tom. III. L'Ant. Expliquée.—[21] And ſee Montfaucon ibid. c. 17. He there mentions ſome antient repreſentations of Roman Gauls diſcovered in France, the ſleeves even of whoſe gowns thus reached to the hands.—[22] So the ſhoes of the Gauls in plate 47 and 48 of Montfaucon tom. III. all cover the foot entirely and reach up to the calf. And ſee Howel Dha lib. i. c. 39. A. 5.—[23] The lower half of the female gown is called a Skirt to this day in Lancaſhire.—[24] Hieme Auguſtus — Subuculæ thorace laneo — muniebatur (Suetonius p. 82), and Horace lib. i. Ep. 1.— [25] Pliny lib. xix. c. 1. — [26] Hiſt. Aug. Scrip. p. 128. Paris, *Boni* linteaminis appetitor fuit [Alexander Severus], dicens, Si lintei idcirco ſunt *ut nihil aſperum habeant*, quid opus —. Here the expreſſion, Ut nihil aſperum habeant, plainly determines theſe linen garments to be worne the next to the ſkin, and ſhews Montfaucon and others to be wrong who date the original of linen ſhirts lower than this period.—[27] Howel Dha lib. i. c. 39. A. 5. where the breeches even of the court-apparitor are mentioned to have been of linen; and, if theſe were, the ſhirt muſt certainly have been. And ſee Baluzius in Capit. tom. II. c. 741. — [28] Auguſtus— Hieme—tibialibus—muniebatur (Suetonius p. 82).—[29] See b. II. ch. vi. ſ. 1. Malmeſbury f. 57 (Saville's edit.) aſſerts the Saxons to have been Picturatis ſtigmatibus cutem inſigniti. — [30] Paulatimque diſceſſum ad delinimenta vitiorum, porticus, balnea, & conviviorum elegantiam: idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur (Tacitus c. 21). — [31] Jam verò principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire —; ut qui modò linguam Romanam abnuebant eloquentiam concupiſcerent (Agric. Vit. c. 21); Martial,

Dicitur & noſtros cantare Britannia verſus;

and the Romans appear in Dio p. 1007. to have early introduced the ſubmitting Britons to an acquaintance with general hiſtory.

VI. WHILE

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WHILE the northern Britons were thus happily adopting the elegant refinements of the Italian politeneſs and thus happily catching the ingenuous ſpirit of the Roman literature, the precincts of Mancunium muſt have been divided into farms. Theſe aſſuredly were large and extenſive, as ſuch certainly were the farms of the Gallic huſbandmen [1]. And houſes muſt have been neceſſarily erected for the management of them, the firſt farm-houſes that aroſe in the neighbourhood of Mancunium. They muſt have been generally raiſed upon the convenient border of a ſtream, upon the edge of Shooter's Brook, along the high ſloping bank of the Irke, and on the bending margin of the Medlock. And in them and their adjoining offices muſt all the concerns of the farm have been tranſacted.

The milk of the primæval Britons had not only furniſhed them with an agreeable liquor, but had long been formed into an agreeable food [2]. Butter was utterly unknown to the Romans: and to a mind delighted with the hiſtory of human manners it is curious to obſerve the terms in which one of their writers deſcribes it. He ſays, that it is the ſpume of the milk, that it is more concreted than what is denominated the butter-milk, and that it has the nature of oil in it [3]. This food was highly eſteemed by the tribes of the Celtæ, and the uſe of it was entirely confined to their chiefs [4]. And the Celtic proceſs in making it was eſſentially the ſame as it remains to the preſent moment [5].

To theſe the Mancunians muſt have now added a third ſpecies of milky food, and muſt now for the firſt time have underſtood the art of manufacturing cheeſe [6]. The cheeſes which were moſt in eſtimation among the Romans of this period were the Gallic, and particularly ſuch of them as were made at Niſmes and in two villages of the Gevaudan. Theſe were calculated only for immediate uſe [7]. And ſo calculated undoubtedly were the cheeſes of the Britons, which the Belgic coloniſts had been long

accuſtomed to make, and which many of the nearer Britons had been long inſtructed to make after them [8].

The Britons muſt in all probability have previouſly planted bee-hives near the abodes of their chiefs, the mountain-bees being tranſlated in colonies with their queens from the inmoſt woods, and meddyglin or metheglin being made of their honey [9]. The Britons muſt aſſuredly have planted them near their farm-houſes at preſent, and have conſtructed theſe as well as other implements of that neat contexture of willows, for which they were peculiarly famous, and to which they gave the appellation of Baſcaud Baſket or platted work [10]. Such a hive was found about eighteen years ago in the wide and ſullen-looking extent of Chatmoſs, two yards below the ſurface, and at the bottom of a new turf-pit. It was a cone two yards and a half in height and one in diameter at the baſe, and conſiſted not of a ſingle hive but of four ſtories of hives, one hive taking up the whole of one ſtory. It was made of unpeeled willows, and had doors large enough to admit a full-grown hand into the hives, and contained compleat combs and perfect bees within them. Both the combs and the bees ſoon mouldered into duſt upon the admiſſion of the air to them. But one remarkable obſervation had previouſly forced itſelf upon the unintelligent mind of the diſcoverer, that the bees were not of the ſame ſize as the preſent, but very plainly of a larger body [11].

Near the houſe muſt have been the clamours of domeſtic poultry, parading in companies about the extenſive precincts of it, and ſpeaking the natural effuſions of animal contentment. Theſe the Mancunian chieftains had kept around their ſeats before, not at all for the purpoſes of food, but for the mere ſatisfaction which they had in their ſocial aſpect and for the mere pleaſure which they received from their domeſtic notes [12]. Near the houſe muſt alſo have been the garden of it. Such the Britons of the ſouthern counties had laid out near their houſes before [13]. But at this period, and for many centuries after it, the European garden was the flower-garden the orchard and the kitchen-garden of the preſent times all united in one. The

flower-

flower-garden muſt have been little cultivated at firſt. The few native flowers of the iſland were eaſily collected as they checkered the ſkirts of our woods or painted the ſlopes of our hills, and were tranſlated into the irregular flower-plots of the Mancunian garden. But the kitchen-garden and the orchard muſt have been more carefully attended. The wild fruits and the woodland vegetables, which had frequently afforded an occaſional repaſt to the hungry hunter or the ſtraying traveller, were now carefully gathered and tranſplanted into the precincts of the town. The carrot ſhoots naturally wild in Britain and in France, was originally imported into Italy from the latter, and is only altered by manure and meliorated by care [14]. The turnip was particularly uſed in Gaul, and was even diſpenſed as a food to the Gallic cattle in winter [15], an application of roots which has been vainly eſteemed the reſult of modern genius, and which is really one of the greateſt improvements of modern agriculture.

The rabbet was not yet an inhabitant of the iſland [16]. But the hare had always been. This animal the Britons made uſe of for the purpoſes of divination [17]. This animal the Britons never killed for the table [18]. But, for the delight which they took in the breeding of them, they kept numbers about the courts of their chiefs [19]. The ſame numbers they muſt therefore have bred about the new-erected villas of Mancunium. And the idea of a hare-warren and the model of a park muſt have been originally derived from the primæval Britons.

The boar muſt have been often purſued into the toils, have been removed alive to the farm-houſe, and have become a ſerviceable animal for the uſes of the table. The Siſtuntian muſt now at leaſt have done what the Britons of the ſouth had certainly done before, have drawn down the ſavage from its native mountains, and have converted the wild ranger of the woods into the peaceful inhabitant of the farm-yard. And the Siſtuntians muſt now have done more, as the Britons of the ſouth certainly had [20], and ſeizing the infant brood of the boar in its den, and transferring them to the effeminating diet and the domeſti-

domeſticating confinement of the farm-houſe in their tender years, muſt have ſoftened their tempers with greater ſucceſs and have provided for the table with greater certainty, the original ſtock being perpetuated by a regular ſucceſſion, and the original nature being loſt in a few deſcents.

At a greater diſtance muſt have been the ſpreading circuit of the meadows corn-fields and paſtures. The paſtures, enlivened with the ſweepings of the town and the marle of the Daub-holes, muſt have put on a better covering of their own native graſſes, and have been more gayly painted with their own native flowers. And the meadows muſt have been conſiderably enriched with the foreign Trefoil, the one only artificial graſs of the Romans at this period [21]. The former muſt have been filled with flocks of ſheep and herds of cattle. Here and there muſt have appeared little hovels among them, in which ſome Ambacton muſt have regularly watched with their attendant maſtiffs, for the nightly protection of both againſt the inroad of the wolf and the boar from the neighbouring woods. And the flocks and the herds muſt have ranged at this period all over the ſite of the preſent town, have nibbled upon the ſlope of the Market-ſtreet-lane, and have grazed along the courſe of the Smithy-door; and the bleatings of the one and the lowings of the other muſt have been loudly returned by the eddying ecchoes of the ſurrounding wooods [22].

[1] Pliny lib. xviii. c. 6. and 28.—[2] Pliny lib. xi. c. 41. They made curds as well as butter of their milk; denſantes in acorem jucundum et pingue butyrum. It is plain from Pliny's account compared with Cæſar's p. 122, that the Germans are not meant by Pliny among the barbarians that were acquainted with butter and unacquainted with cheeſe; as it is from Herodotus (lib. iv.) that the Scythians, and from Strabo (p. 233.) that the Celtæ, muſt be. The Spaniards (ſays Strabo) uſe butter inſtead of oil.—[3] Pliny ibid.—[4] Pliny lib. xxviii. c. 9.—[5] Ibid. And ſee alſo Columella lib. vii. c. 8. Longa vaſa anguſto foramine in Pliny are evidently churns. And Pliny abſurdly derives the

word Butter from the Greek βους and τυρος ox-cheeſe. The word muſt be Celtic, as the Romans muſt have adopted it from their Celtic neighbours. And Butyrum ſeems nothing more than Buyd Ur the Chief or Excellent Food, being appropriated (as I have obſerved above) to their chiefs.—[6] Strabo p. 305.—[7] Pliny lib. xi. c. 42.—[8] Strabo p. 305.—[9] Diodorus p. 350, and Oſſian vol. I. p. 147. and vol. II. p. 62. Solinus c. 22. aſſerts the Britons of Ireland to have had no bees in his time. But the Caledonians appear from Oſſian to have had them.—[10] Baxter on Baſcauda, And ſo Kauelh, an hamper or large baſket in Welch, is a beehive in Corniſh (Lhuyd's Compar. Etym. p. 3.). [11] Another ſuch hive was found about forty or fifty years ago in the neighbouring Linyſhaw Moſs.—[12] Cæſar p. 89. Gallinam et Anſerem guſtare, fas non putant: hæc tamen alunt animi voluptatiſque cauſâ.—[13] Strabo p. 306.—[14] Pliny lib. 19. c. 5. —[15] Columella lib. ii. c. 10.—[16] Varro c. 12. lib. iii.—[17] Dio p. 1006.—[18] Cæſar p. 89.—[19] Leporem alunt animi voluptatiſque cauſâ (Cæſar p. 89.)—[20] Pegge's Coins p. 89, for a ſow and pigs deſcribed upon a Britiſh coin. And ſee Strabo p. 301, in whoſe time the Gallic ſows ranged abroad in the fields very large ſtrong and ſwift, and as dangerous to be approached by a ſtranger even as a wolf.—[21] Pliny lib. xviii. c. 28. And this is mentioned in the tenth century and in the laws of Howel Dha lib. iii. c. 2. A. 49. as then cultivated in Wales.

[22] ——————— Paſſimque Armenta videbant
Romanoque Foro, et lautis mugire Carinis.

VIRGIL.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

I.

WHEN the Romans had ſeen their little village of hurdles and clay become the magnificent metropolis of Italy, and when they began to extend her dominions into the territories of the neighbouring powers, they did not model their new conqueſts as they had previouſly modelled their old. They inſtituted a new platform of polity for them, and they diſtinguiſhed them by a new denomination. They now divided them into diſtricts, they now gave them the appellation of provinces, and they now ſubjected them to prætors and quæſtors. The iſland of Sicily was the firſt conqueſt of the Romans beyond the barriers of Italy, and was therefore the firſt of all their provinces, and received the firſt model of their provincial regimen. And every other of the Roman provinces was governed by its own prætor and its own quæſtor. The former was appointed by the people or the emperor, and the latter was nominated by the prætor's authority only. The former was charged with the whole adminiſtration of the government, and the latter was deputed to manage the finances under him [1]. And this muſt have been equally the conduct of the Romans within our own iſland particularly. The conquered regions of Britain were divided into ſix provinces, and were governed by ſix prætors and ſix quæſtors. Each province formed a diſtinct government of itſelf, and each was governed by a diſtinct prætor and quæſtor. But they all acknowledged one head within the iſland, and were all ſubject to the one authority of the proconſul the legate or the vicar of Britain [2].

For

In our own province of Maxima, the prætor conſtantly reſided at York. There, in the capital of the province, was the manſion-houſe of the prætor, and it was denominated Palatium or Domus Palatina by the Romans [3]. In this was aſſembled the principal court of juſtice; in this judicial determinations were made by the prætor; and in this the imperial decrees and the prætorial edicts were promulged by his miniſters. And other courts muſt have been opened under his commiſſion in the other towns of the province, in which his deputies preſided, inferior cauſes were determined, and the decrees and the edicts were equally promulged. Each prætor muſt have had many of theſe deputies under him, as each province had many of theſe towns. Britannia Prima comprized about forty towns, Britannia Secunda about fifteen, Flavia about fifty, Valentia about ten, and our own Maxima about twenty-five. Thus Britain, from the ſouthern ſea to the friths of Forth and Cluyd, had at the cloſe of the firſt century about an hundred and forty towns in all. Of theſe the neighbouring county of Cheſter had four or five, Cheſter, Kinderton, Hanford, and others [4]. And the county of Lancaſter had eight, Blackrode, Freckleton, Ribcheſter, and Colne, Overborough, Warrington, Lancaſter, and Mancheſter [5].

Theſe towns were of different degrees. They varied greatly from themſelves, not merely in the rank of their civil eſtimation, but even in the nature of their civil conſtitutions. They were particularly diſtinguiſhed into the four orders of towns municipal and ſtipendiary, of colonies, and of towns inveſted witlr the Latin privileges [6]. And as theſe muſt neceſſarily have been many ſtipendiary towns in every conquered kingdom, ſo were there no leſs than two municipia, nine colonies, and ten Latin towns within our own [7]. The generality of the Britiſh towns therefore was merely ſtipendiary. Such were Wincheſter, Canterbury, Exeter, and Lincoln, in particular [8]. Such alſo was our own Mancunium: and, like them, it was ſubject to all the provincial regimen. It was governed by a particular commandant, the deputy of the prætor, and a merely annual officer.

ficer [9]. This præfect, as ædile, muſt have had the whole prætorial authority over the town and its vicinity ordinarily delegated to him. But the garriſon in the ſtation muſt undoubtedly have been independent of him, and ſubject immediately to the prætorial authority. And like the prætor he had his quæſtor with him, appointed pretty certainly by the provincial quæſtor, and authorized to receive the taxes of Mancunium [10]. Theſe were officers now firſt introduced among us, and neceſſarily introduced with our towns by the Romans. By the former was all the diſcipline of the Mancunian polity regulated. And by the latter was all the œconomy of the Mancunian taxes adjuſted.

The taxes impoſed upon the provincial Britons conſiſted of four or five different articles. One was an impoſition upon burials, which is particularly urged as a grievance by the ſpirited Boadicia [11]. Another was a capitation-tax, which is likewiſe inſiſted upon by that Britiſh heroine [12]. A third was a land-tax, which amounted to two ſhillings in the pound or a tenth of the annual produce in every thing that was raiſed from ſeed, and to four ſhillings in the pound or a fifth of the produce in every thing that was raiſed from plants [13]. A fourth was an impoſition upon all cattle [14]. And all the commercial imports and exports were ſubject to particular charges [15]. Such in general were the taxes of our Britiſh anceſtors beneath the government of the Romans. And as they were the badges of the Roman dominion over them, they were naturally diſliked by a newly conquered people. As they were embittered to their minds by the never-failing haughtineſs of a victorious ſoldiery in general and by the native inſolence of the Roman ſoldiery in particular, they were as naturally hated by a gallant nation. But they were by no means oppreſſive in themſelves. They were merely an equivalent in all probability to the duties which they had formerly rendered to their own ſovereigns. The amount of them was ſcarcely ſufficient to anſwer the neceſſary expences of the civil and military eſtabliſhments within the iſland [16]. And the weight of them was certainly light, as the ſmallneſs of the collections at laſt ſtimulated the policy of avarice to aboliſh all the provincial

provincial taxes, and to ſubſtitute even the Roman in their ſtead [19].

In this general condition of our towns, ſome were raiſed above the common rank by the communication of the Jus Latii or the Latin privilege [20]. This was a privilege of exemption from the ordinary juriſdiction of the prætor [21]. And, in conſequence of it, the inhabitants of a Latin town were no longer governed by a foreign præfect and a foreign quæſtor, but by a præfect and a quæſtor elected among themſelves [22]. A Briton was their governor, a Briton was their juſticiary, and a Briton was their tax-gatherer. And every inhabitant of ſuch a town that had borne the offices of prætor or quæſtor was immediately entitled to the privileges of a Roman Citizen [23]. Theſe rights the Romans firſt communicated to the conquered Latins, and afterwards extended to all the conquered Italians. Cæſar ſeems to have been the firſt that ever carried them beyond the barriers of Italy and conferred them upon a provincial town. Novum Comum certainly and moſt probably Nemauſis in Gaul received this diſtinction from him, and were perhaps the firſt provincial towns that received it [24]. And this was afterwards extended to ſeveral of our towns in Britain, to Durnomagus or Caſter near Peterborough, to Ptoroton or Inverneſs, to Victoria or Perth, to Theodoſia or Dumbarton, to Lugubalia or Carliſle, to Sorbiodunum or Saliſbury, to Corinium or Cirenceſter, to Cataracton or Catarick in Yorkſhire, to Cambodunum or Slack in Longwood, and to Coccium or Blackrode in our own county [25].

Theſe were the names and theſe were the conſtitutions of the towns which were inhabited principally by the Britons. But there were others which were principally poſſeſſed by the Romans, and which had therefore a very different polity. Theſe were colonies and municipies.

The commencement of the Roman colonies was nearly coeval with the commencement of the Roman conqueſts. But the firſt that was planted in any of the provinces was projected by the genius of the celebrated Caius Gracchus, and was ſettled upon the ſite of the celebrated Carthage [26]. And others were

planted upon the ſame principle in Britain; Claudius ſettling a ſtrong body of legionary veterans at Camulodunum or Colcheſter, the firſt of all the Roman colonies in Britain; and he and the ſucceeding legates fixing no leſs than eight others in other quarters of the iſland, at Richborough, at London, at Glouceſter, and at Bath, at Caerleon in Monmouthſhire, at Cheſterford near Cambridge, at Lincoln, and at Cheſter [25].

That colony was neceſſarily eſteemed as the head-quarters of the legion, where ſome of the principal cohorts were lodged, where the eagle was repoſited, and where the prepoſitus was reſident. Such was Deva for the twentieth Valerian Victorious legion, Eboracum for the ſixth Victorious, Caerleon for the ſecond Auguſtan, and Glevum for the ſeventh Twin Claudian [26]. And the reſt muſt have been peopled by the other cohorts of theſe legions, as we ſhall hereafter ſee Caerleon, London, and Richborough all peopled by the cohorts of the ſecond Auguſtan [27]; and the tenth Antonian muſt have been lodged in the common ſtations, as the tenth legion had three ſtations, the twelfth five, and the twenty-ſecond ſix, in Germany and in Gaul [28]. Thus were large bodies of the ſoldiery kept together by the Romans, at Richborough, London, Colcheſter, Cheſterford, Lincoln, and York along the eaſtern ſide of the iſland, and at Bath, Glouceſter, Caerleon, and Cheſter upon the weſtern, ready at once to ſuppreſs any inſurrection at home and to repel any invaſion from abroad. And thus did theſe Roman legionaries live together without any intermixture of the natives, ſuffering no Britons to become proprietors among them [29], and allowing none probably to reſide with them at all but the uſeful traders and the neceſſary ſervants.

Beneath a government partly civil, the legionary coloniſts were ſubject to the Roman laws, were governed by their own ſenators or decuriones, and enjoyed all the privileges of Roman citizens [30]. Beneath a government partly military, the legionary coloniſts undoubtedly ſtrengthened their towns with regular fortifications and guarded them with regular watches, and undoubtedly had their names retained upon the quarter-maſter's roll

and were obliged to march at the general's command [31]. But as in a ſeries of years the number of males in the colonies muſt have neceſſarily increaſed, and as they muſt have been all of them legionaries by birth, upon any military exigency a draught muſt have been made out of the coloniſts, and ſuch a number levied as was requiſite to the occaſion. And the towns naturally aſſumed the names of the legions to which the coloniſts belonged. Theſe frequently accompanied, theſe ſometimes ſuperſeded, their Britiſh appellations. Thus we have Camulodunum and Glevum mentioned with the additional titles of Gemina Martia, Colonia Victricenſis, and Claudia [32]. And thus we have Iſca Legio Secunda Auguſta, Iſca Legio Auguſta, Iſca Secunda, Iſca Auguſta, and Londinium Auguſta; Deva Legio Viceſima Victrix, Deva Victrix, and Deva Getica; and Eboracum Legio Sexta Victrix, Colonia nomine Sextæ, and Sexta [33].

It was happy for our Britiſh anceſtors that their Mancunium was not, like the neighbouring Deva or the diſtant Camulodunum, converted into a colony. If it had been converted by Agricola in 85, by Lollius afterwards, or by any of the ſucceeding legates, it might perhaps have ſtood more diſtinguiſhed in the pages of our national hiſtory, or have appeared with greater luſtre in the fragments of our national antiquities. It might have enjoyed the pleaſing ſatisfaction to gaze upon the initials of its own name glittering fairly upon a Roman coin, or to catch the whole of it juſt fading into obſcurity upon a Roman ſtone. And it might have had the raviſhing felicity of being claſſed by the Britiſh antiquarians among the cities that had poſſeſſed the privilege of a Roman mint, and of being ranked by the Britiſh medalliſt among the towns that had contributed to enrich his Roman collection. But the houſes which our fathers had built and the lands which our fathers had cultivated would have been all ſeized by the rapacious legionaries, and they and their families have been obliged to abandon Mancunium for ever [34].

Nor would the condition of the citizens have been bettered, if the town had even obtained the higheſt degree in the ſcale of civil privileges, and been modelled like Verulam and York [35]

into

into a municipium. The latter was certainly a military municipium: and ſo aſſuredly were both. This appears ſufficiently at once from the treatment which the inhabitants of the former received from the revolted Britons under Boadicia, and which was ſhewn only to Colcheſter, a colony of Roman citizens, and to London, the reſidence of Roman-Belgic traders [36]. Verulam as well as York was a colony before it became a municipium [37]; and it as well as the other muſt have been inhabited by Roman legionaries. And both enjoyed a privilege which none of the colonies poſſeſſed, the right of exemption from the imperial ſtatutes and the liberty of enacting their own laws [38].

But Mancunium ſoon enjoyed all the advantages of a colony without feeling the leaſt inconveniencies of it. The privilege of Roman citizenſhip muſt have been frequently communicated to individuals among the Britons, and was at laſt extended to all of them. In the towns diſtinguiſhed by the Latin liberties this privilege, as I have previouſly mentioned, became the common right of all that had borne the office of ædile or of quæſtor in them. But when philoſophy and Antoninus Pius were inveſted with the imperial authority, theſe narrow reſtraints were taken away, and the Roman citizenſhip was reſtored to every Briton of property and worth [39]. It ought to have been extended to all. This Mæcenas particularly recommended to Auguſtus [40]. This humanity dictated. This policy preſcribed. And the cunning avarice of a Caracalla communicated what the virtuous wiſdom of a Pius ſhould have beſtowed [41]. By this communication the lower rank of the Mancunians was freed from a diſgraceful puniſhment, and was no longer liable to be ſcourged with rods.[42]. By this communication the higher rank of the Mancunians was delivered from a diſgraceful excluſion, and was now admitted to a participation of marriages and a communion of honours with the Romans [43]. And by this all the citizens of Mancunium, now created citizens of Rome, were raiſed to a footing of equality with their Roman maſters, were empowered to elect their own officers, and were at liberty to be governed by their own townſmen.

[42] Cicero

[1] Cicero contra Verrem p. 272. tom. IV. Olivet, prima omnium provincia eſt appellata, and p. 135. tom. IV. Quæſtore ſuo—and Strabo p. 1197.—[2] Tacitus and Notitia.—[3] Spartian's Severus c. 22.—[4] See before and b. I. ch. xi. ſ. 1. hereafter.—[5] Richard p. 17—29. and Itinerary.—[6] Richard p. 36.—[7] Ibid.—[8] Richard p. 36.—[9] Κατ' ἔθος in Appian p. 443, Stephanus, 1592.—[10] Αγορανομος in Strabo p. 285, ηχον in Appian ibid., and ταμιας in Strabo ibid.—[11] Dio p. 1004.—[12] Ibid.—[13] Dio ibid.—and Appian p. 353 and 516.—[14] Ibid. ibid.—[15] Strabo p. 306.—[16] Appian in Preface p. 3.—[17] See below.—[18] Richard p. 36. and Pliny's N. H. lib. iii. c. 3.—[19] Strabo p. 285.—[20] Ibid.—[21] Appian p. 443. κατ' ἔθος, and Strabo p. 285.—[22] Ibid. ibid.—[23] Richard p. 36.—[24] Velleius Paterculus lib. i. c. 15.—[25] Tacitus Ann. lib. xii. c. 32. and Richard p. 25 and 36.—[26] Richard p. 36.—[27] B. I. ch. xi. ſ. 4. and ch. xii. ſ. 1.—[28] Antoninus p. 22 and 23, Bertius.—[29] Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 31.—[o] Coloniæ—jura conſtitutaque omnia populi Romani habent (Aulus Gellius in Noct. Att. lib. xvi. c. 13), and Horſeley in Bath.—[31] Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 31. and Horſeley b. I. ch. vi.—[32] Richard p. 36, and Camden p. 323.—[33] Richard p. 27 and 36—Ptolemy—Antonine—Ravennas—and Notitia compared with its own rude map. See a great miſtake in Horſeley p. 362.—[34] Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 31 of Camulodunum, Pellebant domibus, turbabant agris.—[35] Richard p. 36.—[36] Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 33. Sociorum.—[37] Agricola lib. v. Incenſæ coloniæ.—[38] Aulus Gellius in Noct. Att. lib. xvi. c. 13.—[39] Gruter p. 408. N° 1.—[40] Dio p. 674.—[41] Ρωμαιους πανλας τους εν τη αρχη αυτω—απεδειξεν, Dio p. 1295.—[42] Appian p. 443, and Acts of the Apoſtles chap. xxii.—[43] Gruter p. 408. N° 1.

II.

THE immediate deſcendants of the firſt great pair muſt have been all neceſſarily born beneath the controul of a monarchical

government. The power of the father, being amenable to no ſuperior authority, muſt have been the prerogative of the ſovereign; and the obedience of the ſon, being challenged by no ſuperior juriſdiction, muſt have been the ſubmiſſion of a ſubject. And the remoter deſcendants of the ſame pair muſt have been all equally born beneath the controul of the ſame government. The eſtabliſhment of the primogeniture provided for the deſcent of the power, and inſtituted monarchy immediately ſucceeded to natural [1]. Such therefore was the firſt polity of the firſt nations which hiſtory holds up to our view. And ſuch was particularly the original polity of all the tribes of the Britons. The various nations that had planted the whole compaſs of our iſland were all diſtinct communities governed by diſtinct kings [2].

Many of theſe ſovereigns were allowed by the Romans to continue in poſſeſſion of their antient thrones, and to enjoy the full extent of their antient authority. They were conſidered as the allies of the Romans, and their dominions were not reduced into provinces. Such was Praſutagus the monarch of the Iceni [3]. Such was Venutius the king of the Jugantes [4]. And ſuch was Cartiſmandua the ſovereign of the Brigantes [5]. But this indulgence was merely the reſult of temporary policy. Detached for the preſent from the general intereſt of the nation, theſe monarchs became the unconcerned ſpectators of the Roman progreſs. Having contributed to enlarge the power of their enemies by the deſertion of their friends, theſe ſovereigns all fell in ſucceſſion after them, juſtly ſacrificed to that deſertion, and equally reduced by that authority.

But even in this condition of the iſland, beneath all the rigour of the provincial regimen, the ſovereigns of the tribes were ſtill allowed to remain in general. This antiquarianiſm has never ſuppoſed before. The reverſe of this has been univerſally believed by the critics [6]. But the fact is ſufficiently authenticated.

Cogi-dunus or Cogi-dubnus appears undeniably from his name to have been originally the Cogi or king of the Dobuni,

and

and from the additional appellation of Rex or King which is given him by Tacitus appears equally to have retained the ſame ſovereignty under the Romans [7]. Nor was this all. He was even inveſted by the Romans with the ſovereignty of ſome other ſtates, which had probably loſt the line of their princes in the proſecution of the war, and which were now ſubjected to the ſcepter of the Dobuni [8]. One of theſe was undoubtedly the Regni of Suſſex and Surry [9]; and the reſt muſt have been the nations that lay betwixt the Dobuni and them, the two intervening tribes of the Attrebates and the Bibroces. And this extended ſovereignty over a part of Warwickſhire, over a conſiderable portion of Buckinghamſhire, over nearly all Berkſhire, abſolutely over all Worceſterſhire Oxfordſhire Glouceſterſhire Surry and Suſſex, Cogidubnus retained to the days of Trajan [10], when not only theſe counties in particular, but when the whole extent of England and Wales, had been long molded into the form of a province.

This was allowed in the firſt and ſecond centuries, and at the firſt modelling of the Roman conqueſts among us. And thus allowed at firſt, the Britiſh ſovereigns muſt have equally continued through all the period of the Roman government afterwards. Accordingly we find many reguli in general within the conquered provinces of the iſland during the courſe of the third century [11]. Accordingly we find Cunedag reigning the king of the Otadini, and ſucceeding to the ſovereignty of the Ordovices, in the fourth century; though Otadinia and Ordovicia had both been reduced into a province three ages before, and though both of them continued members of a province to the period of the Roman departure [12]. And accordingly, upon the retreat of the Romans from Britain, we ſee monarchs appear immediately in every quarter of the iſland, and the whole body of the Romanized Britons as much divided into diſtinct principalities as ever the primeval Britons had been, and as much under the government of diſtinct princes [13].

Hence, and hence only, are the ſubject Britons repreſented by Tacitus, even in the reign of Trajan, as only brought into obe-

dience, not reduced into ſlavery, Domiti ut pareant, nondum ut ſerviant [74]. Hence, and hence only, are the colonies of the Belgæ particularly denominated by Tacitus ſocii or allies of the Romans in the reign of Nero; and even the whole country of the ſubject Britons is mentioned by Dio, in the later days of Severus, as ἡ φιλία or the region of friends [75]. And hence, and hence only, are the Britons deſcribed by Suetonius Paulinus, the ſevereſt of all their conquerors, to be, even in their δουλεία or their moſt abject ſubmiſſion to the Romans, ſtill ἐλεύθεροι or poſſeſſed of their antient freedom, and ſtill αὐτόνομοι or governed by their antient laws [76].

The Britiſh ſovereigns then retained their ſovereignties beneath the government of the Romans, and Lancaſhire yet enjoyed the privilege of its antient monarchy. A king continued to preſide over our Siſtuntian anceſtors: but he neceſſarily retained only a ſubordinate ſway, and poſſeſſed only a diminiſhed authority. The great power of life and death muſt have been undoubtedly taken from him, and transferred to the provincial prætor. And to guard againſt any exertions of this authority by the ſovereign, was moſt probably the principal deſign of the tax upon funerals.

But the Siſtuntian monarch muſt have been allowed to enjoy the whole antient extent of his civil authority. All the internal economy of the ſtate muſt have been regulated as it was before by him. This appears very clearly from the above-mentioned aſſertion concerning the conquered Britons, that they were αὐτόνομοι or governed by their own laws. And this appears more clearly from the certain continuance of the Britiſh polity among all the Britons, being derived even to the Welch of theſe later ages, and being obſerved equally in the conquered diſtricts of Britannia Secunda and in the unconquered regions of Ireland [77].

The deſcent of the crown among the Siſtuntians muſt have been, as it always was among the Britons in general, in the courſe of an hereditary lineal and cogniatic ſucceſſion. Mandubratius ſucceeded his father Immanuentius in the throne of the Trino-

vantes,

vantes,[18] the ſon of Cuneda followed him regularly in the ſovereignty of the Ordovices, and Trenmor Trathal Comhal and Fingal, father ſon grand-ſon and great-grand-ſon, ſucceſſively inherited the monarchy of Morven for their patrimony [19]. And it is expreſly declared by the Britons of themſelves, that they were uſed to be governed by women as well as men, and by the Romans concerning them, that their monarchies devolved equally in ſucceſſion upon the daughters and the ſons of royalty [20]. Thus was Boadicia the queen of the Iceni and Cartiſmandua the queen of the Brigantes, and both in their own right [21].

But this hereditary ſucceſſion appears plainly not to have been abſolute and inviolable. It was certainly defeaſible among the Saxons, as I ſhall evince hereafter [22]. It was defeaſible, I apprehend, among all the earlier monarchies of the world. And it was certainly defeaſible among the Britons. The law of ſucceſſion however was infringible, not by the general interpoſition of the people, but by the particular prerogative of the nobles or by the ſingle authority of the king, or rather by the concurrence of the king and the nobles together. Such it appears in the earlieſt inſtitutions of the Welch and in the correſpondent cuſtoms of the Iriſh. In that very remarkable compilation of laws which was made by Howel Dha a little before the middle of the tenth century [23], and which is principally compoſed of the cuſtoms exiſting previouſly among the Welch Britons [24], we find the king's ſon brother or nephew to have been the cuſtomary inheritor of the crown, and the reigning monarch or the nobles to have ſelected the particular perſon [25]. And in the moſt antient cuſtoms of the Iriſh Britons we ſee the hereditary ſucceſſion very frequently ſuperſeded by the rule of Taniſtry; a member of the royal family being adopted at diſcretion by the nobles, and denominated by the law the Taniſt or the ſecond in dignity [26].

The monarchies of Britain were as little abſolute in themſelves as the ſucceſſion to them was indefeaſible in its nature. The Britons were not unacquainted, though hiſtory has never ſuppoſed them to be actually acquainted, with that propereſt

reſtraint upon monarchical deſpotiſm, the rational the manly the free inſtitution of parliaments. No power but the royal could either make or abrogate a public law [26]. And fixed upon this neceſſary principle hangs the central balance of every monarchy. But even the king could not make or abrogate a law without the conſent of the country [27]. And grounded upon the ſolid baſis of this maxim ſtands all the fair ſtructure of popular liberty. The moſt antient conſtitutions of Wales have expreſsly recorded the exception. The terms of it carry ſufficiently in themſelves a reference to parliamentary concurrence. And we have a deciſive argument for the exiſtence of Britiſh parliaments in the prefaces to the laws of Howel Dha, the moſt authentic regiſters of the legiſlative authority by which they were made. We there find ſix men ſummoned out of every commot or every century in Wales, the moſt wiſe and the moſt powerful perſons in the kingdom, in order to meet and aſſiſt the king in the great work of legiſlation. The parliament being aſſembled, by common council and conſent they examined the antient laws, reformed and cancelled ſome, added others, and digeſted both into a regular code. This they preſented to the king. This the monarch approved, and gave it the ratifying ſanction of his own authority. And both the monarch and the ſenators concurred to imprecate the wrath of God, of the parliament, and of all the country upon ſuch of the people as ſhould violate and upon ſuch of the kings as ſhould abrogate any of theſe conſtitutions, unleſs they were annulled in a council equally national as that in which they had been recently made [28].

In theſe laws of the Good Howel the curious mind is preſented with a remarkable delineation of the Britiſh court; and the ſtriking ſimplicity of the draught evinces the great antiquity of the original. Upon this model undoubtedly were all courts formed at the beginning. And upon this our own in particular appears to have been actually formed. The royal manſion and its offices conſiſted merely of a Newadd or hall, an Yſdafell or parlour, a Bwytty or buttery, an Yſdabl or ſtable,

a Cyn-hordy or dog-kennel, an Yſgubawr or granary, an Odyn oven or bakehouſe, a Ty Bychan or boghouſe, and an Hundy or bedroom [29]. The fire-pan was of iron and the fuel of wood [30]. And the bed was merely of ſtraw, as it even continued to be in the royal bedrooms of England as late as the concluſion of the thirteenth century [31]. The king's own dreſs was a ſantell or mantle, and a bais, tunic, or waiſtcoat, both aſſuredly of woolen, a grys or ſhirt and lawdr or breeches, both pretty certainly of linen, and eſgidjeu or ſhoes, hoſaneu or ſtockens, lewys or gloves [32], and bian gapan or a cap of ſkins [33]. And the queen's dreſs was nearly the ſame, her majeſty only wearing Ffilaenneu or Roman headbands under her capan [34]. The great officers of the court were the Pen-teulu or the mayor of the palace, the Diſdain or ſteward of the houſhold, the Pen-hebogydd or maſter of the hawks, the Brawdwr Llys or court-juſticiary, the Pen-gwaſdrawd or the preſident of the grooms, the Gwas Yſdafell or the lord chamberlain, the Bardh-teulu or the court-poet, the Goſdegwr or the king's ſerjeant, the Pencenydd or the maſter of the king's hounds, the Meddyd or the king's cellarer, the Meddyg or phyſician to the houſhold, the Trulliad or butler, the Dryſawr or porter, the Cog or cook, and the Canhwyllyd or the curator of the lights. In this eſtabliſhment of a court we ſee the head of the falconers and the chief of the grooms, the poet-laureat and the cook, all ranked immediately among the great officers of ſtate. Such a rank was naturally given them in a court generally devoted, as all courts originally were, and as all in illiterate ages muſt ever be, to the pleaſures of the feaſt and the diverſions of the chace. So the Pincerna or butler to king Ethelwulph was maternal grandfather to king Alfred. So the maſter of the horſe to king Alfred is mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle under the appellation of the Horſe-thane. And ſo among the officers of king Hardicnute's court we have Stir his major domo, majorem domus, or mayor of the palace, Edric his butler, Thrond his butcher, ſunm carnificem, & alios magnæ dignitatis viros, ſent in a joint commiſſion with Alfric archbiſhop of York and Godwin earl of

Kent.

Kent [35]. Theſe all executed their diſtinct offices in perſon. It was the buſineſs of the Goſdegwr to command ſilence in the king's hall at dinner by ſtriking upon a particular pillar, of the Gwas Ydafell to make the king's bed, and of the Dryſawr to provide ſtraw for all the beds and to kindle all the fires in the court [36]. And the ſame eſtabliſhment prevailed exactly in the Engliſh the Iriſh and the Scottiſh courts. The houſe of Stuart and the family of Butler are ſufficiently known to have derived their appellations from their hereditary offices in the palaces of Scotland and of Ireland. The duke of Hamilton is hereditary porter to the king of Scotland, and the dukes of St. Albans and Ancaſter are hereditary chamberlain and hereditary falconer to the king of England, at preſent. More than one manor is held under the crown of England to the preſent period with the ſpecial obligation on the lord to attend and officiate in the king's kitchen at the coronation, and to preſent the king with a diſh of his own cooking. And the royal porter in England as late as the thirteenth century was expreſsly obliged to provide litter for the beds and to light all the fires in the palace [37]. But the privileges of theſe Britiſh officers were particularly ſtriking. They were all of them annually preſented with a piece of linen and of woolen by the king and queen [38], and were regularly gratified beſides with old cloaths from the royal wardrobe. The king's riding-coat was three times a year given away to the maſter of the Mews, the king's caps ſaddles bits and ſpurs became the perquiſite of his maſter of the horſe, and the chamberlain appropriated to himſelf the king's old cloaths and old bedquilts [39]. Thus the chamberlain of our own palace, even in the reign of Edward the firſt, by antient cuſtom received the king's old coverlets curtains and bedding [40]. And in the palaces of the Britons this principle was carried to ſo great a length, that even the wardrobe of the officers was in ſome caſes inheritable by their inferiors; as the coat of the Pen-teulu devolved three times a year to the Trulliad, the Trulliad's deſcended to the Bardh, and the Bardh's was received by the Dryſawr [41]. But theſe were not all their privileges. They had equally a right to

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ſtated meſſes of meat, when they gave any entertainments in their private apartments; the preſident of the palace being impowered to command three diſhes of meat and three horns of the beſt liquor, and the maſter of the mews three horns and one diſh [42]. But the latter was cautiouſly required to bring his cup in perſon to the hall at every repletion of it, leſt he ſhould drink too much and neglect his birds [43]. The preſident of the palace might require the bardh to ſing to him whenever he pleaſed [44]. And if the maſter of the mews in the king's preſence killed one of the three birds that were denominated noble, the king was bound to aſſiſt him in diſmounting and remounting, and to hold his horſe while he took the birds [45]. But if he killed the bird in the abſence of the king, he was required to haſten to court, and to preſent the game to his majeſty; and, by the etiquette of the court, the king roſe up in compliment to him, or elſe gave him the mantle which he was wearing [46].

The cuſtomary enſign of royalty for the ſovereigns of the Britons muſt have been the imperial fillet or diadem which was common to them and to all the eaſtern monarchs. Tied round the royal head, it was ſometimes ſecured upon the forehead with a croſs fillet and a claſp, and was ſometimes ornamented with the muſcle-pearls and the ſparry diamonds of the country [47]. It was frequently worne by the monarch immediately over his hair, which roſe in one two or three rows of curls above it, and was ſometimes worne upon a ſmall cloſe cap that juſt covered the head and was edged by the fillet [48]. But after the coming of the Romans, when the ſovereignties of the iſland ſubmitted to the authority of the empire, and when the monarch and his ſubjects adopted the manners of the Romans, the corona koron or crown muſt have been introduced into the iſland, and muſt have been worne by the ſovereigns of our fathers. And we have a very curious and antient delineation of it upon the tomb-ſtone of a Britiſh monarch that reigned in the fifth century. The ſtone was diſcovered in the iſle of Angleſey about the reign of Charles the ſecond, lying no leſs than ſix feet under the ground. And as the edge of it bears a remarkable inſcription to the memory of Pabo, ſo the plane of it exhibits the figure of the king, dreſſed

in

in his armour, graſping a ſcepter, and wearing a crown: the ſcepter being a ſtrong weapon of iron and pointed in the form of a lily, and the crown being a circlet ſtudded with ſtars and fringed with three flowers above [49].

[7] Geneſis chap. iv. ver. 7.— [8] Cæſar p. 92, Mela lib. iii. c. 6, Dio p. 957, Diodorus p. 347, Tacitus Agric. Vit. c. 15. ſingulos ſibi olim reges fuiſſe, and Richard p. 15. How inconſiſtent and miſtaken therefore are Dio p. 1280 and Richard p. 7?— [9] Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 31.— [4] Ibid. lib. xii. c. 40.— [5] Ibid.— [6] See Carte particularly vol. I. p. 133, 137, &c.— [7] Agric. Vit. c. 14. Cogiduno regi. And in Dio p. 957 we have Togidumnus, the ſon of Cunobeline, plainly appearing from the tenor of the hiſtory as well as the import of his appellation to have been the Togi or leader of the Dobuni, and dying in the defence of his dominions againſt the attacks of Plautius p. 958.— [8] Tacitus Agric. Vit. c. xiv. Quædam civitates—donatæ.— [9] See the Chicheſter inſcription in Horſeley.— [10] Agric. Vit. c. xiv.— [11] Porphyry in that well-known but miſapplied ſaying, that Britain was then Fertilis provincia tyrannorum (Hieron. Epiſt. ad Cteſiphontem)—Richard p. 15—and Nennius c. 18.— [12] Appendix to Nennius c. 64, and b. I. ch. xii. ſ. 5. Nennius brings Cunedag de regione—Guotadin into Ordovicia: the genealogiſts therefore are miſtaken in deriving him from Cumberland (ſee Mona p. 146 and Carte p. 139). And Carte, who, like the other hiſtorians, verbally denies the exiſtence of any Britiſh kings under the provincial government, virtually acknowledges it p. 139 and 163, mentioning the kings of the Ordovices. And ſee a great miſtake in him p. 163 &c.— [13] See b. II. ch. i. ſ. 1.— [14] Agric. Vit. c. 13.— [15] Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 33, and Dio p. 1282. And in Galgacus's ſpeech (Agric. Vit. c. 31) the Romans are ſaid to call themſelves the Amici of the Britons.— [16] Dio p. 1010.— [17] Mona p. 130 &c.— [18] Cæſar p. 92, Nennius c. 64, and Oſſian's Poems.— [19] Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 35, and Agric. Vit. c. 16.— [20] Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 35.— [21] See b. II. ch. iv. ſ. 2.

— [22] See

[30] See the Preface to Wotton's edition. — [31] See the original Preface or Prefaces to the Laws. — [32] Lib. I. c. ix. art. 2, 7, and 8. — [33] In Ireland (fays Ware) the fucceffor was appointed by the common votes of the people (Ant. Hib. c. viii.). And fee I. 3. for all below the nobles having no power or weight in the affairs of government. — [34] Howel Dha lib. iv. c. 65. A. 4. — [35] Ibid. — [36] See Wotton's edition. — [37] Lib. i. c. 47. A. 8. And compare it with the accounts of the Letty or bedrooms of the great officers. In (or, as it undoubtedly ought to be tranflated, over) the Neuad was the bedroom of the royal heir. There (fays c. 9) he fhall fleep attended by young nobles. Another great officer lay in (over) the granary (c. 15), another in (over) the odyn (c. 21), And a third in (over) the kitchen (c. 26). — [38] Lib. ii. c. 1. A. 6. (In many houfes it was of ftone, p. 362), and lib. i. c. 42. — [39] Lib. i. c. 18. A. 9. And fee an Extract from Fleta in Note to Preface, and Camden c. 331. Gibfon. — [40] Lib. i. c. 17. A. 6. — [41] Lib. i. c. 18. A. 7. and lib. i. c. 17. A. 8. — [42] Lib. i. c. 32. A. 2. — [43] Howel lib. i. c. 1, Aflerii Alfredus p. 4, Sax. Chron. p. 99, and Florence of Worceſter p. 623, Frankfort edit. — [44] Lib. i. c. 20, c. 18. A. 4, and c. 40. A. 15. — [45] See Extract from Fleta in Note to Preface to Howel Dha. — [46] Lib. i. c. 2, &c. [47] Lib. i. c. 15, c. 17, and c. 18. — [48] Extract from Fleta in Preface to Howel Dha. — [49] Lib. i. c. 14. — [50] Lib. i. c. 12 and 15. — [51] Lib. i. c. 15. — [52] Lib. i. c. 12. — [53] Lib. i. c. 15. — [54] Ibid. — [55] Pegge's Coins of Cunobeline N° 3. claſs 2 and N° 5. claſs 1; Coin 15, 16, and 20, in Borlaſe's Cornwall b. iii. ch. xii; and Agric. Vit. c. 12. — [56] N° 3. claſs 2 and N° 5. claſs 1 in Pegge, and Borlaſe's Coins 16 and 20. — [57] See it in Mona p. 158.

III.

WHEN the great colony of the Siſtuntii was firſt led into the watery plains of Lancaſhire, the commandant or ſovereign of them, the younger ſon moſt probably of ſome of the more ſoutherly kings, muſt have taken poſſeſſion of the lands by the

privilege of occupancy, and have made them all his own. He muſt have then granted them out to his principal followers, aſſigning each of them his particular proportion, and obliging each of them to particular returns for it. And theſe muſt have continued obligatory upon the lands, and have deſcended to the preſent proprietors under the Romans. Such continued among the Britons of Wales to the ſixteenth century. Such remained among the Britons of Ireland to the ſeventeenth.

Immediately below the ſovereign ranked the equites or knights, the Uchelwyrion, magnates, or high men, holding their lands immediately from the crown, and preſiding as lords over their particular domains [1]. As the immediate tenants of the crown, they were obliged by their tenures to certain ſervices to it, the expreſs conditions of their fees, and all honourable in their natures [2]. Some retained their lands under a tenure which ſtrongly reſembled the grand ſerjeanty of the Normans, the duty of attendance upon the king at dinner, and the obligation of perſonal ſervices to him at it, to hold the king's feet in their boſom and to rub him with a fleſh-bruſh [3]. But moſt were particularly bound upon ſummons to attend the ſovereign in arms, and to follow him to the war [4]. This was denominated the Gwaeth Milwyr or the ſervice of the ſoldier, being borne at their own expence whenever and as often as they were carried into the field within the limits of their own country, and once annually without them for the period of ſix weeks [5]. And they were bound to engage always at the call in the conſtruction or reparation of the royal caſtles [6]. They were alſo aſſeſſed with rents either in money or in kind, but ſtated in their value and gentle in their amount. For a fee containing about a thouſand acres of land, the knight, immediately before the commencement of winter, remitted to the king's palace an horſe-load of his beſt wheat reduced to flour, one oxe, a barrel of mead nine palms in length and eighteen in breadth, or two barrels of braget, or four of common ale, and one hundred and ſixty-eight equal threaves of oats for the ſtable, a ſow three years old, a ſalted gammon three inches in thickneſs, and a pot of butter three palms long

and

and three broad [7]. But if the proviſion was not furniſhed at the time appointed, the chieftain paid in lieu of it a pound and twenty-four pence, the former payment being denominated the Twnc Punt or the Tributary Pound, and the latter being entitled Argant Y Gwynos or the Supper-ſilver [8]. Beneath the reſerve of theſe ſervices and payments, the uchelwyrs had a full property in their lands, and could tranſmit them to their heirs [9]. The lands were originally given away by the king under the limitation of theſe duties. The non-performance of them muſt have neceſſarily extinguiſhed the title of the chief. And the lands reverted to the crown that gave them [10].

Inferior to theſe, and holding from them as lords in fee or holding as they held immediately from the crown, was the great body of the people, being eſteemed, as Cæſar declares the common people in Gaul to have been reckoned, Penè ſervorum loco, and all abſolutely in a ſtate of villainage [11]. Theſe were divided into the two claſſes of Nativi liberi or free villains and of Puri nativi or compleat villains [12]. The former were allowed to relinquiſh their lands or to remain upon them at their own diſcretion, were privileged to buy and to ſell, and were charged with ſervices the moſt honourable of the menial kind and all aſſuredly determinate [13]. The latter were reckoned abſolutely the property of the lord, diſpoſable to any one at his will, and ſaleable as a part of his eſtate [14]. The latter were bound to ſervices the moſt ſervile and the moſt indeterminate, to conſtruct and repair the lord's houſes, and to execute all his drudgeries of huſbandry [15]. They were both ſubject, like the chiefs, to attendance in war and to payments in money or returns in kind. And it ſtrongly evinces the great humanity and the free genius of theſe villain tenures, that both had them generally as ſettled and determinate as they. The villains on a fee of one thouſand acres made annually two large remittances to the lord [16]. One was, like the noble's, immediately before the winter, and conſiſted of a ſow three years old, a veſſel of butter three palms long and three broad, a barrel of braget nine palms in length, twenty-four equal threaves of oats for the horſes, ſixty-ſix loaves

of the beſt wheat that grew, if any grew, within the fee, ſix of them made of wheat purged from the bran, and, if no wheat was raiſed upon the fee, ſix loaves of the coarſer oatmeal, equal in breadth to the meaſure of the arm from the elbow to the wriſt, and ſo thick as not to bend though they were held by the margin [17]. The other remittance was made at the beginning of ſummer, and conſiſted of a weather three years old, a veſſel of butter as large as the largeſt diſh in the fee and a couple of the leſſer palms in thickneſs, twenty-ſix ſuch loaves as were remitted before, and a cheeſe compoſed of all the milk that all the cows within the fee could furniſh in one day [18]. But beſides theſe payments, both of which were ſcarcely equivalent even to the remittances of the knights, the villains were neceſſarily ſubject to additional impoſitions. The ſovereign in particular retained a conſiderable portion of lands in his own poſſeſſion, the appropriated demeſne of the royalty, and denominated Loghty among the Iriſh [19]. The villains upon theſe demeſne-lands were required every year to entertain the king, the queen, and ſome of the great officers of ſtate, with their attendant trains. But they were obliged to receive them only by a certain cylch cycle or rotation, and to maintain them only for a certain period [20]. Some were bound to entertain the king himſelf, to provide ſtraw for his bed and wood for his fire, and to furniſh him with mutton lamb or kid and butter cheeſe or milk, as long as he continued with them [21]. The royal court was continually ambulatory and itinerant [22]. And the king's domeſticks were annually divided into three bodies, ſome of the principal officers, all the huntſmen, and all the grooms; and each took its aſſigned quarters among the villains [23]. And the ſame rights of ſupremacy which were poſſeſſed by the king over the royal villains were equally poſſeſſed by the uchelwyr over his own [24]. But this branch of the villain regimen under both was as gentle as it was determinate, being conſtantly ſettled in proportion to the eſtate of the villain [25]. And the ſame ſort of regimen was actually retained in the modern feuds, the tenants of the lord of Manchester, in the fourteenth century being obliged to furniſh the lord's ſworn

bailiff

bailiff and his four deputies with bread beer and other neceſſaries, and with proviſion for their ſervants and horſes, upon notice of their arrival among them [26].

Theſe were the two only ranks of the Britiſh citizens, the nobles and the villains [27]. All below the latter were Caeths or ſlaves, made ſuch by the voluntary ſale or the public condemnation of their perſons to ſervitude; were ſometimes denominated Yſdafellawgeu or cottagers, anſwering to the Bordarii and Cottarii of Doomſday Book; and, like the ſlaves of the Saxons, were certainly poſſeſſed of ſome property [28]. And both theſe ranks were obnoxious to the payment of an heriot upon the deceaſe of the poſſeſſor, and to the impoſition of a relief or a fine of renewal upon the ſucceſſion of the heir [29]. The eſtates of both theſe ranks paid equally to their reſpective ſuperiors the maritagium or fine for the marriage of a daughter [30]. The nobles and the villains did homage to the lord for their land, and their infants in orphanage received a tutor and guardian from his appointment [31]. The nobles and the villains were obliged to attend their lord to the wars, or to pay him a Lluyd, an eſcuage, or a commutation for it [32]. And the fee of the former was forfeited to the crown upon neglect of the ſervices, and devolved to the crown upon failure of iſſue [33]. But theſe payments were all, except the eſcuage, regularly defined by the law. The marriage-fine for an uchelwyr's daughter was an hundred and twenty pence, and for a villain's only twenty-four [34]. The heriot and the relief were combined together under one common appellation of Ebediw, as I ſhall hereafter evince both to have been denominated the Heriot among the Saxons and the Relief among the Normans [35]. And the ebediw of an uchelwyr was ſettled in general at an hundred and twenty pence, of an uchelwyr's villain at ſixty, and of a king's villain at ninety [36]. The royal villain muſt have enjoyed one third more advantage from his eſtate than the private. And the Britiſh nobles paid much eaſier heriots than the Saxon [37].

Such were the tenures of the lands in Wales before the Engliſh cuſtoms were tranſplanted into the country by the Engliſh arms.

arms. And the particular appearance of the ſame holdings even ſo early as the tenth century and in the laws of Howel Dha, holdings not formed by that great legiſlator of Wales, but referred by him to prior inſtitutes and aſcribed by him to the earlier Britons, evinces the great and ſtriking antiquity of them. Such was the tenure of the lands in Wales, before the Engliſh cuſtoms abſolutely ſuperſeded the native holdings of the country. And the general appearance of the ſame tenures equally among the natives of Wales and the aborigines of Ireland demonſtrably evinces the whole curious ſyſtem of polity to have been derived from the common parents of both nations, the original and primæval tribes of the Britons [38].

This then was the nature of our tenures in Britain and in Lancaſhire at the cloſe of the firſt century. And they appear undeniably to have been purely military in their deſign and abſolutely feudal in their eſſence. The primary inſtitution of feuds is unanimouſly deduced by our hiſtorical and legal antiquarians from the northern invaders of the Roman empire; and the primary introduction of them into this iſland is almoſt as unanimouſly referred to the much more recent epocha of the Norman conqueſt. But they certainly exiſted among us before, and even formed the primitive eſtabliſhment of the Britons. By the feudal preſcriptions, and by them only, could the lands of the Britiſh chiefs have been enjoyed under the king as the ſupreme proprietor of all, and poſſeſſed under a baron as the immediate lord of the fee, with the obligation of military ſervice to him or with the payment of a fine of commutation for it [39]. The military ſervice is the firſt great ſignature and the higheſt characteriſtic of the feudal ſyſtem, and is expreſsly declared in ſome of the earlieſt inſtitutes of the Britons to have been the principal ſervice of the Britiſh fees [40]. By the feudal preſcriptions, and by them only, could the lands of the Britiſh chiefs and the Britiſh villains have been obnoxious to heriots, to reliefs, to homage, wardſhip, marriage-licences, and eſcheats. By the feudal preſcriptions, and by them only, could the lord of the fee have acted as the Britiſh lords in the earlieſt ages acted, have taken

the

the fee into his own hands upon the death of the occupant, have retained it in his own poſſeſſion till the heir came to requeſt the right or till the ſurvivor was capable of performing the ſervice due to him for it, have then made a formal ſurrendery of it again to the heir [41], and have obliged him to pay an acknowledgment for the ſurrendery inveſtiture or premier ſeizin of it [42]. Theſe were all the native productions of that great principle of the feudal polity, which acknowledged all the lands of a kingdom or of a barony to have been originally held by the original conceſſion of the royal or the private lord, which confeſſed the right of the primary donation to have been abſolutely terminated by the death of the grantee, and which received the continuation of the grant to each ſucceſſive heir as a new donation from the lord. The heriot therefore was paid upon the death of every poſſeſſor, as the lord's ſeizin of the whole; and other diſcharges were made at the renewal of the grant or the portioning of a daughter, as an acknowledgment of the lord's primary right to the whole. And the ſame principle, gradually operating downwards, affected the villain eſtates in the ſame manner. The Britiſh villain expreſsly held his land to the laſt, as the feudatory muſt have actually held his at the firſt, dependant on the will of his lord. But though the original tenure of villainage remained nominally the ſame, property gradually gained upon theſe precarious tenures in the villain as in the freehold eſtates, and the former had early begun, like the latter, to be continued for life and to deſcend to the heirs among the Britons. The latter were become abſolutely hereditary before the age of Howel Dha, and the former were become partially ſo, the houſe deſcending by law, and the lands devolving by allowance, to the poſterity of the previous occupant [43]. And hence only could the heriot and the relief have been the incidents equally of the freehold and of the villain lands at all among the Britons.

Such was the curious and original frame of the Britiſh tenures, a compleat ſyſtem of feuds in miniature, and the ſame in effect with the more enlarged ſyſtem of the Normans. The ſameneſs is great enough to evince the very near relation of the former

former to the latter and to the common family of feuds. The difference is ſtriking enough to demonſtrate the deſcent of the former by a line abſolutely diſtinct from the latter. The Britiſh is certainly prior in its origin to the Norman, becauſe it is much leſs complicated and diffuſive than it. The tenures of pure and free villainage correſponding with great exactneſs to the ſame holdings of later ages, the knights ſervice among the Britons was actually compounded of the mixt tenures of the barony and the free ſoccage among the Normans [u].

Theſe feudal tenures muſt have been derived from a very antient and primitive origin, and muſt have exiſted coeval with the firſt plantation of the iſland. They were plainly the joint reſult of a colonizing and a military ſpirit. The former providentially animated the firſt ages of the Nouchidæ, was conſtantly proſecuted under the diſcipline of regular order and the controul of regal authority, and had whole regions to partition among the members of the colony. The latter was excited by the frequent migrations of coloniſts and the numerous invaſions of ſettlements in the ſame ages, and naturally provided for the ſecurity of the infant colony by the inſtitution of a military eſtabliſhment. Nearly all the lands in the kingdom therefore muſt naturally have been charged with the feudal obſervances, and the only allodial lands within it muſt have been ſuch as belonged to the relations of the royalty. The word Allod or Allodium has effectually baffled all the torturing diſquiſitions of etymology to the preſent moment. Like many of the kindred terms of feudaliſm, it has been vainly explored, I apprehend, in languages to which it never bore any relation. Like many of the kindred terms of feudaliſm, it is, I apprehend, neither Saxon nor Norman in its origin, but actually and abſolutely Britiſh. Britiſh certainly is the characteriſtic term of the whole ſyſtem, Feod or Feud, occurring particularly in the laws of Howel Dha, Fyd or Fud, and ſignifying literally and directly an eſtate [w]. Britiſh certainly is the remarkable Heriot of the feudal ſyſtem, the Dhered of Howel Dha, the Hæred of Angleſey, and the pronounced Hæred of Lancaſhire, as the plain

unwreſted

unwreſted import of the word, an Obit or Mortuary, ſufficiently evinces of itſelf [46]. Britiſh certainly is the famous Mercheta of the Scottiſh feuds in particular, which has given occaſion to that fiction of folly in the beſt hiſtories of Scotland, that the lord had a privilege to ſleep with the bride of his vaſſal upon her wedding-night, which has been explained by derivations equally obſcene and ſtupid, and which is apparently nothing more than the Merch-ed of Howel Dha, the daughter-hood, or the fine for the marriage of a daughter [47]. Britiſh certainly is the feudal appellation of Villain, appearing equally in the laws of the Britons, Bilain or Filein, and ſignifying an Huſbandman or Peaſant [48]. And Britiſh certainly are the two equally well-known and peculiarly feudal denominations of Baron and Manour, though both have been appropriated to the Normans, and the former, like villain, ſo abſolutely appropriated, that the appearance of it has been even adduced as a poſitive argument againſt the authenticity of ſome Saxon charters [49]. They both occur in the antient Inſtitutes of Wales, and Manour an hundred and twenty years abſolutely before the Conqueſt; are written Barwn and Maenawr, and ſignify a Military Man and a Diſtrict [50]. And Allodium, I think, is derived from the ſame language. Allodial land is an eſtate diſcharged from all the feudal ſervices, and, as I have obſerved already, muſt naturally have been ſuch only as belonged to the relations of the crown. And the eſtates of the Ealodeu or the members of the royal family, the children the nephews or the couſins of the reigning monarch, are all expreſsly exempted from the impoſition of the Ebediw in the Laws of Howel Dha, and are actually the only lands in the kingdom that are favoured with ſuch an exemption [51].

The preſcribed mode of deſcent for all the noble or freehold lands in the kingdom at this period muſt have been by the courſe of the cuſtom which is denominated Gavelkind. This antient uſage appears equally in Ireland and in Wales, is recorded as early as the tenth century in the laws of the latter, and exiſted for ages afterward the one univerſal rule of inheritance in both [52]. Familiar among the Saxons afterward, it was allowed to operate

only upon a ſmall portion of their eſtates, upon cenſual lands or free ſocages; but extended its influence through the whole circle of the landed property among the Britons [n]. The whole circle of abſolute property, as I have already evinced, was formed merely of one ſpecies of tenures, at once actually military and poſitively cenſual. And this ſpecies was naturally denominated among the Britons Gafael Kinead or the Family Eſtate. Gafael or Gavel carrying exactly the ſame ſignification in the Britiſh as Fyd or Fud, the addition of Kinead or Kind was neceſſary to reſtrain the generality of the expreſſion, and to diſtinguiſh the legally hereditary eſtate of the Uchelwyr from the legally undeſcendible poſſeſſion of the Filein. And both together import preciſely what Feod and Feud ſignify at preſent, a free tenement and its appurtenance, a noble eſtate and the modal circumſtances of it [o]. There were three particular preſcriptions of this Britiſh inſtitution; and all appear plainly to have been intended as improvements upon the feudal ſyſtem. The inheritance of the Britiſh baron, the only freeholder in the kingdom, was divided equally among the ſons, and in defect of ſons among the next heirs that were males [p]. This was calculated directly to multiply the number of the military tenants, and to provide againſt defects in the military ſervices. The females of every degree, till the utter extinction of the males, were abſolutely precluded from the inheritance [q]. They were unable to perform the military ſervices, and were therefore eſteemed unfit to receive the military tenures. And, what was very extraordinary in itſelf, but naturally reſulted from the ſame feudal principle of gavelkind, no diſtinction was made in the line of the males betwixt the ſpurious and the legitimate [r]. They were both qualified equally to execute the ſervices of their father, and they were both admitted equally to a ſhare in the patrimony [s]. But though the fee was divided equally among the ſons, and though the ſpurious ſhared it equally with the legitimate, yet the eldeſt yet the legitimate was conſidered by the law as the actual proprietor of the whole [t]. And under this uſeful reſtriction, which continued the ſeveral branches of the original family together, and kept them

them in due ſubordination to the Pen-cenedl, the head of the family or manour, and the eldeſt legitimate line of the barony [n], this common law of inheritances was coeval undoubtedly with the commencement of the Britiſh feuds, as it reſulted evidently from the ſame military precautions with them. Thus if the ſurvivor of a feudatory could not immediately execute the ſervices due to the king for the fee, it was regularly retained in the king's poſſeſſion till he was abſolutely able [o]. Thus if the poſſeſſor of a fyd left one ſon perfect and another imperfect in his bodily functions, the former, whether he was legitimate or illegitimate, became the proprietor of the patrimony, becauſe (as the law expreſsly ſubjoins) the latter could not execute the ſervices due to the ſovereign for the fee in the forum and in the field. Founded upon theſe firſt fixed principles of the feudal ſyſtem, gavelkind continued univerſal in Wales and in Ireland even nearly to the preſent period. In Ireland, the uſage was uniformly obſerved to the very recent and very ſignal epocha in its civil hiſtory, the regular ſettlement of the whole frame of the Engliſh polity in Ireland by the prudence and authority of James the firſt. In Wales, a ſtatute of the 12th of Edward the firſt permitted the antient ſtem to continue rooted in its native ſoil, but lopped its two principal branches away, the admiſſion of baſtards to the inheritance and the preclusion of females from it. And a ſtatute of the 34th—35th of Henry the eighth forever levelled the reverend trunk to the ground, all the lands in Wales being then required to be holden "as Engliſh tenure to all intents according to the common laws of this realm of England."

The law of gavelkind was confined merely to the deſcent of private inheritances. It did not mount up to the throne. It could not. The whole deſign of the inſtitution being the better diſcharge of the military duties to the crown, the inheritance of the king could not poſſibly be affected by it. And accordingly, in direct contradiction to a fundamental principle of gavelkind, I have previouſly ſhewn one of the royal family to have regularly ſucceeded in the throne by a peculiar and exclusive privi-

lege. And, even in theſe later ages among the Iriſh, gavelkind was never permitted to extend its influence to the eſtate even of the Taniſt or the immediate heir of the crown [62]. The eſtates of our Siſtuntian fathers devolved by the laws of gavelkind: but the impartible monarchy of Lancaſhire deſcended by hereditary right. And from this difference the crown muſt have derived a very conſiderable advantage, virtually creative of abſolute authority and ſubverſive of all legal liberty. It could have been under no apprehenſion of danger, it could have been in no fear of oppoſition, from the greatneſs or the exorbitancy of an accumulated fortune in any of the barons. The lands were parcelled out at every freſh deſcent into a freſh variety of inheritances. And the wealth of the chiefs in a ſeries of ſucceſſions muſt have been broken into a thouſand fragments.

Such were the feudal tenures of the Britons. And, in the continuation of them under the Romans, the obligation of attendance upon the king in his wars was ſtill undoubtedly retained by the crown, but muſt have been enforced only at the command of the Romans. Prudence would certainly induce the Romans in this manner to continue the antient privilege of royalty, which could never be exerciſed againſt them, and which could ſo uſefully be exerted for them. It would enable them upon any emergency to raiſe a number of ſoldiers, and to embody them with their own, with great facility and without expence. And had ſuch a power of the crown been taken away from it during all the long æra of the Roman government, it would never have been recovered afterwards, and conſequently could never have deſcended to the Britiſh ſovereigns of Wales. And this ſeems to have been the only hardſhip of the Siſtuntians beneath the government of Rome, that, additional to the taxes of the empire, they were bound to the feudal payments and the military ſervices of the kingdom. But for this they were now relieved by the Romans from all the fear of incurſions and all the danger of rapines. And for this they were now diſcharged by the Romans from all the expences of maintaining their numerous garriſons and of engaging in their frequent wars.

[62] Cæſar

[1] Cæſar p. 118, In omni Galliâ eorum hominum qui aliquo ſunt numero atque honore genera ſunt duo:—alterum eſt Druidum, alterum Equitum;—Howel lib. i. c. 12. a. 1, lib. iii. c. 7, lib. ii. c. 18. a. 1, and p. 340 and 341. See alſo Mona p. 121, 132, and 133.—[4] Lib. iv. c. 79. a. 1, p. 340, lib. ii. c. 17. a. 7. and p. 337, and Mona p. 132 and 133.—[3] Lib. i. c. 37. a. 2 and 3. —[4] Lib. i. c. 47. a. 6, p. 312 and 331, and Mona p. 127—[5] Lib. ii. c. 24. a. 1. and Mona p. 128.—[6] Lib. ii. c. 24. a. 2.—[7] Lib. ii. c. 29. a. 2 and 3, and c. 19. a. 11.—[8] Ibid. and lib. ii. c. 23. a. 1.—[9] Lib. ii. c. 14. a. 6, 7, and 8, Mona p. 124, and Ware's Ant. Hib. c. 13.—[10] P. 332, 337, and 348, and Mona p. 132. [11] Cæſar p. 118, In omni Galliâ eorum hominum qui aliquo ſunt numero atque honore genera ſunt duo: nam plebs pæne ſervorum habetur loco; lib. i. c. 19, lib. ii. c. 18, and ibid. c. 21.—[12] Lib. iii. c. 7, p. 450. a. 28, and lib. i. c. 3, and Mona p. 121.—[13] P. 450. a. 28, and Mona p. 122 and 126.—[14] P. 498. a. 4, and Mona p. 122.—[15] Lib. ii. c. 25. a. 8 and c. 26. a. 7. —[16] Lib. ii. c. 29. a. 4. and Mona p. 127.—[17] Lib. ii. c. 29. a. 5. [18] Ibid. a. 6.—[19] Lib. i. c. iii. &c., Mona p. 130, and Ware c. 8. [20] Lib. i. c. 12. a. 23 and 24.—[21] Lib. ii. c. 26. a. 7. and c. 25. a. 3.—[22] Lib. i. c. 12. a. 7. and Mona p. 128.—[23] Lib. i. c. 12. a. 23 and 24, c. 15. a. 10, and c. 21. a. 8, 14, and 15.—[24] Lib. ii. c. 18. a. 1.—[25] See lib. ii. c. 26. a. 7.—[26] From a record of inquiſition 15 Edw. II, 1322, in Kuerden folio p. 279.—[27] Cæſar p. 118, lib. i. c. 9. a. 8, Ibid. c. xix. a. 12, and lib. iii. c. 7. —[28] Cæſar p. 119, and Howel p. 324, p. 217, and lib. ii. c. 21. a 35 and 36. And ſee B. II. c. iv. ſ. 1.—[29] Lib. i. c. 14. a. 29 &c., c. 38. a. 7, l. ii. c. 1. a. 66, and note p. 12 and gloſſary. —[30] P. 369 and 370, lib. ii. c. 1. a. 68 and 80, and lib. i. c. 14. a. 27, c. 17. a. 18, c. 18. a. 12, c. 21. a. 26, and c. 38. a. 7. —[31] Lib. ii. c. 30. a. 8, lib. iv. c. 79. a. 1, and lib. ii. c. 30. a. 5.—[32] Lib. i. c. 47. a. 6, p. 312. a. 54, and lib. ii. c. 12. a. 13 and Mona p. 123 and 128.—[33] Lib. i. c. 47. a. 2 and 9, lib. ii. c. 12. a. 7, lib. ii. c. 30. a. 9, p. 337, lib. iii. c. 3. a. 27, and p. 343.—[34] P. 369 and 370.—[35] B. II. c. 4, ſ. 1. and ſee note p. 12.

12 in Wotton.—[36] Lib. ii. c. 21. a. 28 and 30 &c.—[37] See B. II. c. 4. ſ. 1.—[38] See Mona p. 130 &c., Ware c. 8 and 13, and Sir John Davies on the cauſes why Ireland was never entirely ſubdued by the Engliſh (London 1612) p. 177.—[39] Howel p. 337, and ſee before.—[40] P. 331.—[41] P. 348 and 365 and lib. ii. c. 14. a. 6.—[42] Lib. ii. c. 22. a. 9. and p. 365.—[43] Lib. ii. c. 14. a. 6, 7, and 8, and lib. ii. c. 12. a. 11. and c. 18. a. 3. Though the law is expreſs that the villain ſon ſhould not ſucceed by right to his father's lands (lib. ii. c 12. a. 11), yet the ſons certainly ſucceeded in fact at this period. The houſe is poſitively declared to be hereditary (lib. ii. c. 12. a. 11); and the whole compaſs of the villain townſhip was divided betwixt them and the other villains (lib. ii. c. 12. a. 11. and lib. ii. c. 21. a. 7.). Nay, the lands were ſo divided that the ſons were ordered by law to be left as much as poſſible upon their fathers lands (lib. ii. c. 12. a. 12). And the ſon of an Uchelwyr, bred up for a year and a day by a native villain with the permiſſion of his lord, is declared to have a right to ſhare the lands and the goods of the villain as if he had been the villain's ſon (lib. ii. c. 26. a. 8). And a free villain became by law the proprietary of his lands in the courſe of four generations (lib. ii. c. 18. a. 2.). —[44] See B. II. c. iv. ſ. 1.—[45] Lib. i. c. 9. a. 14, lib. ii. c. 14. a. 3, 6, 7, and 8, lib. ii. c. 17. a. 8 and 10, p. 347, 348, &c, and p. 365, &c.—[46] Lib. i. c. 13. a. 10, lib. i. c. 16. a. 12, and Mona p. 131.—[47] See Merched lib. i. c. 14. a. 27, &c.; and ſee alſo Macpherſon's Crit. Diſſ. p. 192—198, who idly derives it from a mark or piece of money. And ſee Selden's Titles of Honour, Blackſtone's Comment. v. II. p. 83, and a thouſand others, who all aſſert the truth of the fable.—[48] Lib. i. c. 3 and 9, &c.—[49] Hickes's Diſſ. Epiſt. p. 68, and Spelman in Manerium.—[50] Lib. ii. c. 19. a 9, 10, 11, p. 340. Barwn-jeid or barons, and Baxter in Garnia.—[51] Lib. i. c. 9 and 12. The Ealod was to render his hawks his horſe and his dogs at death to the king: but then he received them previouſly from him. And the Bradwr Llys or court-judge is the only perſon beſides that ſeems to be exempted, being excepted in lib. i. c. 16. a. 42. But even he is obliged in

lib. i. c. 18. a. 12.—[52] Ware c. 8, Howel lib. ii. c. 17. a. 3, Mona p. 122, 12th of Edw. I., and 34—35th of Henry 8th c. 26. Item 91.—[53] Silas Taylor, the firſt critick who deduced the cuſtom from the Britons, and the only one except Wotton p. 149 and his preface, derives the word Gavelkind, as Wotton alſo derives it, from the Welch Gavel Cenedl a Noble Eſtate. But as the Iriſh is much nearer than the Welch to the old Celtic (ſee Lhuyd p. 1), ſo it furniſhes the very word, Kinead or Kind.—[54] Ware c. 8, 12 Edw. I, and 34—35 Hen. VIII.—[55] Howel l. ii. c. 17. a. 3. and p. 338, Ware c. 8, 12 Ed. I, and Howel p. 347 and 348.—[56] Ibid.—[57] Lib. ii. c. 14. a. 8 and p. 347.—[58] See lib. ii. c. 22. a. 6. compared with c. 20. a. 1.—[59] P. 348—[60] Ibid.—[61] Ware c. 8 and Davies paſſim.—[62] Ware c. 8. And ſee a great miſtake in Carte p. 179 &c., and in the ſenſible Silas Taylor p. 24 and 28, Powel's Hiſt. of Wales, Davis's Dictionary, &c. &c.

IV.

IN this diſpoſition of the Siſtuntian lands, it was neceſſary to have the country cantoned into particular regions and divided into leſſer or greater diſtricts. Such an internal partition of a kingdom is neceſſarily one of the earlieſt efforts of its civil polity. And the aſſignment of particular lands to each of the chiefs at firſt muſt have neceſſarily produced ſuch diviſions very early in our own county; and Lancaſhire muſt have been parcelled into diſtricts coevally with the firſt plantation of it.

Theſe diviſions muſt have been ſimilar to our preſent townſhips, and the actual origin of them. The Tref or Manſion of the lord and of his more immediate attendants, the neighbouring though diſperſed cotes of his ambaction, and the lands immediately adjacent to both, muſt neceſſarily have formed one diviſion or townſhip. Such undoubtedly were the Vici of the Gauls, of which the Helvetii had four hundred though they had only twelve towns, which were certainly conſiderable manſions, and which were alſo particular diſtricts[63]. And ſuch were in the earlieſt ages and are at this period the Trevs of the

Welch,

Welch, deriving their denomination from their origin, and declaring the one by the other [2].

Thus did the little diſtricts of our townſhips in Lancaſhire commence with the firſt colony that ſettled in it. The lands within the compaſs of one townſhip were aſſigned to one chief, and became a lordſhip under him, the grazing grounds undoubtedly of his domeſtic ſtock. The reſt of his cattle were ſent moſt probably, either into ſuch of the neighbouring heaths and woods as afforded a common right of paſture, or into the fells of Furneſs and the mountains of Weſtmoreland, or into both. And the ordinary care and the common guard of the towns and forts that were raiſed by the Siſtuntians afterwards, raiſed in the depth of extenſive woods, and conſequently upon lands belonging to the crown as having never been ceded to a feudatory [3], was conſigned by the king without doubt to a determinate number of the neighbouring townſhips.

Theſe little diſtricts muſt have ſubſiſted by themſelves only for a ſhort period after their appointment. The more regular adminiſtration of juſtice in the kingdom muſt ſoon have occaſioned the combination of ſeveral townſhips into one cymmwd or commot, and of many into one cantref or hundred. Such diviſions we actually find among the Gauls, among the Welch, and among the Iriſh, and in the earlieſt inſtitutes of the Welch referred to the primæval Britons [4]. And as the denomination of Cantref was given to a diviſion by the Britons from the number of townſhips of which it conſiſted, Cantrev ſignifying an hundred trevs, ſo the Helvetian Gauls had four hundred vici or townſhips and juſt four pagi or cantrevs [5].

Such was the firſt beginning of thoſe larger regions or diſtricts in Lancaſhire which we now denominate the Hundreds of it. Formed ſome time before the towns were conſtructed, they muſt naturally have adopted their appellations from the moſt remarkable objects of nature within the extent of them. And from the partition of the large country of Helvetia into four cantrevs only, a country ſpreading about two hundred and twenty Roman miles in length and one hundred and eighty in breadth [6], but loaded

with

with mountains in every part, Siſtuntia or Lancaſhire could not have been divided into many. The country which lay to the ſouth of the Ribble could not have been divided into more than two hundreds, the one perhaps taking in the weſtern ſide of the country, and the other perhaps comprizing the eaſtern. There could not poſſibly have been more than two hundred townſhips to the ſouth of the Ribble at the period of this inſtitution. And the county in general muſt have been conſiderably populous even in this diſpoſition of the ſouth, being divided at leaſt into three cantrevs or hundreds, and comprizing at leaſt three hundred trevs or townſhips. Very populous, we are well aſſured [7], was the whole circuit of the iſland in general; and proportionably ſo muſt have been every kingdom of it in particular. And the counties of Durham York Cumberland Weſtmoreland and Lancaſter are expreſsly declared to have been uncommonly populous even before the ſettlement of the Romans within them [8].

Nor was this interior diſpoſition of the county deſtroyed, as at firſt ſight it may ſeem to have been, by the conqueſt of the Romans and the erection of their towns. When Agricola induced the chiefs to ſettle in towns with their ambaction, he did not prevail upon all. He prevailed upon few. The greater number muſt have adhered to their original mode of living. This the fewneſs of the towns which Agricola induced them to erect very plainly demonſtrates. The compaſs merely of eight ſmall towns, and the narrow precincts of their cultivated areas, could never have contained the whole nation, could have contained only a very inſignificant number, of the Siſtuntii. Only one of the neareſt chiefs muſt have been perſuaded to ſettle in the town of Mancunium, attended by the train of his ambaction. And he muſt have retained aſſuredly his old manſion and his old townſhip, keeping the former perhaps as a lodge for hunting, and ſtill uſing the latter as a paſture for his cattle.

This chieftain muſt have continued to be, as I ſhall ſhew every of his ſucceſſors in the barony of Mancheſter to have invariably been, an hereditary member of the Britiſh parliament [9]. At that period and for ſeveral ages after it, the Britiſh councils

muſt have been compoſed only of hereditary members. An elective eſtate of the legiſlature, that favourite branch of the conſtitution to every genuine Engliſhman, was actually and entirely unknown. The commons of the Celtic kingdoms were of no conſequence at all in the general eſtimate of polity, and were allowed no ſuffrages in the general aſſemblies of the country [10]. The commons of Britain, as I have already demonſtrated, were abſolutely all in a ſtate of villainage. And the conſtituent members of the parliament in the days of Howel Dha, the only antient parliament among the Britons of which we have any records remaining at preſent, are expreſsly declared to have been the men of wiſdom and the men of authority in the kingdom [11]. The feudatories of Britain, like the feudatories of Normandy, were obliged by the tenure of their fees to the performance of certain civil as well as military ſervices to the crown, expreſsly denominated the Services of the Forum, and in fact relating equally to acts of legiſlation as to the adminiſtration of juſtice [12].

The cantrevs were equally continued under the Roman government. This the continuance of them among the Britons of Wales abundantly evinces. They muſt have been originally uſed by the Siſtuntii for many purpoſes of a civil and a military nature, the collection of taxes, the muſtering of forces, and the adminiſtration of juſtice. And to theſe they muſt have been ſtill applied by both the Romans and the Britons. The Roman quæſtor of Mancunium was perhaps charged with the collection of all the Roman taxes, and the Roman præfect at Mancunium was perhaps commiſſioned to ſit upon all the capital offences, that aroſe within the compaſs of the eaſtern hundred.

But the inſtitution of trevs commots and cantrevs muſt have been particularly ſubſervient to the adminiſtration of civil juſtice. The territorial judicatures of later feuds were all exemplified among the Britons. Every cantrev commot and trev had a diſtinct court of juſtice, the appropriated tribunal of the diſtrict or the ſeigniory. Thus the poſſeſſor of a villain eſtate under a royal or a private lord was expreſsly bound to his appearance in

the

the court of his own villain tref or townſhip [13]. Thus an uchelwyr is expreſsly declared to have had a right of determining cauſes that aroſe within his own domain [14]. And thus we find the courts of the commot and of the cantred to have been held in virtue of their office by the appointed governours of thoſe extended diſtricts [15]. Every baron in right of his fee was at once an hereditary judge in the ſupreme court of juſtice, the parliament, and an hereditary juſticiary in his own juriſdiction [16]. Thus the claimant of an eſtate was obliged to commence his action before the lord who had the immediate ſeigniory of the land [17]. And thus a perſon that had received the inveſtiture of a fee from the king was not, upon any ſuit concerning the fee, to anſwer in the Llys or court of a frehyr-jawl or private lord, but before the judge of the principal court [18]. In theſe, as well as in the ſuperior court of parliament, that great that amiable principle of the feudal ſyſtem, the limited neceſſity of a concurrence in the governed to render valid the acts of the governour, muſt have been abſolutely reduced to practice. In the inferior moot of the trev the œconomy of juſtice muſt have been conducted with the aſſiſtance and concurrence of the ſuperior villains. In theſe later ages of the feuds and in the ſame ſort of baronial courts, the free ſoccagers muſt have been the aſſeſſors with the meſne lord, and the villain ſoccagers muſt have ſat with the king's bailiff. And every owner of a noble fee within the juriſdiction of a commot or a cantrev court appears actually to have inherited a ſeat and a ſuffrage in it [19]. Theſe were denominated the Seniors, and their deciſion was denominated the Verdict, of the Country; and they are retained by repreſentation in the jury of the preſent times [20]. Such was the eſtabliſhment of courts in the kingdoms of Britain, agreeing pretty exactly with the Norman judicatures erected afterwards, the court of the tref anſwering to the moot of the meſne lord, the court of the commot to the leet of the ſuperior barony, and the judicature of the cantref to the court of the hundred. Only the ſecond was not among the Britons, as it was among the Normans, the private moot of a ſeigniory. It was abſolutely,

like the third among both, the public judicature of the crown.

The diſputes betwixt the members of the different trevs being referred to the court of the commot, and betwixt the members of the different commots to the court of the cantred, the differences betwixt the inhabitants of the different cantreds were carried to a moot which was ſuperior to all and was therefore denominated the principal court [21]. In this the ſupreme judicature of the kingdom were determined all the various ſuits that reſpected the fees of the royal feudatories, and ſuch other cauſes as were too dubious to be decided in the inferior courts [22]. The king preſided in perſon or by deputy, the one judge of the principal court; and the feudatories of the kingdom were aſſeſſors with him [23]. But beſides theſe there were other aſſeſſors, the regular and official judges of the kingdom, and by the nomination of the king the preſidents in the courts of a commot or a cantred [24]. Theſe were denominated Brehons in Ireland and in Caledonia, and were inveſted with feuds that deſcended with their offices to their ſons [25]. This is a branch of polity which has been univerſally ſuppoſed to be merely Celtic, the reſult of the Celtic genius untutored in judicial ſpeculations, and vainly imagining the knowledge of the law to be as inheritable as the office and the feud. But this was certainly founded upon as ſenſible principles as the baronial judicatures of the feudal nations, and was actually exemplified in the hereditary earldoms of the Normans. And this was certainly an improvement upon the common judicial principles of feuds, the brehon being of courſe not charged for his fee to any of the military ſervices, and being therefore at liberty to fix his whole attention and the attention of his ſon upon the ſtudy of the law. The ſame ſtrain of polity, however it has been utterly unnoticed by the critics, is diſcovered equally in the judicial ſyſtem of theſe later ages. In a record of the 13th of John, the two lords of Whithington near Mancheſter are expreſsly declared to "hold one knight's "fee under the baron of Mancheſter in antient manner, and "finding one judge for the lord the king [26]." And in a record

of

or eight ſtories in height. They were permitted by Auguſtus, even in his reſtraint upon the popular humour, to mount no leſs than ſeventy feet in height. And they were permitted by Trajan, even in his greater reſtraint of the ſame humour, to mount no leſs than ſixty in height [4]. The elevation of the Mancunian buildings muſt have been much better proportioned to the width of the Mancunian ſtreets. The houſes muſt have been raiſed only a ſingle ſtory above the ground-floor, as ſuch was the model of the Mancunium houſes for many centuries afterward. And ſome of them at leaſt muſt have ſunk another ſtory below it, as Cellaria, the Armorican Selliers the Iriſh Saileirs and the Engliſh Cellars, appear plainly from this their popular appellation among us to have been firſt conſtructed in Britain under the direction of Roman architects.

Bricks were pretty certainly made by the inhabitants of the antediluvian world, and were actually uſed in the firſt ages of their ſurviving deſcendants [5]. The art therefore muſt have been carried away by the ſeveral parties from Babel, upon the diſperſion of the whole, into all the countries which they ſucceſſively planted. And it accordingly appears to have been known to the earlieſt inhabitants of the eaſt and of the weſt in general [6], and was probably known, though it does not appear, to the coloniſts of Britain in particular. It was actually known to their brethren of Gaul [6]. And our preſent appellation of Brick is actually derived to us from our Britiſh anceſtors. The Romans appear to have had a brick-kilne at every ſtationary town. Their clay is generally found to be finely tempered, compactly kneaded, beautifully red, and compleatly burnt. And their bricks were conſtantly about ſixteen Engliſh inches and three quarters in length and eleven and a quarter in breadth [7]. But the Romans of the firſt century never raiſed any ſtructures of theſe materials; becauſe they wildly ſuppoſed a party-wall that was merely the length of their bricks in breadth to be unequal to the ſupport of a ſuperior ſtory [8]. The Mancunian houſes therefore muſt not have been conſtructed of bricks. They muſt have been conſtructed of wood. Such univerſally were the houſes of

the

poſſeſſion of no leſs than an hundred and eighty years, a term rudely ſuppoſed to be commenſurate with three generations [34]. Any proprietor in the kingdom might annually let out his land at his own diſcretion; but he could not either ſell or mortgage it without a licence from his lord [36]. All the eſtates in the kingdom were entailed, and could not be alienated from the line, unleſs the king and all the relations of the poſſeſſor, his brothers, his couſins, and his couſins ſons, concurred in the act, and unleſs the alienation was made in order to pay the fine for murder, a payment in which the law conſidered the ſon as equally intereſted with the father [37]. And nothing could be bequeathed by a teſtament but debts [38]. The ſon was actually of age at fourteen, and the daughter at twelve; and by a ſtrange abſurdity the ſon had a juſt ground of action againſt his father for any correction afterwards [39]. And the general peace of the country was ſecured by that wiſe œconomy of civil polity which appears afterwards ſo greatly improved among the Saxons, the inſtitution of Frank-pledges. The free-man or noble was reſponſible to the ſtate for the conduct of his ſons and his villains, and was obliged to ſatisfy the government for any offences which they committed, unleſs (as was very ſeldom the caſe) the puniſhment was the forfeiture of life or limb [40]. Being entitled to receive ſatisfaction for any offences committed upon them, he was naturally required to make it for any offences committed by them [41].

The general juriſprudence of the country was regulated as it ſeems to have been regulated in all nations at firſt, and as it was particularly regulated among the Germans [42]. No crimes were ordinarily capital. They were puniſhed only with an Eric or fine. Such was the caſe formerly in Scotland [43]. Such was the caſe originally in Ireland [44]. And ſuch was the caſe anciently in Wales. Theſe fines were of two appellations and degrees, the public and the private [45]. The former were twelve cows or three pounds, the latter were three cows or an hundred and eighty pence [46]. A theft a rape and a riot were generally puniſhed by the former; all other offences (except murder)

were

were generally punished by the latter [47]. In some circumstances however the criminal was corrected with personal inflictions. The noble was not answerable for his villain in any causes that affected either life or limb [48]. And even robbery was sometimes punished with banishment, with slavery, or with hanging [49].

The right of compurgation, which unjustly seems so extraordinary a test to the judgment of these later ages, and which was very familiar to the Saxons, appears to have been equally in use among the Britons. The accused having asserted his own innocency upon oath, a number of his friends appeared in court, and sware to their belief of the same innocence. The rank of the witness was required among the Saxons and the Britons to be the same with the rank of the accused [50]. And the number varied with the nature of the accusation. In all civil cases the oaths of twenty-four men were required to take off the force of an accusation concerning the value of an hundred and twenty pence, and the oaths of forty-eight for the value of two hundred and forty [51].

In all the modes of a criminal process, the forms of proceeding in the British courts exactly coincide with the Saxon in some particulars, and are essentially distinguished from them in others. The three acts of murder theft and housefiring had each nine Affaeth Affinities or accessory parts of the crime, for which a person was equally responsible to the law as for the actual perpetration of the deed, and was subjected to different degrees of punishment by it [52]. The three first circumstantials of murder in particular were to point out to the murderer the proper place for the crime, to advise him about the execution, or to encourage him to the fact; and each required upon a denial of the charge a compurgation of an hundred men, or was followed upon confession of the deed with a fine of an hundred and eighty pence. The three next were to point out the person intended to be murdered, to accompany the murderer a little on the road to the murder, or to attend him to the very scene of the villainy; and if each accusation was not refelled by the oaths of two hundred men, each crime was punished

with

with the mulct of three hundred and ſixty pence. And the other three were actually to aſſiſt the murderer, to detain the unhappy man till the murderer came up, and to ſtand by and behold the commiſſion of the murder, and were each to be anſwered by three hundred men or mulcted five hundred and forty pence [53]. The fine for the actual perpetration of murder, the Werigild of the Saxons, was denominated Gwerth among the Britons, the worth or price of the murdered. Even the king had his gwerth, as among the Saxons; though the Britiſh law has not, like the Saxon, ſufficiently told us the rate of it [54]. The gwerth of an uchelwyr was ſettled at ſixty-three cows or fifteen pounds fifteen ſhillings in all, and the gwerth of an uchelwyr's villain at half the money [55]. The fine was diſcharged to the lord and the relations of the murdered. All the kindred of the murderer were obliged to contribute to it in certain proportions aſcertained by the law. And, if every penny was not paid, the former might put the murderer to death with impunity [56].

In all the modes of a civil proceſs, the forms of proceeding in the Britiſh courts ſtand entirely diſtinguiſhed from the Saxon. Every cauſe that reſpected inheritances was referred to the principal court, to the examination of the king or his deputy, the official judges, and the collected barons [57]. The other courts were continually open: but this was occaſionally ſhut. Its juridical year was divided into terms. Theſe were only two in number, and in this the infancy of civil polity were very naturally regulated by the ſeaſon of ſowing and the period of the harveſt [58]. The former commenced upon the 9th of May, when the ſeed-time was concluded, and laſted to the 9th of Auguſt. The latter began upon the 9th of November, when the harveſt was compleated, and continued to the 9th of February [59]. Though the ſuits in theſe courts reſpected the deſcent of inheritances, the moſt involved and perplexing cauſes that are brought before our preſent judicatures, yet the action was ſo generally decided within the compaſs of a ſingle term, that if it ever extended beyond the cloſe of it, it was neceſſarily recommenced at the beginning of the next [60]. Every action was proſecuted with

with the ſimpleſt forms, and was conſequently decided in a ſummary manner. At the commencement of the cauſe, the plaintiff and defendant were ordered to propound their pleas, and were allowed three nine or fourteen days for producing their witneſſes, according to the diſtances at which they aſſerted them to reſide from them. Upon the day appointed the judges repaired to the diſputed eſtate, and each took his ſeat in the open air, the king or his deputy firſt ſeating himſelf with his back to the ſun or weather. The parties gave ſecurities for their peaceable ſubmiſſion to the award of the court, ſecurities that were actual hoſtages and were lodged in a priſon. Silence was proclaimed in the court, the breach of it was ſeverely[*] fineable, and each party in perſon briefly ſtated the nature of his cauſe and offered to produce his witneſſes. If the witneſſes were actually preſent, the cauſe was immediately determined. If the witneſſes were abſent, another interval of three nine or fourteen days was allowed. The ſecond meeting was deciſive. The hoſtages were brought into court, the witneſſes delivered their teſtimonies, and the judges retired for conſultation. The perſonal dignity as well as the actual number of the witneſſes influenced the deciſion. And contrary to all the principles of equity, which upon an equality of evidence always determine in favour of the poſſeſſor, the defendant was abſolutely nonſuited, unleſs his witneſſes were not only equal, but even ſuperior in number and dignity to the plaintiff's [61].

[1] Cæſar p. 3 and 114. And ſee below.—[2] Howel lib. ii. c. 19.—[3] See Wotton's Gloſſary to Howel under Diffaith Brenin.—[4] Howel lib. iii. c. 27. a. 25. And ſee lib. ii. c. 19, Mona p. 117, and Davies p. 134.—[5] Cæſar p. 3 and 7 and 117.—[6] Cæſar p. 2. [7] Diodorus p. 347, πολυ-ανθρωπος νησος, and Cæſar p. 88, Hominum eſt infinita multitudo.—[8] Tacitus Agric. Vit. c. 17, Brigantes—civitas numeroſiſſima totius provinciæ.—[9] See b. II. ch. iv. ſ. 2.—[10] Cæſar p. 118 concerning the Gauls, Plebs penè ſervorum habetur loco, quæ per ſe nihil audet, & nulli adhibetur

concilio.—[11] See the Prefaces to the Laws.—[12] Lib. ii. c. 17. a. 6 &c, p. 348, and Pref. to Laws.—[13] P. 325, and lib. ii. c. 26. a. 1.—[14] Lib. i. c. 16. a. 30, lib. ii. c. 2. a. 3, and p. 325. c. 85. —[15] P. 389, 405, 468, lib. i. c. 6. a. 1 and 2, and lib. i. c. 16. a. 3.—[16] P. 93, 187, 307, 377, and 403.—[17] Lib. iv. c. 70. a. 1. —[18] P. 325.—[19] P. 187, 121, 325, and 405, and Mona p. 121.— [20] Lib. ii. c. 10. a. 1. and lib. iv. c. 70. a. 1.—[21] P. 121 and 390. —[22] P. 325, lib. i. c. 16. a. 36, p. 19, and p. 27.—[23] P. 325, and lib. ii. c. 10. a. 12.—[24] Lib. ii. c. 10. a. 12, lib. i. c. 16. a. 35, and lib. iii. Pref. 2.—[25] Ware c. viii. and Crit. Diff. p. 186.— [26] Kuerden folio p. 274.—[27] Ibid.—[28] Lib. i. c. 27. a. 10.— [29] Ware c. viii, Crit. Diff. p. 187, and Spelman in Parliamentum. In Borlase's Cornwall p. 208 is an amphitheater which I take to have been for this use. And so the Tinwald of the Manks and the Stannary Parliaments of the Cornish to this day.—[30] Lib. ii. c. 10. a. 12.—[31] Lib. i. c. 16. and lib. ii. c. 27. a. 21.—[32] P. 186, 300, and 408. And in Ireland (says Ware) they determined from certain prescripts and customs of the kingdom (c. viii.)— [33] Lib. ii. c. 17. a. 12 and 13, c. 27. a. 9, and c. 13.—[34] Lib. ii. c. 17. a. 14.—[35] Lib. ii. c. 17. a. 7 and 8.—[36] Lib. ii. c. 17. a. 29. —[37] Lib. ii. c. 17. a. 1.—[38] Lib. ii. c. 1. a. 15.—[39] Lib. ii. c. 30. a. 8 and 12.—[40] P. 325 and lib. ii. c. 30. a. 5.—[41] Lib. iii. c. 2. a. 32 &c. &c.—[42] Tacitus c. 21.—[43] Crit. Diff. p. 187.—[44] Ware c. viii.—[45] Lib. iii. c. 1. a. 17.—[46] Ibid.—[47] Ibid.—[48] P. 325.— [49] P. 210, 217, and 325.—[50] Lib. iii. c. 3. a. 49 and 54, and see b. II. ch. iii. s. 4.—[51] Ibid. a. 51 and 52.—[52] Lib. iii. Pref. 2. —[53] Lib. iii. c. 1.—[54] Lib. i. c. 4. and lib. iii. c. 2.—[55] Lib. ii. c. 30. a. 10, l. iii. c. 2. a. 9, and lib. iii. c. 1. a. 17.—[56] Lib. iii. c. 1. a. 15, 16, and 20, 24, and 22.—[57] Lib. ii. c. 10. a. 11, and p 325.— [58] Lib. ii. c. 10. a. 7.—[59] Ibid. a. 3—6.—[60] A. 10.—[61] Lib. ii. c. 10.

The deductions which I have made in this chapter from the Collection of Welch Laws published by Dr. Wotton are not made, as the Reader will remark, merely from the fourth and fifth books of them, which, like the laws of the Confessor in the Saxon Code, are only commentaries upon the previous Insti-

tutes,

tutes, though, like them, as antient ſenſible commentaries, they are at once uſeful in their notices and reſpectable for their authority. The deductions are not even made, as the Reader will equally remark, merely from a few detached paſſages in the three firſt books, which contain the laws of Howel Dha in particular, but from the general uniform tenour of his whole Code. A few ſingle paſſages might be the production of that interpolating hand which we clearly diſcern in ſome parts and therefore ſuſpect in others. But a general uniform tenour cannot be the reſult of any interpolations at all. It muſt flow from the genuine the original ſource of the whole. The true idea of theſe deductions therefore muſt be taken from a compleat a comprehenſive view of them. Theſe evince one regular ſyſtem of military and civil polity to be exhibited in the laws, to be incorporated into the frame, and to be the actuating life and ſpirit, of them. Such a ſyſtem could as little be the creation of Howel as it could be the invention of any of the kings after him. Howel interpolated the code exiſting before him as the ſucceeding kings interpolated his. And the ſtrong and ſtriking agreement of the whole written ſyſtem of Wales with the unwritten ſyſtem of Ireland fully proves the interpolations of all to have been merely trifling and immaterial, and deciſively demonſtrates the preſent code of Howel and his ſucceſſors to be the fair regiſter the faithful exemplar of the municipal laws of the antient and original Britons.

CHAP. IX.

I.

THE whole extended commerce of the Belgic and the interior Britons was carried on without the aſſiſtance of money and in the courſe of a regular exchange. Such was certainly the firſt commerce of the iſland, that which the Phœnicians opened with the ſouth-weſtern extremities of it [1]. Such was certainly the much recenter commerce which was proſecuted with ſo uncommon a vigour, and was diffuſed to ſo great an extent, during the reigns of Auguſtus and Tiberius [2]. And ſuch muſt therefore have been equally the commerce betwixt the Belgic and the aboriginal Britons. Hence neither of them poſſeſſed any minted money at the period of Cæſar's deſcent upon the iſland. And the Britiſh attempts at a coinage had then riſen no higher than to pieces of braſs and iron bullion, unſhaped, unſtamped, and rated by the weight [3]. But, during the extended ſtate of the Britiſh commerce in the reigns of Auguſtus and Tiberius, the advantages of a coinage muſt have appeared to be very conſiderable abroad, and the facility of engaging coiners muſt have been a conſiderable inducement to begin it at home. A mint-maſter was invited over from the continent. He came; he brought all his implements with him; and a mint, the firſt that ever appeared in the iſland, was erected in the ſouth. And Cunobeline, the ſucceſſor of the famous Caſſivelaun in the monarchy of the Caſſii, and now equally the ſovereign of them and the Trinovantes, was the firſt monarch in the iſland that minted money [4].

The firſt mint was pretty certainly ſet up, one mint was undoubtedly erected; at his royal town of Camulodunum or Colchaſter.

cheſter [5]. The inſtruments of coinage appear to have been the ſame as continued among us nearly to the preſent period, the round piece of metal being ſtamped with the ſtroke of an hammer above, and at the ſame time receiving another impreſſion from a die below [6]. And the metals that were coined were generally gold ſilver and braſs [7]. Mines of ſilver and gold were worked in the iſland during the reigns of Auguſtus and of Trajan [8]. A gold mine was actually diſcovered a few years ago at Ampthill in the county of Bedford and within the territories of Cunobeline [9]. And the Britiſh mint adopted at once all that variety of metals in its coins to which the Romans were ſeveral ages in aſcending. All the money of the Roman ſtate was merely braſs for nearly three hundred years together, the coinage in ſilver commencing only five years before the firſt Punic war, and the coinage of gold not ſucceeding till more than ſixty years afterwards [10]. And about thirty of theſe coins of Cunobeline have deſcended to us. Some of them exhibit a plane ſurface, but moſt of them bear a ſmall convexity [11]. And few of them carry a fine texture in their compoſition, the metals being too much debaſed with foreign mixtures [12].

That the art of minting was thus introduced into the iſland from the Roman continent, is abundantly evinced by the inſcriptions and the faces of theſe coins. The devices are many of them undoubtedly Roman, januſes, ſphinxes, centaurs, pegaſuſes, and laurel-wreaths. The letters upon them are all derived from the Roman alphabet, and, what ſuperſedes all further argument, ſome of the inſcriptions are even written in the Roman language [13]. And that the art of minting was introduced by Cunobeline, we have every reaſon to ſuppoſe, as it muſt have been introduced after the invaſion of Cæſar, as Cunobeline lived in the reigns of Tiberius and Caligula [14], and as he is the earlieſt monarch of the Britons whoſe coins we have diſcovered. The art muſt have been introduced before the death of Cunobeline and the ſurrender of Camulodunum to the Romans. The death of the king happened before the ſurrendery of the capital; and the capital was taken in the autumn of 43 [15]. And had Cuno-

beline ſurvived the ſubjection of his kingdom, he could not have retained the power of the mint; that liberty being conſtantly taken away by the Romans, the right of coining being exerciſed only by themſelves, and the coins being all inſcribed with the names of the Roman emperors [16].

But the mint at Camulodunum was not the only one which Cunobeline erected. He ſet up three others in three other towns of his dominions [17]. And Caractacus, or (as he is more properly called by Richard and the Triades) Charaticus and Caradauc ſo deſervedly famous afterwards for his gallant oppoſition to the Roman army and his more gallant behaviour to the victorious emperor, one of the ſons of Cunobeline, and his ſucceſſor in the ſovereignty of the Caſſii and Trinovantes, adopted the ſame ſcheme and employed the ſame mint-maſter [18]. But in all probability he coined only a few pieces, his own kingdom being ſoon reduced by the Romans, and himſelf taking refuge with the Silures and the Brigantes. And we have only one of his coins at preſent.

But the art of coining could not long remain confined within the precincts of the Caſſii and the Trinovantes. And many coins which have been diſcovered in the iſland evince that it did not. Theſe carry no appearances upon them that can induce us to attribute them to any other than the primæval Britons. Theſe carry a remarkable and ſtriking ſimilarity to the coins of Cunobeline. The wheel, the horſe, the creſcent, and the boar, ſo frequently the devices upon the latter, appear as frequently upon the former [19]. Even the name of Taſcia, which occurs ſo often on the coins of Cunobeline, the appellation of the mint-maſter in all probability whom Cunobeline originally invited into the iſland, appears equally inſcribed upon ſome of theſe [20]. And, as many of them have been found in the midſt of undoubtedly Britiſh monuments [21], ſo ſeveral of them exhibit even the Britiſh chariot very evidently pourtrayed upon them [22]. Being diſcovered within the iſland, and bearing in their appearances no relation to any other country, the ſuggeſtions of good-ſenſe and the proprieties of reaſoning would have obliged us to refer them to

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the Britiſh coinage. But diſcovered within the country, carrying every appearance of relation to it in their aſpect, found even among monuments indubitably Britiſh, and preſenting even the indubitable ſymbols of a Britiſh mint, it would be the ſqueamiſhneſs of folly to heſitate about their original [23].

The art of coining, thus introduced by Cunobeline and purſued by Caractacus, firſt travelled in all probability, whither it would moſt eaſily be carried, into the country of the Dobuni or Boduni and the kingdom of Togodumnus, the ſon of the one and the brother of the other [24]. And it afterwards was carried gradually through the iſland, being practiſed at Calleda, Calleva, or Wallingford, the capital of the Attrebates [25]; by Bootica or Boadicia, the queen of the Iceni; by Comus and by Calle, the ſovereigns of two other principalities; and at Durnum or Durnacum, the Durinum of Richard, the Durnovaria of Antoninus, and the preſent Dorcheſter, in the weſt; and both at Eburo, Ebur-ac, or York, and at Eiſu, the Iſu Brigantum of Antoninus, or Aldborough, in the north [26].

Thus was the kingdom of Lancaſhire firſt provided with a regular coinage a few years before the period of the Roman invaſion. The art of coining had not opportunity to exert itſelf ſufficiently in Lancaſhire, before the coming of the Romans ſuperſeded the neceſſity of it. At that period therefore the quantity of money within the county muſt have been very inſignificant; and none of it has reached the preſent age. But it muſt have been nearly the ſame in the metals in the deſign and in the execution, as were the coins of the Britons in general and of the Brigantes in particular. The metals of all were generally gold ſilver or braſs, ſometimes amber, and even ſometimes iron [27]. In ſome the gold was even minted without any allay. In moſt the gold and ſilver were conſiderably debaſed [28]. The minting was frequently rude, the firſt efforts of the Britiſh coiners being as devoid of propriety as they were uninformed by experience. And the minting was frequently graceful, the art naturally refining as it proceeded, and at laſt catching all the ſpirit and elegance of the coins of Cunobeline [29].

Upon

Upon the coming of the Romans the Siſtuntian mint was ſtopt. But the Romans became coiners for the Britons. No leſs than eleven mints in all probability were eſtabliſhed within the pale of their own government, two in the two municipia and nine in the nine colonies. And coins minted at Cheſter at London and at York at Richborough at Colcheſter at Lincoln Verulam and Glouceſter have been ſafely tranſmitted to the preſent days [20]. Cheſter from one ſide and York from the other diffuſed their minted wealth over Lancaſhire. The Britiſh chiefs in general appear to have had conſiderable riches among them. Thus Cæſar acquired a large booty in his two deſcents upon the iſland [21]. Praſutagus the king of the Iceni died poſſeſſed of very great wealth [22]. And to a few ſtates in the ſouth, and within a few years after their firſt ſubjection, the philoſophical Seneca lent more than even four hundred and eighty thouſand pounds of our money upon good ſecurity and exorbitant intereſt [23]. The Roman coins that circulated in the iſland muſt have been generally minted within it, as the great number of the mints ſuggeſts, and muſt have been as generally framed from the native or imported bullion of it. The Roman coins muſt have been current in great numbers among the Britons, as the incredible quantities that have been diſtovered within the iſland very clearly demonſtrate. They muſt not have circulated merely among the ſoldiers and the traders of the Romans. They muſt have circulated among the Britiſh chiefs, among the Britiſh ambacton. Hence ſuch large treaſures of the Roman coins have been formerly found, and are now frequently diſcovered, in every quarter of the iſland. And hence ſuch large treaſures of the Roman coins have particularly riſen, and are daily riſing, to light from the ſite and from the vicinity of almoſt every ſtationary town in the kingdom [24].

[20] Strabo p. 265.—[21] Ibid. p. 306.—[22] Cæſar p. 88. See Pegge's Coins of Cunobeline p. 35. And the Romans uſed only pieces of unſtamped braſs to the days of Servius Tullius, Pliny lib. 33. c. 3.—[23] The tenour of the hiſtory in Dio p. 957—959 plainly ſhews Cunobeline to have been king of the Caſſii as well as of the Trino-

Trinovantes. On Plautus's invaſion of the country of the Caſſii, in that part which was inhabited by their ſubjects the Dobuni, he was met by Caractacus and Togodumnus. Both were ſucceſſively defeated. The one was killed, and the other retired. The Dobuni then ſubmitted. And Plautus followed up his ſucceſſes to Camulodunum the capital.—[1] Dio p. 959, and Pegge's claſs 2.—[2] Pegge p. 69.—[3] Pegge's Plates.—[4] Strabo p. 305, and Agric. Vit. c. 12.—[5] Camden c. 340.—[6] Pliny lib. 33. c. 3.—[7] Pegge p. 9.—[8] Ditto.—[9] P. 42 to 49.—[10] Suetonius's Caligula c. 44.—[11] Dio p. 957, and Carte p. 101. vol. I.—[12] Gildas's Hiſt. c. 5.—[13] Pegge claſs 4. N° 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, and claſs 2. N° 5. and claſs 5. N° 1.—[14] Claſs 6. N° 2 —[15] Camden's Coins, claſs 1. N° 8, 10, 11, 13—16, 25, 26, 31—33, claſs 2. N° 8, 10, 31, and 32, and Borlaſe's Coins N° 5, 13—21, and 22.—[16] Pegge p. 21 and claſs 5, and Thoreſby's Muſæum p. 338. N° 10.—[17] Borlaſe's Cornwall p. 258 and 116.—[18] Borlaſe N° 22, and Camden claſs 2. N° 30.—[19] How miſtaken therefore are Meſſieurs Pegge Pettingal and Wiſe! The firſt is willing to reject all but the coins of Cunobeline. And the others are deſirous equally and abſolutely to reject all.—[20] Dio p. 957, Camden claſs 1. N° 8, and Pegge p. 59 for Beric. See Carte p. 100.—[21] Caleda and Calleva as Cantrev and Cantred.—[22] Camden claſs 1. N° 10, 11, 15, 26, and 31, claſs 2. N° 10 and 32. As it was very inaccurate in Meſſieurs Speed and Borlaſe to ſuppoſe Comus to be the king of the Britiſh Attrebates, when Cæſar plainly declares him to have been the ſovereign of the Gallic, ſo was it equally unwary in Mr. Pegge to conclude, that becauſe the Comus of Cæſar was a Gallic prince therefore the Comus of the Coins could not poſſibly be a Britiſh one (p. 38). The latter was undoubtedly a diſtinct perſon from the former. And from the addition of RE. upon the coins appears to have been a Britiſh king.—And ſee another great miſtake in Mr. Pegge p. 21, who rejects all the coins of Praſutagus Togodumnus and Caractacus, becauſe the Britiſh kings coined no monies under the Romans. The latter may be true, and the former not be falſe. Theſe princes might coin money before the Romans ſubdued their kingdoms.—

[27] Pegge p. 84 and Thoreſby's Muſæum p. 337.—[28] Borlaſe p. 250 and Camden c. cxiv. Gibſon.—[29] Camden claſs 1. N° 6, 11—16, 25, 31, and others.—[30] See Camden c. 671, 374, and 877 for London, Cheſter, and York, and Stukeley's Carauſius vol. I. p. 66 &c. for Richborough, p. 96 for Colcheſter, p. 276 and 277 for Lincoln, p. 253 for Claudia, Glouceſter, and pl. 12. N° 1. for Verulam.—[31] Strabo p. 306.—[32] Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 31.—[33] Dio p. 1003.—[34] I am ſorry to obſerve, that Mr. Pegge has ſullied his uſeful treatiſe on the Coins of Cunobeline with a rude ſtricture on the late Dr. Stukeley. Let the extravagancies of Dr. Stukeley be all corrected. They ought to be. But let not his character be held up to the public as the mere fantaſtical enthuſiaſt of antiquities. This juſtice, gratitude, and politeneſs equally concur to forbid. His ſtrong intellect, his enterprizing ſpirit, and his extenſive learning muſt ever be remembered with reſpect and reverence. And even his extravagancies, great as they are, muſt be conſidered as the occaſionally wild colouring of that bright ray of genius which has not yet been too frequently the portion of our Engliſh antiquarians, and which never ſeduces the dull critic either into excellencies or into extravagancies.

II.

THE primæval Britons of Lancaſhire and the reſt of the iſland, whatever hiſtory has aſſerted or antiquarianiſm believed of both, were not unacquainted with the mechanical arts in general. This their ability to conſtruct the military chariots of their country is a ſufficient indication in itſelf. The primæval Britons of Lancaſhire and the reſt of the iſland were even intimately acquainted with two or three of the mechanical arts in particular. This the ingenioufneſs of the contrivance and the neatneſs of the execution in the Britiſh chariots ſufficiently demonſtrates. Theſe cars were even admired by the Romans, were adopted by individuals for their journeys, and were introduced by the public into their races [1]. And we have the picture of one of them ſketched out by a Britiſh hand and engraved upon a Britiſh coin [2].

coin [a]. There we ſee the charioteer mounted on his carriage before us, a quiver of arrows peeping over his left ſhoulder, and a ſpear protended from his left hand, his feet reſting upon the pole or on a foot-board annexed to it, and his body leaning over the horſes in the act of accelerating their motion. And we have the deſcription of another, which is equally authentic in itſelf, very ſimilar in one or two particulars, and more circumſtantial [b]. There we have the car of a Britiſh Regulus bending behind and drawn by a pair of horſes; its ſides being emboſſed with ſparkling ſtones, its beam of the poliſhed yew, and its ſeat of the ſmootheſt bone; its ſides being repleniſhed with ſpears, the bottom being the footſtool of the chief, and his red hair flying from his head behind as bending forward he wields the ſpear.

The primæval Britons underſtood the uſeful art and practiſed the convenient labours of the pottery. Many of their earthen veſſels have deſcended to us by the only way in which they could have deſcended, or could have been aſcertained to them if they had. They have been diſcovered in the ſepulchers of the Britons upon Saliſbury Plain in Cornwall and in Ireland [c]. They were ſome of them rudely wrought, and others pretty neatly faſhioned. They were generally ornamented with little moldings and circular channels about the brim. And all but one had been burned in a kiln or furnace. This muſt have been one of the earlieſt arts upon which the human underſtanding exerted its faculties, when it firſt began to attend to a better proviſion for domeſtic occaſions and the more agreeable accommodation of domeſtic life. In all probability therefore it was imported into the iſland with the firſt coloniſts of the country. And the Britons muſt have gradually improved it afterwards, forming the perhaps ſhapeleſs veſſel of their fathers in a regular mold, ſtrengthening their unbaked clay by the hardening fires of a ſtove, and even enlivening their plain workmanſhip with ſome little decorations. But the progreſs of the art in Britain was very unequal to its refinements on the continent. And ſhells were the only drinking-veſſels of the Britons [d]. The Britons

of the weſt, who had carried on a long and a cloſe correſpondence with the continent, and who muſt have been acquainted, if any of the Britons were, with the continental improvements in the art, were therefore fond of the foreign ware and gave it a good vent in their country [4]. But the arrival of the Romans introduced all the refinements of Campánia, and a pottery muſt have been neceſſarily erected at every ſtationary town in the kingdom. In the Mancunian pottery, as I have demonſtrated before, were ſome excellent artiſts engaged. And in it, under the direction of a Roman or Roman-Friſian maſter, the Mancunians learnt to model their veſſels with a lathe, to give them the ſoft poliſh of a glazing, and to flouriſh them with carvings and emboſs them with figures [5].

Nor were the primæval Britons uninſtructed in the buſineſs of the turner and the employ of the carpenter. They were converſant with both, forming their ſhields either in circles or in lozenges, tapering the ſhafts of their ſpears and arrows, and rounding the axles of their chariots [6]. Such a degree of mechanical knowledge could ſcarcely be unknown to any nation, and was abſolutely neceſſary to a military one. And this would naturally lead them to the formation of many domeſtic utenſils of wood. Such were moſt probably the firſt domeſtic implements of man in general, the block of the maple or the beech being firſt ſcooped into an unwieldy unſhapely veſſel, the knife afterwards pruning off the excreſcencies and correcting the form, the lathe rounding it next into neatneſs, and the graver carving it at laſt into elegance. And with theſe implements of wood the primæval Britons muſt have had treuſhurs, trenchers, or wooden plates; wooden cadrs or chairs, and all the wooden furniture of the brewery. The chairs we ſee repreſented upon the coins of Cunobeline, a winged figure being placed with an helmet and trowſers in one of them, and the king's minter being ſeated in another [7]. In this reſpect the Britons were more poliſhed than the Gauls, the latter even after the conqueſt of them by the Romans ſitting conſtantly upon the ground at their entertainments, and having only

only a carpet of ſkins beneath them [10]. And the Britiſh chairs were either merely tall rounded blocks of wood, which our Mancunians to this day diſtinguiſh by the Britiſh appellation of Crick-ets, Krig-ets, or little elevations, or were provided with backs, were mounted upon four ſupporters, or reſted upon a ſquare baſis of wood. And as we have ſpecimens of all theſe chairs delineated on the coins of Cunobeline, ſo we have a cricket particularly exhibited twice upon them in the genuine form which it carries in Lancaſhire at preſent [11]. The Romans probably very little improved either the wooden bowls the wooden plates or the wooden chairs of the Britons. All of them perhaps were baniſhed entirely to the houſes of the inferior Mancunians. And among the inferior Mancunians have all of them deſcended nearly to the preſent period, and have all continued nearly in their original conſtruction.

The vitrification of ſandy particles by the force of fire, and the various application of the vitrified matter to domeſtic uſes, form one of the moſt pleaſing diſcoveries in the whole circle of domeſtic improvements. The diſcovery however reſulted not in all probability from the creative powers of the human underſtanding. It was merely the conſequence of chance. Such have been almoſt all the great inventions of man, ſome incident ſoliciting his attention, and reaſon becoming the pupil of contingency. And ſuch was moſt probably the firſt invention of glaſs, and being vitrified by an accidental fire, and art imitating the work of caſualty. Many accidents of this nature muſt have neceſſarily happened in the earlieſt ages of the world, in the firſt efforts of the pottery, or on the firſt formation of bricks. And tradition, almoſt the only information that we can have concerning the commencement of the domeſtic arts, here concurs with probability, and aſſerts the firſt glaſs to have been actually manufactured by chance [12]. But this event muſt have happened many ages before the conſtruction of Tyre. And that ſtately emporium can have no title to the honour of the firſt diſcovery. In Tyre however were erected the firſt public glaſs-houſes that hiſtory mentions: and in Tyre was the only ſtaple

of the manufactory for many ages [14]. The ſand of the Tyrian ſhore, for the ſpace of half a mile about the mouth of the Belus, was peculiarly adapted to the making of glaſs, being neat and glittering [15]. And the wide range of the Tyrian commerce neceſſarily gave a large vent to the productions of the furnace. But before the conqueſt of Lancaſhire public glaſs-houſes were erected in Italy, in Spain, in Gaul [16], and in Britain. Hence in many parts of Britain have been diſcovered ſmall annulets of glaſs, having a narrow perforation and a thick rim, denominated by the remaining Britons Gleineu Naidroedh or Glaſs-adders, and, as the continuing ſuperſtitions concerning them demonſtrate, once uſed as taliſmans among the druids [17]. And hence in the barrows upon Saliſbury Plain, which are certainly older than the invaſion of the Romans, and which are probably prior to the encroachments of the Belgæ, beads of glaſs have been diſcovered in numbers. Many of them were ſingle and pierced for the introduction of a ſtring, and many were combined together in the making, and twiſted round a ſmall rod of the ſame metal [18]. Thus proficients as the Britons certainly were in the art of manufacturing annulets and beads of glaſs, no queſtion can be made but they applied it directly to domeſtic uſes, and formed with it many domeſtic inſtruments. And hiſtory aſſures us that they actually did, and that they manufactured a conſiderable quantity of glaſs-veſſels [19]. Theſe without doubt, like their annulets, were green, blue, yellow, or black, and many of them curiouſly ſtreaked with other colours [20]. And the proceſs in the manufactory of the glaſs muſt have been nearly the ſame without doubt among the Britons, as it was among the Spaniards and the Gauls. The ſand of the ſhores being reduced to a ſufficient fineneſs by art, it was mingled with three-fourths of nitre, and both were melted together. The metal was then poured into other veſſels, was left to harden into a maſs, and was afterwards replaced in the furnace. There it became clear and tranſparent in the boiling, and was then figured by blowing or modelled by the lathe into all ſuch veſſels as were wanted [21].

And

And the arrival of the Romans muſt have little improved this curious manufactory of Britain, as they univerſally preferred ſilver and gold to glaſs for the compoſition of their drinking-veſſels [20]. They made indeed great improvements in their own at Rome during the government of Nero. The bowls and cups of this metal then rivalled the bowls of porcelain in their dearneſs, and then equalled the cups of chryſtal in their clearneſs [21]. But theſe were infinitely too coſtly for general uſe. Theſe undoubtedly were never attempted in Britain, and never made their appearance in the iſland. And the common glaſſes of the Romans and Roman-Britons muſt have been infinitely inferior in goodneſs, and from the few fragments that have been diſcovered at the ſtations of the former or the ſtationary towns of the latter appear to have generally conſiſted of a clear but greenly tinctured metal.

Native amber, once the ſubject of fabulous abſurdities and the occaſion of ridiculous contentions, is the exſudation of the gummy trees which formerly lined all the northern coaſt of Germany, and remain in various places upon the margin of the Baltic at preſent. This beauteous diſtillation, dropping from its parent boughs, often fell directly into the ſea, was often carried from the ſhore by the retreat of the tide, and was often ſwept from the banks by the deſcent of the rivers [22]. It muſt therefore have been frequently found, as it is ſometimes diſcovered to the preſent period, along the margin of our eaſtern coaſt [23]. And the primæval Britons appear to have poſſeſſed very conſiderable quantities of it. This they flattened into ſquares and molded into circles, and their females ſtrung them as beads and wore them as necklaces [24]. Nor was this peculiar to the wives and daughters of the Britons. The Gallic women in the north of Italy did the ſame as late as the æra of Agricola's expedition into Lancaſhire [25]. And the Britons formed their amber into ſeveral domeſtic veſſels [26]. In this ſtate of their amber-manufactory were they ſubdued by the Romans, and nearly in this ſtate they muſt have continued under them; the Romans only

teaching

teaching them in all probability a greater neatneſs in the figure of their beads and a greater elegance in the ſhape of their veſſels.

The firſt formation of braſs, as we are aſſured by hiſtorical infallibility, was actually prior to the flood, and was diſcovered even in the ſeventh generation from Adam [27]. The uſe of it however was not, as ſeems generally believed and the Arundelian marbles aſſert, previous to the knowledge of iron. They were both firſt known in the ſame generation, and were both firſt wrought by the ſame diſcoverer [27]. And the knowledge of both muſt have been afterwards diffuſed over the world with the diffuſed colonies of the Noachidæ. An acquaintance with the one or the other muſt have been abſolutely neceſſary to the exiſtence of the coloniſts, to the clearing away of the woods about their ſettlements, and to the erection of houſes for their habitation. And as the nations in the eaſt appear to have worked their mines of iron and copper in the remoteſt periods of their hiſtory [28], ſo the tribes of the primæval Britons in the weſt appear to have been particularly acquainted with both [29].

Of all the metals the moſt beneficial to man is iron. And the veins of it are therefore the moſt univerſally diffuſed. Providence has ſtored almoſt every region of the world, and has particularly replenifhed the hills of Britain, with that uſeful ore. But the primæval Britons were long unapprized of their native wealth. It was late before any mines of iron were opened in the iſland. They appear to have been begun only a few years before the deſcent of Cæſar, and even then were carried on, not by the original Britons, but by the commercial Belgæ [30]. To that period both the Britons and the Belgæ muſt have received from the continent all the iron that they had among them. And at the period of Cæſar's invaſion the quantity which was collected in the iſland was very inſignificant [30]. But iron mines being once diſcovered, others would be immediately opened. And a conſiderable manufactory of iron was accordingly eſtabliſhed in the kingdom before the reign of Tiberius [31]. In this muſt

muſt many domeſtic utenſils have been formed by the primæval Britons. The iron money of the Britons evinces them to have poſſeſſed the ſecret of caſting their iron and ſtamping it. And the manufactory, which appears to have extended into the fartheſt regions of the north [30], had certainly learnt the art of hardening the iron into ſteel. This was a ſecret well known at this period among their Celtic brethren on the continent. The ſteel of the Spaniards bore as great a reputation as it bears at preſent [31]. And in that faireſt mirror of the original Britiſh, the native language of Ireland; the appellation of ſteel is not Roman at all, the appellation of ſteel is actually and abſolutely Britiſh. But the manufactory muſt have been undoubtedly enlarged and the forges muſt have been undoubtedly multiplied by the Romans. One forge perhaps was erected in the vicinity of every ſtation. And within the weſtern riding of Yorkſhire and in the neighbourhood of North-Brierley, amid many beds of cinders heaped up in the adjacent fields, ſome years ago was found a quantity of Roman coins carefully repoſited in one of them [32].

When the Britons imported all their iron from the continent, they imported alſo all their braſs. And when they had ceaſed to introduce the former, they ſtill continued to receive the latter [33]. Their want of the metal remained, and no mines of it were opened in the iſland [34]. In the earlieſt ages whoſe manners have been delineated by the pencil of hiſtory, we find the weapons of their warriours invariably framed of this factitious metal. And the moſt authentic of all the profane records of antiquity for that reaſon miſtakenly dates the firſt diſcovery of iron a couple of centuries below the æra of the Trojan war [35]. Every military nation, as ſuch, is naturally ſtudious of brightneſs in its arms. And the Britons particularly gloried in the neatneſs of theirs [36]. For this reaſon the nations of the world in general ſtill fabricated their arms of braſs even long after the Arundelian æra for the diſcovery of iron [37]. For this reaſon the primæval Britons in particular ſtill continued to import braſs from the continent, though they had found iron to be a native of the country, and could have ſupplied themſelves with a ſufficient

quantity of it. And for this reaſon the latter appear to have carefully repoſited their brazen weapons in cloth, and to have even provided them with regular caſes [40].

When the Britons imported their iron and braſs from the Gallic continent, they muſt neceſſarily have purchaſed the latter at an eaſier expence than they procured the former. The Gauls had certainly many large braſs-works carried on in the kingdom, but ſeem to have had few iron forges within it [41]. And this would naturally induce the Belgæ to be leſs diligent in their enquiry after the veins of copper and calamine at home, than in their ſearch for the courſes of iron ore; though the one was equally diſcoverable in the iſland as the other, and lay equally within the Belgic regions of it. Braſs being thus cheaper to the Britons than iron, they formed of courſe ſome domeſtic as well as military implements of it. Such domeſtic utenſils were common among the Gauls [42]. And ſuch were common among the Britons, either imported into the iſland, as ſome undoubtedly were, or manufactured within it, as others aſſuredly were [43]. The Britons had certainly braſs-founderies erected among them, and certainly minted money and fabricated weapons of braſs.

In this condition of the braſs-works the Romans entered the iſland. And ſeeing ſo great a demand among the Britons for the article of braſs, they muſt ſpeedily have inſtructed them to diſcover the materials of it among themſelves. This muſt have unavoidably reſulted from the conqueſt of the Romans. The power of ſurprizing their new ſubjects with ſo unexpected a diſcovery would naturally ſtimulate the pride of the Roman intellect. The deſire of obliging themſelves with ſo cheap a ſupply of that uſeful metal, ſtationary as they were in the kingdom, would naturally actuate the ſelfiſhneſs of the Roman heart. The veins of copper and the beds of calamine would be eaſily found out by an experienced enquirer after them; and the former metal was therefore diſtinguiſhed among the Britons by the one Roman appellation of Cyprium Koppr or Copper. And many founderies of braſs appear to have been eſtabliſhed by the Roman-Britons in many parts of the iſland. Some muſt have

been

been undoubtedly erected before, one perhaps within the confines of every kingdom and moſt probably in the vicinity of every capital. One at leaſt muſt have been neceſſary in order to ſupply the armoury of the principality: and one perhaps was ſufficient for moſt of the Britiſh ſtates. But ſeveral appear to have been now eſtabliſhed within every principality, and one perhaps near every ſtationary town. Two of theſe forges have been diſcovered in the ſingle county of Eſſex and within a narrow portion of it, one of them at Fifield, and the other at Danbury [44]. And a third was placed upon Earſley Moor in Yorkſhire, twelve miles to the north-weſt of York and in the neighbourhood of Iſurium or Aldborough [45].

A braſs kettle, the workmanſhip in all probability of a Britiſh or Roman-Britiſh foundery in the neighbourhood of Manchester, was ſome years ago diſcovered in one of our Mancunian moſſes, and is now lodged among the petty curioſities of our Mancunian library. It is about five inches and a half in diameter and two and a half in depth, and is fitted with a flat handle of braſs. And the metal of this ſkillet, like the metal of the Britiſh coins and the Britiſh battle-axes, is mixed with a quantity of lead. Such a mixture was requiſite to make the braſs ſufficiently obedient to the worker's tool. The proportion of the temperature was the ſame in Italy and Gaul, being eight pounds of lead to one hundred of braſs [46], and nearly quadrating with the proportion obſerved at preſent. But the paleneſs of the metal in the axes the coins and the ſkillet evinces the proportion in Britain to have been very different. And the lead of all muſt be nearly as Dr. Richardſon has eſtimated it to be in ſome, one full third of the whole compoſition [47].

[1] Cicero's Fam. Epiſt. lib. vii. E. 7, and Sidonius Apollinaris (Sirmondus) carmen 23 and lin. 306 and 351.— [2] Borlaſe's Coins N° 22, and Camden claſs 2. N° 30. — [3] Oſſian vol. I. p. 11.— [4] Stukeley's Stonehenge p. 44 and plate, Borlaſe p. 233 and plate 18, and Wright's Louthiana b. iii. plate 2.— [5] B. I. ch. vii. ſ. 2.

—[6] Strabo p. 265.—[7] Pliny lib. xxxv. c. 12. vel quæ rotâ fiunt, and the bowl mentioned before in b. I. ch. ii. ſ. 3.—The glazed earthen rings of Camden c. 815 muſt have been Roman-Britiſh. —[8] Pegge's Coins claſs 4, C, claſs 5. N° 4, and claſs 6. N° 2.—[9] Claſs 2. N° 3. and claſs 3. N° 1 and 6.—[10] Diodorus p. 351.—[11] Pegge claſs 4. N° 1 and 3.—[12] Pliny lib. xxxvi. c. 26.—[13] Ibid. —[14] Ibid.—[15] Camden c. 815.—[16] Stukeley's Abury p. 26 and 43 and 45, and Stonehenge p. 45 and plate 32 and 4.—[17] Strabo p. 307, υαλια σκευη. Theſe and the accompanying words have been applied by ſome to mean, not what were made by the Britons, but what were imported into Britain. But the nature of the other particulars mentioned by Strabo is a ſufficient proof to the contrary. They are ſuch as could be manufactured only by the Britons.—[18] Stonehenge p. 45, and Camden c. 815.—[19] Pliny lib. xxxvi. c. 26.—[20] Ibid.—[21] Ibid.—[22] See Pliny lib. xxxvii. c. 2, and Tacitus de Mor. Germ. c. 45.—[23] Diodorus p. 348, Camden p. 350 and 713, and Dale's Harwich p. 112 and 275.—[24] Diodorus ibid. and Strabo p. 307, and Abury p. 44, and Stonehenge p. 45 and plate 32.—[25] Pliny lib. xxxvii. c. 3.—[26] Strabo p. 307.—[27] Geneſis ch. iv.—[28] Deuteronomy ch. viii. See alſo ch. iii.—[29] Cæſar p. 88.—How miſtaken therefore are Montfaucon, Borlaſe, and all the antiquarians, in truſting to the Arundelian marbles for the æra of the firſt formation of braſs, groſſly overlooking the poſitive and expreſs accounts of inſpiration!—[30] Cæſar p. 88.—[31] Strabo p. 305.—[32] Oſſian vol. I. p. 14, 55, and 62.—[33] Pliny lib. xxxiv. c. 14, Diodorus p. 356, and Martial lib. iv. E. 55.—[34] Dr. Richardſon's Letter in Leland vol. IX.—[35] Cæſar p. 88.—[36] Strabo p 305.—[37] Arundelian Marbles in Prideaux p. 163 &c.—[38] Solinus c. 22.—[39] Borlaſe b. iii. ch. 13.—[40] Ibid.—[41] Pliny lib. xxxiv. c. 8 and 14.—[42] Strabo p. 265 and Diodorus p. 35.—[43] Strabo p. 265.—[44] Borlaſe b. iii. c. 13.—[45] Ibid.—[46] Pliny lib. xxxiv. c 8.—[47] Leland vol. IX. See Itin. Cur. p. 55 for this kettle.

III.

IN this ſtate of the Britiſh manufactories, when the hills of Britain were found to be repleniſhed, as even in the third century they were actually diſcovered to abound, with a rich variety of all ſorts of metals [2]; the primæval Britons of Lancaſhire, and their brethren in the other parts of the iſland, muſt have ſlept upon ſkins of beaſts, and have lain upon the floor of their apartments [3]. This muſt have been the practice univerſally in the firſt ages. This was originally the practice of the Greeks and the Romans in particular [4]. But the preſent example of the Romans ſuggeſted to the Siſtuntii the uſe, and the preſent introduction of agriculture ſupplied the Siſtuntii with the means, of the neater conveniency, of ſtraw-beds. For many ages the beds of the Romans were conſtantly compoſed of ſtraw, and ſtraw ſtill formed the beds of the ſoldiers and the officers at the conqueſt of Lancaſhire [5]. From them the Britons in general and the Mancunians in particular muſt have learnt the uſe of ſtraw-beds at this period; and with both it continued for many centuries afterwards. Straw was uſed even in the royal bedrooms of England as late as the concluſion of the thirteenth century [6]. Moſt of our Mancunian peaſants uſe beds of chaff at preſent. And ſtraw-beds remain general in France and in Italy to the preſent moment. But at this period the bed was no longer ſuffered to reſt upon the ground. The better mode that had very antiently prevailed in the eaſt, and that had long before been introduced into Italy, was now adopted in Britain, and the bed was mounted upon pedeſtals [7].

The hearth of the primæval Britons ſeems to have been fixed in the middle of their great halls, being pretty certainly nothing more than a large ſtone, depreſſed perhaps a little below the level of the floor, and thereby adapted to contain the aſhes. But this muſt have been now changed for a portable fire-pan, raiſed upon low ſupporters, and fitted with a circular grating of bars.

Such

Such were the fire-hearths of the Gauls in the firſt century [7]. Such were the fire-hearths of the Welch in the 10th [8]. And ſuch have continued among us very nearly to the preſent. Theſe were large enough among the Gauls to allow the impoſition of two or three caldrons upon them, and to admit the arrangement of two or three ſpits before them [9]. And ſuch appears from the mode ſo lately remaining among us to have been equally the caſe among the Britons in the hour of hoſpitality; equally in England and in Gaul the gueſts being ſeated by the fire, and the caldrons being all charged and the ſpits all loaded with entire joints of meat [10].

The firing of the primæval Britons was certainly wood. The firing of the Roman Britons muſt have been wood and charcoal. The native Romans were certainly ignorant of that black inflammable fuel which we now denominate Coal. There are no beds of it at all within the compaſs of Italy. The great line of that foſſil ſeems to ſweep away round the globe from North-eaſt to South-weſt, not ranging at a diſtance even from the ſouth-eaſterly regions of our own iſland, as is generally imagined, but actually viſiting France and yet avoiding Italy. But the primæval Britons muſt have certainly uſed it. In the diſtrict particularly of our own Mancunium, to whoſe ſoil nature has happily committed the precious depoſit and in whoſe cells providence has kindly treaſured up an inexhauſtible abundance of it, the Britons could not have remained unapprized of the agreeable combuſtible around them. The Mancunian rivulets not unfrequently bring down fragments of coal from their native mountains, the extremities of the fuel often riſing into day-light, and little pieces being waſhed away by the neighbouring waters. And in the long and winding courſe of theſe various currents the Britons muſt naturally have ſoon marked the ſhining jetty ſtones in the channel, and by the aid of accident or the force of reflection have found out the conſiderable utility of them. But we can advance ſtill nearer to a certainty. Several pieces of coal were found a few years ago in the bed of ſand beneath the Roman road to Ribcheſter, when both were dug up at the conſtruction of Mr. Phillips's houſe in the Quay-ſtreet. Two or three of them were

were as large as hen-eggs. And others were diſcovered in the ſame bed of ſand ſixty yards to the weſt of the road in the year 1770. But, what is ſtill more remarkable, the number of pieces under the Roman road was no leſs than thirty or forty, and a quantity of Slack or ſmall powdery coal was actually diſcovered with them. Theſe two ſignificant circumſtances fully evince the coaly fragments not to have been brought by the currents from the hills, and to have been afterwards laid upon the ground on which they were diſcovered. They muſt have been all derived immediately from the quarry by the ſame hands that lodged them upon the ſpot. The large pieces muſt have been variouſly diſperſed, if they had ever been rolled along a channel. And the ſlack muſt have been abſolutely diſſipated entirely, if it had ever been ſhifted by a current. They muſt have been all lodged upon the ſpot before the road of the Romans covered it. That ground being in the immediate neighbourhood of Mancenion, the Britons had there repoſited a quantity of coals for the uſe of the garriſon, and many of the ſmaller pieces and ſome of the ſlack were naturally buried in the ſoft ſand upon which they were laid. That the primæval Britons were acquainted with the black combuſtible which is generated in the bowels of the earth, is evident from the diſtinguiſhing appellation for it amongſt us at preſent, Coal, which is certainly not Saxon and is as certainly Britiſh, which muſt have been tranſmitted from the Britons to the Saxons and us, and which ſubſiſts among the Iriſh in their Gual to this day. And that the primæval Britons made uſe of coal in the Caſtle-field, is evident from the cindery droſs, the certain and actual refuſe of ſome conſiderable coal-fire, which has been lately diſcovered in the Caſtle-field. It was found about four or five years ago, a largiſh quantity of it lying in a pit three or four feet deep in the ground, and contiguous to the Roman road at the extremity of the field. It was alſo found about four or five years ago on cutting down the Roman road at the ſame point from the ſurface to the baſe, and ſtill to this day more imperfectly appears in the open curious front of the Roman road, a remarkable ſeam of black rubbiſh extending

for

for ſeveral yards betwixt two courſes of gravel, one a yard in height above and the other about a foot in depth below, ſpreading about two inches in thickneſs at the northern end, where the pit was found, and regularly narrowing from it acroſs the face of the road. This had evidently therefore been thrown upon the road by the Romans from the materials of the pit upon one ſide of it, as they caſt up the neighbouring ground to form the baſis of the road. And this naturally diſpoſed itſelf, as it flew from the ſhovel, in the thickeſt courſe immediately under the hand, and in the thinneſt layer at the fartheſt extremity from it. I have collected cinders myſelf from the ſeam, mixed with ſome weighty metallic matter that ſhewed the coal-fire to have belonged to ſome forge in the Caſtle-field. And I have myſelf picked out ſeveral large fragments of rock from the gravel immediately under the ſeam, which muſt have been brought from the neighbouring Medlock and laid upon the line of the road before it. And the Romans and the Saxons appear actually and equally uſing coal in the provinces of Britain. Within the Weſt-Riding of Yorkſhire and in the neighbourhood of North-Brierley, amid many beds of coal-cinders heaped up in the adjacent fields, ſome years ago was found a quantity of Roman coins very carefully repoſited in one of them [11]. And as early as the year 852 a grant was made of ſome lands by the abbey of Peterborough, under the reſervation of certain boons and payments in kind to the monaſtery, one night's entertainment, thirty ſhillings, and one horſe, ten veſſels of Welch ale, ſix hundred loaves, two oxen ready-killed, and two caſks of common ale, ſixty cart-loads of wood, and twelve of Græcan foſſil or pit coal [12]. The extenſive beds of coal therefore, with which the kingdom of England in general and the precincts of Mancheſter in particular are ſo happily ſtored, muſt have been firſt noticed by the ſkill and firſt opened by the labour of the Britons, and ſome time before the arrival of the Romans among us. And the nearer quarries in the concurring confines of Bradford Newton and Mancheſter muſt naturally have firſt attracted the notice, and have firſt invited the inquiries, of the Britons. The current of

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the Medlock that runs betwixt the beds of the minerals and waſhes the ſides of the quarries would certainly bring down ſpecimens of their native wealth, would lodge many of them around the foot of the Caſtle-field, and would allure the Britons ſucceſſively to a careful collection of the one and to a curious inquiſition after the other. But, even for ages after the diſcovery, wood continued to compoſe the principal firing of the nation. Thus in the little rental of the above-mentioned eſtate we ſee ſixty cart-loads of wood reſerved for the abbey and only twelve of coal. Wood muſt have naturally continued the principal firing of the kingdom as long as the foreſts and thickets continued to preſent their ready fuel to the hand. And ſuch it remained at Mancheſter to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, notwithſtanding the diſcovery of another ſpecies of fuel which was abſolutely as acceſſible as wood. This is that looſe fibrous ſubſtance which our Mancunian moſſes have for ages afforded us in ſuch luxurious plenty, and which we find ſo convenient in our Mancunian houſes [12]. This moſt inflammable of all fuel would naturally be diſcovered before the coal, and muſt have been known to the primæval Britons. But it makes its firſt appearance in hiſtory together with coal, and is equally mentioned with it in the Peterborough rental, the ſixty cart-loads of wood and the twelve of foſſil coal being accompanied with ſix of ȝeapba, earth, or turf. And to the green faggot, the dried billet, the turf, and the coal of their former fires the Britons now learned to add the charcoal of the Romans. The method which the Romans now taught them of charking the coal continues eſſentially the ſame to the preſent moment. The young timber which was intended for charcoal being cut into billets and heaped into a pile, it was covered over with a ſtructure of clay. The fire was then lighted within the mimic furnace. The hardening coat of the clay was pierced with long poles. And the heat and the ſmoke were gradually emitted together [13].

The primæval Britons appear to have carefully worked their mines of lead, and to have extracted great quantities of metal

from them [15]. And not only the Belgic but the aboriginal Britons were engaged in this employ. The mines of the Silly iſles were worked by the one, and the riches of the Peak were collected by the other [15]. The lead-ore lay much more obvious to the notice and much more acceſſible to the labour of the inhabitants, than either the iron or the copper. The lead was equally found at this period in France and in Spain. But the ſearch for it in both countries was attended with much greater trouble and expence than it was in Britain. Here veins of it lay immediately below the ſurface of the ground, and branched out in ſo great an abundance, that a very ſhort period before the reduction of Lancaſhire, conquered as the Britons of Silly and of the Peak had then both been by the Romans, but ſtill ſubjected, as I have ſaid before, to the legiſlative authority of their reſpective ſovereigns, a law was made by the kings to reſtrict the working of the mines and to prevent the overſtocking of the market [16]. With this metal the primæval Britons tempered the braſs of their ſkillets their arms and their coins. And with this therefore they muſt have made many of their domeſtic veſſels. Lead and tin were for ſeveral ages the only metals that they had within themſelves. And when the Romans entered the county of Cheſter they found the metal very plentiful among the inhabitants, and raiſed a rudely magnificent trophy with it, fixing more than twenty inſcribed plates upon poles, and erecting them on the ground where they had defeated the Britons.

The tin of the Britons was the moſt remarkable production of their iſland. Found both in Spain and in Portugal, it was found much more plentifully in Britain [17]. Being collected in the ſand or glebe, it was purified with water from the adhering earth, was fuſed in their furnaces, and was beaten into ſquares [18]. This the primæval Britons in all probability, this the Roman Britons moſt aſſuredly, worked up into many domeſtic utenſils, cups, baſons, and pitchers. Some ſuch have been ſafely tranſmitted to the preſent age. A baſon of this mimic ſilver was found a few years ago in Cornwall, four inches and an half in

diameter

diameter at the brim and two and a half at the bottom, having a ſmall fluting round the outſide of the upper part, and preſenting a Roman inſcription upon its flat bottom [19]. And a pitcher has been alſo diſcovered of the ſame metal, containing above four quarts and an half, gradually narrowing to the brim, and fitted with an handle [20]. Nor was this all the uſe that the Britons muſt have made of their tin. Taught perhaps by themſelves alone, inſtructed perhaps by their Roman maſters, they muſt have coated over the inſide of their brazen veſſels with a thin covering of tin, and have thereby prevented the diſreliſhing tincture of braſs [21]. Receiving the knowledge perhaps directly from the Gauls, deriving it perhaps immediately from the Romans, the Britons muſt have probably practiſed the curious art which the Gauls had diſcovered of incorporating tin ſo intimately into braſs, that the work had all the hardneſs of the latter and almoſt all the beauty of the former [22].

But the Romans alſo taught the Britons to combine two or three of their metals together, and with them to form another which ſhould be more beautiful in its appearance and more convenient in its uſe than any of them ſingly. This is that agreeable appendage of our tables which the Romans called Argentarium or the ſilvery metal, and which we now denominate Pewter [23]. Of this metal the primæval Britons muſt have been undoubtedly ignorant. With this metal even the Romans became acquainted only a very little time before the ſurrendery of Mancenion to Agricola [24]. And the Romans muſt have certainly introduced it to the knowledge of the Britons; ſeveral pieces of pewter having been diſcovered within the areas of the Roman ſtations in Britain. I have a ſmall fragment of Roman pewter in my own poſſeſſion. It was diſcovered in 1766 within a meadow at Aldcheſter in Oxfordſhire, which the general nature of the ground and the particular vicinity of it to the area of the town ſufficiently demonſtrate to have been the ſite of the ſtation. And it was even picked up within the walls of a ruined building, which was raiſed a little above the level of the meadow, and which the diſcovery of a teſſellated pavement above

and of an hypocauſt in one part below plainly proved to have been the actual prætorium of the ſtation. But a much larger piece was diſcovered about ſixty years ago at Ebcheſter in the county of Durham, ſome vain ſearchers after other ſort of treaſure digging into the bank of the caſtrum, and lighting upon a conſiderable quantity of a melted metal, which at firſt they naturally ſuppoſed to be ſilver, but which they afterwards found to be pewter[25]. The metals that were mixed together in the compoſition of the Roman pewter at firſt were either braſs and tin, or tin and lead; as the proportion in which they were mixed was one third of braſs to the tin, and one half or one third of tin to the lead[26]. And this factitious metal was ſold at Rome ſoon after its firſt appearance at the rate of four ſhillings and ten pence a pound[26]. But this was only the common rate of the tin at Rome; and even the lead was ſold at two ſhillings and ſeven pence a pound[27]. And all the three metals muſt have been conſiderably cheaper in Britain, as Britain was the ſtaple of the two principal conſtituents of the Roman pewter, tin and lead, and as the expences of the long carriage from Britain to Rome muſt have greatly enhanced the original price.

[25] Solinus c. xxii. metallorum largam variamque copiam, quibus undique generum pollet venis locupletibus.—[26] Diodorus p. 351.—[3] See Bulengerius c. xxix. in tom. 12. Grævius.—[4] Pliny lib. viii. c. 48. The beds of the Roman gentry at this period were generally filled with feathers, and the beds of the inns with the ſoft down of reeds, pro plumâ ſtrata cauponarum replet, Pliny lib. xvi. c. 36.—[5] See book I. c. 8. ſ. 2. and the notes for the kings of Wales uſing ſtraw-beds in the tenth century and the kings of England in the thirteenth.—[6] Geneſis c. xlix. and Bede lib. iii. c 27.—[7] Diodorus p. 351.—[8] Howel lib. ii. c. 1. a. 6. [9] Diodorus p. 351.—[10] Ibid.—[11] Dr. Richardſon's Letter in Leland vol. ix and Saxon Chron.—[12] Our moors of Turbary are particularly mentioned, in a record of 1322, and are declared to be propter largitatem et diverſitatem entirely unmeaſured. And

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the people had a right of common in them.—[13] Pliny lib. xvi. c. 6.—[14] Strabo p. 265.—[15] Cæſar p. 88 Mediterraneis, and Strabo p. 265.—[16] Pliny lib. xxxiv. c. 17 ultrò.—[17] Pliny lib. xxxiv. c. 16. —[18] Pliny ibid. and Diodorus p. 347.—[19] Phil. Tranſ. 1759, part I. p. 13.—[20] Ibid.—[21] Pliny lib. xxxiv. c. 17.—[22] Ibid.—[23] Ibid.—[24] Ibid. Nunc adulteratur.—[25] Phil. Tranſ. 1702 and 1703. N° 6.—[26] Pliny ibid.—[27] Ibid.

V.

AT the period of Cæſar's expedition into the iſland. the wild woods of the Britons were repleniſhed nearly with the ſame varieties of timber as the foreſts of the Gauls [1]. But both received a conſiderable addition of foreign trees from the Romans. The beech and the fir are aſſerted by Cæſar to have been both of them abſolute ſtrangers to Britain at that remarkable period [2]. This however the overweening fondneſs of antiquarianiſm has induced the generality of our critics to diſbelieve; and they have appealed againſt it to the beech-covered hills of the Chiltern, to the fir-topt mountains of Scotland, and to the fir-apples diſcovered in the draining our Marton Mere [3]. But theſe arguments ſurely are not of ſufficient moment. Cæſar has explicitly aſſerted the fact. Cæſar appears in general to have gained very accurate informations concerning the iſland. And if in ſuch caſes the credit of cotemporary relations and the authority of peremptory aſſertions were to be evacuated by hypothetical reaſonings and problematical arguments, the faith of records would be deſtroyed at once, and the authenticity of hiſtory would be utterly annihilated. I cannot however ſubſcribe entirely to the relation of Cæſar. Other and more forceable arguments preſent themſelves to the inquiſitive mind, that ſuperſede the great authority of Cæſar, and ſhew one of the trees to be certainly a native of Britain.

Among the many Roman names for the fir in the Britiſh language, there are three which are purely and abſolutely Britiſh. The Scotch diſtinguiſh the fir by the Britiſh appellation of Gius,

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the Iriſh by the Britiſh appellation of Giumbus, and the Welch by the Britiſh appellation of Fynidwydh. Had the fir been originally introduced into the fields of Britain by the Romans, all the Britiſh appropriated appellations of it muſt have been, as ſome of them evidently are, the mere derivatives of the Roman Abies, Z-aban, S-ibuydh, S-apin, and S-abin. And the exiſtence of one Britiſh appropriated appellation for the fir is a ſtrong argument in itſelf, that the tree was not introduced by the Romans, that the tree was originally Britiſh.

Firs actually appear as early as the third century in the unromanized regions of Caledonia and Ireland, and appear as the acknowledged aborigines of the country. Firs are frequently mentioned in the poems of the Caledonian bard, not as plants ſeen by him on the continent or in the provinces, not merely as forming the equivocal imagery of a ſimilitude, but as actually and antiently growing in both. The ſpear of a warrior, ſays an Iriſhman in Ulſter, pointing to a neighbouring tree, "is like "that blaſted fir:" and it is compared by another to the fir of Slimora particularly, a mountain in the north of Ireland [1]. And the tomb of a fallen warrior upon the weſtern ſhore of Caledonia is thus deſcribed from the reality by the bard: "Doſt "thou not behold, Malvina, a rock with its head of heath? "Three aged firs bend from its face; green is the narrow plain "at its feet [2]."

The fir is alſo diſcovered in our Mancunian moſſes together with the birch and the oak, as frequent as the oak, and much more frequent than the birch. The fir of our moſſes is not, as the wild hypotheſis of ſome aſſerts it to be, a mere mimickry of the natural fir, merely an oak or a birch that, lying for ages in the unctuous maſs, has diſcharged itſelf of all its original properties, and has adopted all the characteriſtic properties of the fir. Had this been the caſe, it could not poſſibly be diſtinguiſhed from the oak or the birch, and all the trees of our moſſes muſt have been equally and abſolutely firs. The fir is the only tree of our moſſes that exhibits a reſinous quality. And the fir of our moſſes is as much diſcriminated to the eye by the peculiar nature of its grain, as the oak or the birch. Nor is

this all. The fir is perpetually diſcovered in ſuch of our moſſes particularly as were demonſtrably prior to the ſettlement of the Romans among us. It is diſcovered in ſuch moſſes as appear to the preſent period actually traverſed by the roads of the Romans. It is diſcovered immediately adjoining to the road and abſolutely on both ſides of it. Thus is the fir found very frequent in the moſs of Failſworth, cloſe to either margin of the Street, and mingled with oaks and birches. And as the road demonſtrates the moſs to have been formed before the ſettlement of the Romans at Mancheſter, ſo the trees diſcovered in the moſs muſt have been all equally cotemporary with it, and all equally with it prior to the ſettlement of the Romans at Mancheſter. This argument carries a deciſive authority with it. But we can proſecute it fairly up to demonſtration. The fir has been diſcovered in our moſſes, not only in ſuch parts as are immediately contiguous to the Roman roads over them, but in ſuch as are actually occupied and covered with the line of the Roman roads, and in the black ſpungy earth immediately beneath the Roman gravel. It has been very recently dug up by myſelf under the roots of the road over Failſworth Moſs. And I have now in my own poſſeſſion two pieces of tried genuine fir that were bedded with the remains of a birch-tree one yard and a half in the moſſy ſoil and three yards under the crown of the Roman gravel.

Theſe are three arguments which are all ſufficiently convincing of themſelves. Theſe are three arguments which, ſpringing from as many different ſources, all happily unite together in one common channel, and form together an irreſiſtible tide of evidence. And a fact which relates to the remoteſt antiquity, and which is aſſerted againſt the higheſt hiſtorical authority, cannot be too powerfully demonſtrated. The fir then was one of the trees of Britain before the arrival of the Romans among us. But the beech was not. We have the poſitive teſtimony of Cæſar, that the beech was unknown to the iſland at the period of his own invaſion. We have no demonſtrative reaſons, we have no ſurecable arguments, we have no arguments at all, againſt it.

And

And we have the ſtrong atteſtation of the Britiſh language in direct confirmation of it, all the Britiſh terms for the beech being evidently and merely Roman, Faighe, Faghe, or Faydh. The Romans found the fir a native of the iſland. But the Romans introduced the beech and their colonies together.

Nor was this the only tree which the Romans imported into Britain. They firſt introduced among us, and from their hands did our foreſts firſt receive, as the Britiſh and preſent names of the trees ſufficiently and equally evince, the Platanus or plane, the Tilia or teil, the Buxus or box, the Ulmus or elm, and the Populus or poplar. And the plane, originally a native of Aſia, and tranſplanted into Sicily, ſoon paſſed over the Strait into Italy, and before the year 79 had reached the moſt northerly ſhore of Gaul [5].

The principal production of our orchards at preſent is derived to us from the primæval Britons, and in the Welch the Corniſh the Armorican and the Iriſh languages is invariably denominated the Avall, Aball, or apple. This fruitage ſeems to have been originally imported into Britain by the firſt colonies of the Britons in general and by the Britiſh Hædui of Somerſetſhire in particular. Hence we find the preſent ſite of the well-known Glaſtonbury to have been diſtinguiſhed, before the arrival of the Romans, by the diſcriminating title of Avallonia or the Apple-orchard [6]. And the ſoft keen reliſh of the fruit ſo ſtrongly recommended it to the Britons, that another Avellana aroſe in the north of England [7]. And before the third century the fruit appears to have been diſſeminated over the iſland, and to have even ſtocked the diſtant and unromanized regions of Shetland with large plantations of the trees [8]. But to the native and the imported fruit-trees of the Britiſh garden the Romans naturally added ſeveral plants. Theſe muſt have been the Pyrus or pear, the Prunum Damaſcenum or damaſcene, the Ceraſus or cherry, the Arbor Perſica, perch, or peach, the Aprica or apricot [9], and the Cydonia or quince. Pears, the original production probably of moſt of the ſoutherly countries, abounded particularly in Italy, and, as ſufficiently appears from the Roman name of the

fruit

fruit in Wales in Bretagne in Ireland and in England, Per, Peren, Piorra, and Pear, were brought by the Romans into Britain. But Ceraſi, Keres, or cherries were the native growth of Pontus and of Egypt, and were firſt introduced into the weſt by Lucullus, the conqueror of the former; being tranſplanted by him into Italy in the ſeventy-third year before the Chriſtian æra, and being carried by others into Britain upon the firſt ſettlement of the Romans and within five years after the firſt permanent conqueſt within it [10]. The damaſcene had been long taken from the vicinity of its native Damaſcus, and long familiarized to the climate of Italy, when the Romans firſt entered the county of Lancaſter [11]; and the Britiſh appellation of it, Daimſhin or Damſon, ſtill remaining among the Iriſh and ourſelves, evinces it to have been introduced into Britain by the Romans. The quince was originally the produce of the Cretan ſhores [12]. And the peach, tranſplanted early from its own Perſia into Egypt, but introduced very late into the weſt, was very common in Gaul about the epoch of Agricola's conqueſts in Britain [13]. And to theſe we may ſubjoin the Morus, Muyar, or mulberry, the Caſtanea, Kaſtanuydh, or cheſnut, the Ficus, Fik, or fig, the Sorbus or ſervis, and the Meſpilus or medlar [14]. The cheſnut was originally the produce of Sardis in the Leſſer Aſia: but before the reign of Veſpaſian it was cultivated with great ſucceſs at Tarentum and at Naples [15]. And the medlar was unknown to the Romans at the period of the laſt Punic war, and was originally brought into the weſt from Greece [16].

The beds of the Britiſh garden at firſt muſt have been repleniſhed only with the flowers that naturally checkered the ſlopes of our hills, and with the plants that naturally ſkirted the edges of our woods. But the Roman garden ſoon lent its friendly aſſiſtance, and tranſmitted ſome of its own plants and flowers into Britain. There, even beneath the greater moiſture of the Britiſh ſoil and the fainter livelineſs of the Britiſh ſun, they took root in the iſland, and became familiarized to the clime. The latter particularly are now ſo thoroughly diſſeminated over the country, ſhoot up ſo generally under the ſhelter of our hedges,

and fringe ſo commonly the rills of our vallies, that they are conſtantly conſidered as the genuine natives of the ſoil. But the names of both ſufficiently denote their origin, and their Roman appellations betray their Roman extraction. Such are the Britiſh Rhos or the Engliſh roſe, the Lili or lily, the Violed or violet, the Tim or thyme, the Roſmarinum, Rhoſmari, or roſemary, the Papaver, Pabi, or poppy, and many others. The beſt roſes in Europe were the Italian, and the beſt in Italy were the Prænestine and the Campanian [17]. And thyme in the days of Veſpaſian ſo greatly overſpread the ſtony plains in the province of Narbonne, that many thouſands of cattle were brought every year from the diſtant parts of the country to fatten upon it [18]. Such alſo were the more numerous and more beneficial plants and ſeeds of the Radix or radiſh, the aſparagus, the cucumber, and the melon, of Piſa, Pis, Pez, or peas, Fabæ, Faens, or beans, and Lectucæ or lettuces, and of mint, bete, fennel, and many others. The aſparagus was a great favourite among the Romans, was ſtudiouſly cultivated by their gardeners, and was fed to ſo enormous a ſize in the gardens of Ravenna that three of them only were actually a pound in weight [19]. The cucumber of the provinces was much larger than the cucumber of Italy, which was equally green and ſmall, and which was ſo greatly eſteemed by Tiberius, that he ordered pots of them to be fixed upon carriages and regularly wheeled into the ſun from their ſheds, that he might have a cucumber every day in the ſummer [20]. And lettuces were ſuppoſed to be uncommonly ſalutary by the Romans after the great cure which Muſa effected with a lettuce upon the perſon of Auguſtus, when the emperor's life was expoſed to the moſt imminent danger, and when his phyſician boldly broke through all the rules of the practice in order to preſcribe it for him [21].

Corn muſt have been originally the ſpontaneous produce of the new-created earth; and the firſt obvious method of reducing it into flour for bread muſt have been by the ſimple expedient of pounding. This muſt have been for ages the only method that was practiſed by the various deſcendants of Adam, and actually continued in uſe among the Romans below the æra of the reign.

of

of Veſpaſian [21]. But this proceſs was very early improved by the application of a grinding power and the introduction of mill-ſtones. The improvement, like moſt of the common refinements in domeſtic life, was probably the invention of the antediluvian world, and was certainly uſed in ſome of the earlieſt ages after it [22]. The improvement, like moſt of the common refinements in domeſtic life, was equally known in the eaſt and adopted in the weſt. Hence the Gauls, hence the Britons, appear to have been familiarly acquainted with the uſe of hand-mills before the period of their ſubmiſſion to the Romans [23]; the Britons particularly diſtinguiſhing them, as we their ſucceſſors diſtinguiſh them at preſent, by the ſimple appellation of Querns, Carnes, or Stones. But to theſe the querns or hand-mills of our Britiſh anceſtors the Romans added, as they had previouſly added to their own, the very uſeful invention of water-mills. For this diſcovery the world is pretty certainly indebted to the improving powers of the Roman genius; and the machine was pretty common in Italy before the conqueſt of Lancaſhire [24]. This therefore the Romans muſt have neceſſarily introduced with their many other refinements among us. And that they actually introduced it, the Britiſh appellation of a water-mill ſufficiently evinces of itſelf; the Melin of the Welch and Corniſh, the Mull, Meill, and Melin of the Armoricans, and the Muilean and Muilind of the Iriſh, being all equally and evidently derived from the Roman Mola and Molendinum. The ſubject Britons univerſally adopted the Roman name, but applied it, as we their ſucceſſors apply it at preſent, only to the Roman mill; ſtill diſtinguiſhing their own original mill, as we diſtinguiſh it, by its own original denomination of a Quern. A Roman or water mill was aſſuredly erected at every ſtationary town in the kingdom. A Roman or water mill was certainly erected at Mancunium, ſerving equally the purpoſes of the town and the uſes of the garriſon. And one alone would be ſufficient, as the uſe of hand-mills ſtill remained very common in both, many ſuch having been found about the ſite of the ſtation particularly,

and the uſe of them in general having deſcended among us very nearly to the preſent period. Such it would be peculiarly neceſſary to have in the ſtation, that the garriſon might be prudently provided againſt a ſiege. And the Mancunian water-mill was neceſſarily planted immediately below the ſtation and the town, and upon the rocky channel of the Medlock. There, a little above the antient ford, the ſluice of the mill was accidentally diſcovered about four and twenty years ago. There, on the margin of Dyer's Croft and oppoſite to Mr. Markland's Conſtructions, the current of the Medlock, accidentally ſwelled with the rains and obſtructed in its courſe by a dam, broke down the northern bank, ſwept away a venerable oak upon the edge of it, and diſcloſed a long tunnel in the rock beneath. This tunnel I have ſince laid open in part with a ſpade. It appeared entirely uncovered at the top, was about one yard in width and another in depth, but gradually narrowed to the bottom. The ſides ſhewed everywhere the marks of the tool upon the rock, and the courſe of it was parallel with the channel. It was bared by the torrent only for twenty-five yards in length, but muſt have been evidently continued for ſeveral yards further, having originally begun, as the nature of the ground evinces, juſt above the large curvature in the channel of the Medlock.

For the firſt five or ſix centuries of the Roman ſtate there were no public bread-bakers in the city of Rome [26]. They were firſt introduced into Rome from the Eaſt, at the concluſion of the war with Perſes, and about the year 167 before the nativity of Chriſt [27]. And before the concluſion of the firſt century after the Nativity the Roman families were ſupplied by them regularly every morning with freſh loaves for breakfaſt [28]. But the Romans did not introduce them into Mancunium, the Latin name of a bread-baker being utterly unknown to the Britiſh language in general, and bread-bakers being even recently introduced into Mancheſter in particular. Among the primitive Britons of the South, who raiſed corn and formed it into bread,

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the ſame cuſtom pretty certainly obtained as prevailed originally among the Romans and many other nations [*], and as continued nearly to the preſent period among the Mancunians. The proviſion of bread for every family was left entirely to the domeſtic attentions of the women in it [*]. And the bread was baked by them upon ſtones, which the Britons denominated Greidiols and we ſtill denominate Gredles. But as it appears at once from the kiln-burnt pottery which has been diſcovered in the Britiſh ſepulchers, and from the Britiſh appellation of an Odyn or oven remaining among us at preſent, that furnaces for baking were generally known among the primæval Britons, an odyn muſt have been erected at the manſion of each Britiſh baron for the uſe of himſelf and his retainers. And when the baron and his retainers removed into the vicinity of a Roman ſtation, the oven muſt have been re-erected with the manſion, and the public bakehouſes of our towns muſt have commenced at the firſt formation of them. One bakehouſe muſt have been conſtructed, as I have previouſly ſhewn one mill to have been erected, for the public ſervice of all the Mancunian families. One bakehouſe and one mill appear to have been equally and immemorially eſtabliſhed in the town; and the inhabitants of it appear to have been equally and immemorially accuſtomed to bake at the one and to grind at the other [*]. Both therefore muſt have been undoubtedly erected at the firſt introduction of ovens and of water-mills into the county. The ſimilarity of two ſuch appointments in particular refers the conſideration directly to one and the ſame origin for both principles. The nature of all ſuch appointments in general refers the conſideration directly to the firſt origin and the actual introduction of both the implements. And as the ſame eſtabliſhments prevailed equally in many other parts of the North, and obtained pretty certainly over all the ample extent of Roman Britain, the ſame erections muſt have been equally made at every ſtationary town in the kingdom.

[*] Cæſar

[1] Cæſar p. 88.—[2] Plot's Staffordſhire p. 216 &c. and Camden c. 967.—[3] Oſſian vol. i. p. 2. and vol. ii. p. 5.—[4] Vol. i. p. 127. [5] Pliny lib. xii. c. 1.—[6] Richard p. 19.—[7] Ravennas, Banna, Uxeludiano, Aval-aria or (as both the MS. in the French King's library and the Vatican MS. agree to read the name) Avalana. And ſee an extract from Myrdhin Wyllt, a poet of the ſixth century, where the apples of it are praiſed, in Evans p. 77.—[8] Solinus c. xxii.—[9] This is provincially pronounced in Lancaſhire, not Apricot, but Apricock, with that original and Britiſh termination which forms Capet into Coppock, Mallet into Mollock, &c.—[10] Pliny lib. xv. c. 25.—[11] Lib. xv. c. 13.—[12] Lib. xiii. c. 19. and lib. xv. c. 11.—[13] Lib. xv. c. 12 and 13.—[14] Lib. xv. c. 20, 23, and 24.—[15] Lib. xv. c. 23.—[16] Lib. xv. c. 20.—[17] Lib. xxi. c. 4.—[18] Lib. xxi. c. 10.—[19] Lib. xix. c. 4 and 8.—[20] Lib. xix. c. 5.—[21] Lib. xix. c. 8.—[22] Lib. xviii. c. 10.—[23] Exodus c. xi. and Deuteron. c. xxiv.—[24] Cæſar p. 3. of the Helvetic Gauls, molita cibaria, and Strabo p. 287, μυλας.—[25] Pliny lib. xviii, c. 10. Major pars Italiæ ruido utitur pilo, rotis etiam quas aqua verſet obiter, et molat; and Palladius lib. i. c. 42. Si aquæ copia eſt, fuſura balneorum debent piſtrina ſuſcipere, ut, ibi formatis *aquariis melis*, ſine animalium vel hominum labore frumenta frangantur.—[26] Pliny lib. xviii. c. 11.—[27] Ibid.—[28] Martial lib. xiv. E. 223.—[29] Pliny ibid.—[*] The women among the Saxons uſed generally to brew as well as to bake. Of Hereford it is recorded in Doomſday, that cujuſcunque uxor brazabat intus et extra civitatem dabat x denarios per conſuetudinem to the king, the lord of the town (Gale's xv Scriptures vol. i. p. 769. from Doomſday Book). And the Brewer in all our old ſtatutes is always implied to be a woman. So in the great ordinance for bakers brewers and others during the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I. and II. the brewer is conſtantly denominated Braciatrix, quæ &c. c. 6.—[30] See B. II. c. v. ſ. 2.

AMONG

IV.

AMONG the various trees which the Romans introduced into Britain the moſt curious undoubtedly was the vine. This is well known to have been very common in Britain three or four ages ago, there being ſcarcely a ſingle caſtle or a particular monaſtery in the kingdom which had not a vineyard belonging to it. The county of Glouceſter is particularly commended by Malmeſbury in the twelfth century as excelling all the counties of the kingdom in the number and in the goodneſs of its vineyards [1]. Vineyards are frequently noticed in the deſcriptive accounts of Doomſday [2]. And the vineyards of England are actually mentioned by Bede as early as the commencement of the eighth century [3]. That the Romans were the original introducers of the plant, we need no other teſtimony than the Britiſh appellations of it. Being brought by the Romans into Gaul [4], it was denominated the Vinum or Vigne tree by the natives. Being brought by the Romans into Britain, it was ſimilarly denominated by the inhabitants the Guin-uydhen the Guin-bren the Guin-ien or the Fion-ras; as it is ſtill called in the Welch the Corniſh the Armorican and the Iriſh dialects. Theſe appellations, like the Gallic Vigne, do not directly ſignify the Vitis or vine, but ſpeak of it indirectly and characteriſtically as the Wine-tree. And as in general theſe appellations evince the Romans to have been the firſt planters of vines in both kingdoms, ſo this little peculiarity in particular pretty plainly declares the inhabitants of both to have been acquainted with the liquor ſome time before they adopted the tree. Such would naturally be the caſe of both. Such appears to have been actually the caſe of the Gauls [5]. And the Caledonian Britons, who were certainly ſtrangers to the vine, were well acquainted with the liquor before the middle of the third century [6]. As the former was certainly not introduced into Britain till the ſecond century [7], ſo was it certainly introduced before

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the cloſe of the third. And as it muſt have been for ages confined within the pale of the Roman government, ſo was it tranſplanted into Ireland before the beginning of the eighth century [9]. But the grape, or as with an agreeable and native ſimplicity it was called by the Britons the Corn of the Tree the Wine-grane and the Apple of the Vine, was not, as it now is, merely raiſed for the uſes of the table. All the arts of the vigneron would naturally be introduced with the vine. They were carried with it into Gaul. And that they came together into Britain, the good knowledge which the Caledonians appear to have had of the liquor is a ſtrong preſumptive evidence, and the Britiſh appellation of Wine-tree for the vine is a ſtrong argument. Doomſday exhibits to us a very particular proof of wine made in England during the period preceding the Conqueſt [10]. And the wines of Glouceſterſhire within a ſingle century afterwards were little inferior to the French in ſweetneſs [11]. The beautiful region of Gaul, which had not a ſingle vine in the days of Cæſar [12], was even famous for its vineyards in the reign of Veſpaſian [13], and even exported its wines into Italy [14]. The whole province of Narbonne in the reign of Veſpaſian was planted with vineyards: and the wine-merchants of the country were remarkable for all the knaviſh dexterity of our modern brewers, tinging it with ſmoke, colouring it (as was ſuſpected) with herbs and noxious dies, and even adulterating the taſte and appearance with aloes [15]. And as our firſt vines muſt undoubtedly have been tranſplanted from Gaul, ſo were they in all probability the vines of the Allobroges in the north of Dauphine. Theſe were peculiarly fitted for cold countries. Theſe ripened even in the froſts of the advancing winter. And theſe were certainly of the ſame colour and ſeem to have been actually of the ſame ſpecies as the black Muſcadines of the preſent days [16], which have lately been tried in the iſland and are found to be fitteſt for the climate. Theſe were pretty certainly brought into Britain a little after the introduction of vines into all the regions of Gaul, and about the middle of the third century; when the numerous plantations of vines had gradually

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ſpread over the face of the latter, and when they muſt have actually continued their progreſs into the former [17].

The Romans, even nearly to the days of Lucullus, were very ſeldom able to regale themſelves with wine. Very little was then raiſed within the compaſs of Italy. And the foreign wines were ſo dear, that they were very ſeldom produced at an entertainment; and, when they were, each gueſt was indulged only with a ſingle draught. But in the ſeventh century of Rome, as the extent of their conqueſts augmented the degree of their wealth and enlarged the ſphere of their luxury, wines became the object of particular attention, many wine-vaults were conſtructed, and good ſtocks of liquor were repoſited in them [18]. This naturally gave encouragement to the wines of the country; and the Falernian roſe immediately into great repute, and a variety of others, the ſtill-celebrated wine of Florence among the reſt, ſucceeded it about the cloſe of the century. And the more weſterly parts of the European continent were at once ſubjected to the Roman arms and enriched with the Roman vines [19].

But the ſcarcity of the native and the dearneſs of the foreign wines in Italy, ſeveral ages before the conqueſt of Lancaſhire, had called out the inventive faculties of the Roman mind, and occaſioned the original diſcovery of factitious wines [20]. Theſe were ſtill continued by the Romans and naturally taught to the Britons. Theſe were made of almoſt all the products of the orchard and garden, the pear, the apple, the mulberry, the ſervis, and the roſe [21]. Two of them therefore were thoſe agreeable liquors which we ſtill extract from the apple and the pear and which we ſtill denominate Cyder and Perry. The latter muſt have been called Pyrum by the Romans, and was therefore called Per-ui, Perry, or Pear-water by the Britons. The former actually received the appellation of Sicera among the Romans, the word being colloquially pronounced by them Sidera, as the ſame pronunciation of it among the preſent Italians ſatisfactorily evinces; and retained therefore the appellation of Cider among the Britons [22]. And greatly as the Britiſh language, and through

it the original Engliſh, are enriched by the Roman, both have naturally received a much greater ſupply from the colloquial and the later Latinity than from the written and the claſſical; many truly Roman words particularly occurring in the Britiſh and Engliſh, which either do not appear at all or appear very different in the preſent remains of the Roman.

[1] F. 161 Saville.—[2] See Arpennis in Spelman's Gloſſary.—[3] Bede's Eccl. Hiſt. lib. i. c. 1. Smith.—[4] Diodorus p. 350.—[5] Ibid.—[6] Oſſian vol. i. p. 116.—[7] Tacitus Agric. Vit. c. 12.—[8] Vopiſcus's life of Probus c. 18. Gallis omnibus et Hiſpanis ac Britannis—permiſit ut vites haberent vinumque conficerent.—[9] Bede lib. i. c. 1.—[10] Spelman in Arpennis and Camden p. 319.—[11] Malmeſbury f. 161.—[12] Diodorus p. 350.—[13] Pliny lib. xiv. c. 1.—[14] Ibid. c. 3.—[15] Pliny lib. xiv. c. 6.—[16] Ibid. lib. xiv. c. 2.—[17] Solinus c. 21.—[18] Lib. xiv. c. 14.—[19] C. 6, 14, and 3.—[20] C. 16.—[21] Pliny lib. xiv. c. 16. and Palladius (Geſner 1735) p. 993, 923, 924, and 901.—[22] Sicera—quæ—conficitur—Pomorum Succo: Hieron. tom. iv. c. 264. Paris 1706.

V.

THE[1] genuine breed of the Britiſh horſes muſt have frequently run wild in the woods and mountains of the iſland, as thouſands at the preſent period expatiate in a ſtate of abſolute freedom along the great baſe of the ſouthern continent of America, and as numbers ſtill range along the hills of Scotland and the foreſt of Hampſhire. The genuine breed of the Britiſh horſes was at once diminutive in its ſize and ſwift in its motions[2]. This breed ſtill evidently ſubſiſts among us in the garrans of Scotland, in the ponies of Wales, and in the wild hobbies of ſome foreſts in England. And this appears to have been improved into the much larger race of our preſent horſes by

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the introduction of a bigger breed from the Roman continent, and by the careful incorporation of the foreigners with the natives. The ſtandard of the Roman horſes was certainly larger than that of the Britiſh [2]. The Britiſh are certainly improved in their ſize by the intermixture of a larger and a foreign breed with them. And we find a foreign breed of horſes to have been actually introduced into the iſland, and ſome of them to have been actually carried into the moſt northerly regions of the Roman government, before the concluſion of the third century [3]. Theſe ponies the primitive Britons harneſſed to their cars. Theſe ponies the primitive Britons equipped with bridles and girths and mounted with riders [4]. The cavalry of the Britiſh armies conſiſted equally of horſemen and of charioteers [5]. But the Romans muſt have firſt taught our fathers to cover the naked backs of their horſes with the furniture of ſaddles. The horſes in the coins of the Britiſh ſovereigns have not the leaſt appearance of a ſaddle. And the Britiſh and the preſent appellation of that covering is purely and abſolutely Roman, Sedile, Sadhell, or Sadle [6]. But the necks of the Britiſh garrans were frequently ornamented with collars, and their manes were frequently decorated with ſtrings, of the Britiſh pearls [7]. And the bits were compoſed of the bones in the large marine animals that frequented their ſhores, were poliſhed carefully by the tool, and were brightened into an emulation with ivory [8].

But if the horſe was originally an inhabitant of Britain, the aſs was originally a foreigner. The Romans and the Spaniards trafficked much in this uſeful animal; and it bore a very conſiderable price among them [9]. And though the milk of this animal among the Romans was not applied to the purpoſes of medicine, it was early applied to the uſes of vanity. In the earlier period of the empire it was ſuppoſed by the Roman ladies to contribute much as a waſh towards the whitening of the ſkin: and the conſort of Nero kept a train of five hundred milch-aſſes in conſtant attendance upon her, and had her bath conſtantly repleniſhed with their milk [10]. And the aſs muſt have been brought into Britain with the Romans, as the only Britiſh

appellations of it, the Aſyn of the Welch, the Azen of the Armoricans, and the Aſal of the Iriſh, demonſtratively prove. But by the intermixture of them and the horſes another ſort of animal was formed in the iſland, ſharing uſefully the nature of both, and denominated by the Roman name of Myl, Mul, or Mule. Theſe the Britons as well as the Gauls muſt have yoked to their chariots, and have taught them all the various paces and all the ready obedience of their managed horſes [11].

The breed of our Britiſh dogs muſt once have been as frequently wild as our horſes, and has as great a propenſity to become wild at preſent. In the deſert plains of Patagonia, where the European horſes have lapſed into abſolute barbariſm, the European dogs have equally lapſed with them; and are found equally ſavage in the beautiful but uncultivated iſland of Juan Fernandes. The wild dogs of Britain muſt have been early reclaimed by the Britiſh hunters, and their principles of courage and their powers of ſagacity have been early converted againſt their unreclaimed brethren of the foreſts. And both ſuch as had always remained tame and ſuch as had once been wild particularly attracted the admiration of the naturaliſts, and greatly engaged the regard of the ſportſman, among the Romans before and after their conqueſts in the iſland. But the principal ſorts which ſeem to be genuine natives of the ſoil are theſe five, the great houſhold-dog, the greyhound, the bulldog, the terrier, and the large ſlow hound.

The firſt is bleſt with no powers of ſagacity at all, but is animated with an uncommon degree of courage. And it is peculiarly diſtinguiſhed from others by a ſurly dignity of aſpect, by a genuine good-naturedneſs of temper, and by an honeſt fidelity of heart. We have a breed of theſe at Mancheſter that is enormouſly tall and large. And juſt ſuch an one is repreſented upon a coin of Cunobeline, and a perſon appears mounted ſideways upon it, the worthy animal waving its tail and turning up its face with a ſenſible ſatisfaction in its rider [12].

The bull-dog enjoys equally a ſagacity of noſe and a bravery of ſpirit. The latter indeed is ſo peculiarly eminent, that this dog;

dog has perhaps a larger ſhare of true genuine courage than any other animal in the world. The boldneſs of its ſpirit is remarkably enterprizing, and the reſolution of its temper is aſtoniſhingly determinate. And the native gallantry of the breed has gained them the credit of a frequent mention and the honour of an high commendation in the records of antiquity. The Gauls even purchaſed them early for the uſes of war, and embattled them with their native dogs for the fight [14]. In the ſame manner the Colophonii of Ionia and the Caſtabalenſes of Cilicia formed the front-line of their armies with dogs; and, after Marius's defeat of the Cimbri in battle, the dogs fiercely defended the baggage againſt the victorious Romans [15]. And when

——Até, hot from hell,
Cried Havock, and let looſe the dogs of war

no longer in Gaul, the Romans exported them for the uſes of hunting [16]. Strabo expreſſly commends them in general as incomparable dogs on the field [17]. And Gratius, who wrote in the days of Auguſtus, preſents us with a clear account of their value and their uſe:

Quid freta ſi Morinûm, dubio refluentia ponto,
Veneris, atque ipſos libeat penetrare Britannos?
O quanta eſt merces, & quantùm impendia ſupra,
Si non ad ſpeciem mentituroſque decores
Protinus! Hæc una eſt catulis jactura Britannis.
Ad magnum cùm venit opus, promendaque virtus,
Et vocat extremo præceps diſcrimine Mavors,
Non tunc egregios tantum admirere Moloſſos [18].

But can you waft acroſs the Britiſh tide,
And land undangered on the farther ſide,
O what great gains will certainly redound
From a free traffick in the Britiſh hound!
Mind not the badneſs of their forms or face:
That the ſole blemiſh of the generous race.
When the bold game turns back upon the ſpear,
And all the Furies wait upon the war,

First in the fight the whelps of Britain ſhine,
And ſnatch, Epirus, all the palm from thine.

Claudian particularly celebrates their activity and courage in the attack of the bull:

Magnaque taurorum fracturæ colla Britannæ,
——The Britiſh hound,
That wrings the bull's big forehead to the ground [17].

And Symmachus the cotemporary of Claudian mentions ſeven Iriſh bull-dogs, Septem Scotici canes, as then firſt produced in the Circus at Rome to the great admiration of the people, who were ſo ſtruck with their ferocity and boldneſs that they univerſally imagined them to have been brought over in cages of iron [18].

The greyhound was originally denominated by the Britons either ſimply and moſt commonly the Grech, Greg, or Dog, which the mode of liquifying the g into y among the Britons and Saxons has now ſoftened into Grey, or leſs frequently but more particularly the Vertrag, Ver Trache, the eager or ſwift dog [19]. This lightly limbed and elegantly molded ſpecies of our hounds was as much eſteemed by the Romans for its fleetneſs as the former was admired for its bravery, but was not, like the former, peculiar to Britain. It was a native equally of Britain and of Gaul, and was therefore ſometimes denominated by the Romans the Gallic Dog and ſometimes ranked by them among the hounds of the Britons [20]. Martial extols the honeſt diſintereſtedneſs of the dog in the following couplet:

Non ſibi, ſed domino, venatur Vertagus acer,
Illæſum leporem qui tibi dente feret [21].
For thee alone thy greyhound hunts the prey,
And brings to thee th' untaſted hare away.

Nemeſianus, who wrote near the cloſe of the third century, mentions them by a Roman appellation exactly equivalent to the Ver Trache of the Britons, and ſhews the fondneſs of the Romans for them:

——*Catulos* diviſa Britannia mittit
Veloces, noſtrique orbis venatibus aptos [22];

Be thine the greyhounds of the Britiſh race,
And taſte improved the pleaſures of the chace.

And Gratius has given us a ſtrong commendation of their ſwiftneſs and a good general deſcription of their nature:

——Si—juvat compellere Dorcas,
Aut verſuta ſequi leporis veſtigia parvi,
——— ——— ——— ——— ——— ———
——Pictam maculâ Vertraham dilige falsâ.
Ocyor affectu mentis pennâque cucurrit;
Sed premit inventas, non inventura latentes
Illa feras ——".

——Would you chace the deer,
Or urge the motions of the ſmaller hare,
Let the briſk greyhound of the Celtic name
Bound o'er the glebe and ſhew his painted frame.
Swift as the wing that ſails adown the wind,
Swift as the wiſh that darts along the mind,
The Celtic greyhound ſweeps the level lea,
Eyes as he ſtrains, and ſtops the flying prey.
But ſhould the game elude his watchful eyes,
No noſe ſagacious tells him where it lies.

There is a fourth breed of our dogs which equally appears to be the genuine production of the iſland. That is the race of our little terriers, ſo uſeful as it now is, ſo neceſſary as it muſt once have been, in the deſtruction of the weezle the foulmart and the polecat of our woods. Theſe and the kindred claſſes of our woodland vermin muſt without them have multiplied to an infinite degree in the iſland, and have proved an infinite annoyance to the poultry-yards and the hare-parks of the Britiſh chieftains. The terrier therefore muſt have been abſolutely neceſſary among us in the period of the primæval Britons. And the terrier appears to be actually a native of the iſland. It is very evidently deſcribed in the Poems of Oppian, who lived in the days of Severus, and who preſents us with this circumſtantial account of it:

Εςι δε τι σκυλακων γενος αλκιμον ιχνευτηρων,
Βαιον, αταρ μεγαλης ανταξιον εμμεν' αοιδης.
Τους τραφεν αγρια φυλα Βρετανων αιολονωτων·
Αυταρ επικληδην σφας Αγασσαιους [a] ονομηναν.
Των ητοι μεγεθος μεν ομοιϊον ουτιδανοισι,
Λιχνοις, οικιδιοις, τραπεζηεσσι κυνεσσι,
Γυρον, ασαρκοτατον, λασιοτριχον, ομμασι νωθες,
Αλλ' ονυχεσσι ποδας κεκορυθμενον αργαλεοισι,
Και θαμινοις κυνοδουσιν ακαχμενον ιοφοροισι.
Ρινεσι δ' αυτε μαλιςα πανεξοχος εςιν Αγασσευς,
Και ςιβιη παναριςος· επει και γαιαν ιοντων
Ιχνιον ευρεμεναι μεγα δη σοφος, αλλα και αυτην
Ιδμων ηεριην μαλα σημανασθαι αϋδμην [24].

A ſmall bold breed and ſteady to the game
Next claims the tribute of peculiar fame!
Train'd by the tribes on Britain's wildeſt ſhore,
Thence they their title of Agaſſes bore.
Small as the race that uſeleſs to their lord
Baſk on the hearth and beg about the board,
Crook-limbed and black-eyed, all their frame appears
Flanked with no fleſh and briſtled rough with hairs;
But ſhod each foot with hardeſt claws is ſeen,
The ſole's kind armour on the beaten green;
But fenced each jaw with cloſeſt teeth is found,
And death ſits inſtant on th' inflicted wound.
Far o'er the reſt he queſts the ſecret prey,
And ſees each track wind opening to his ray:
Far o'er the reſt he feels each ſcent that blows
Court the live nerve and thrill along the noſe.

This is a very minute deſcription of a Britiſh dog. And thoſe two particular ſtrokes in the deſcription, the crookedneſs of its limbs and the leanneſs of its body, clearly appropriate the account to our preſent terrier [25].

To theſe we may ſubjoin another breed of our dogs, which ſeems to have been equally an original inhabitant of the iſland,

[a] A Gaſt or A Gaſs (as Kiſt, the ſame word, is alſo Kis) ſignifies merely The Dog.

and

which is now almoſt peculiar to the pariſh of Mancheſter. This is the good old hound of our Mancunian fathers, which is ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhed over all the reſt of the kingdom by the peculiarity of its aſpect and the particularities of its frame. And this muſt certainly have been the fine original from which the many ſtriking and pictureſque touches in theſe well-known lines of Shakeſpear were immediately tranſcribed.

HIPPOLITA.

I was with Hercules and Cadmus once,
When in a wood of Crete they bayed the boar
With hounds of Sparta; never did I hear
Such gallant chiding. For, beſides the groves,
The ſkies, the fountains, ev'ry region near,
Seemed all one mutual cry. I never heard
So muſical a diſcord, ſuch ſweet thunder.

THESEUS.

My hounds are bred out of the Spartan kind,
So flewed, ſo ſanded; and their heads are hung
With ears that ſweep away the morning dew;
Crook-kneed, and dew-laped, like Theſſalian bulls;
Slow in purſuit; but matched in mouth like bells,
Each under each. A cry more tuneable
Was never hollowed to nor cheered with horn
In Crete, in Sparta, nor in Theſſaly.

This delineation is evidently taken from the life. And the largeneſs of the chaps and the dapples of the body, the ample ſweep of the ſlouching ears and the large exuberance of the bagging cheſt, the deforming crookedneſs of the knees, the ſonorous depth of the note, and the heavy ſlowneſs of the motion, are all ſuch clear and characteriſtic particulars as concur only in the Mancunian hound. This breed was in all probability once known in every part of the iſland. This breed was near the cloſe of the laſt century confined to one or two counties in the ſouth-weſtern regions of the iſland and to Mancheſter and its vicinity in the north-weſtern [26]. This breed is now utterly

extinct in the former and ſurvives only in the latter. And the great ſize and the preſent fewneſs of this remarkable race pretty plainly proclaim them to be natives of the iſland, and to be the laſt periſhing remains of a Britiſh breed within it. Once loſt in the north, the dog was ſtill continued in the ſouth, and had there the honour to be delineated by the juſt bold pencil of a Shakeſpear. Once loſt in the north, the dog was firſt introduced into it again from the ſouth, and bears therefore at Mancheſter the expreſſive appellation of the Southern Hound. And being originally carried from Mancheſter into many of the neighbouring diſtricts, and even into ſome of the ſouthern counties, it there retains the note of its recenter deſcent in its newer appellation of the Mancheſter or the Lancaſhire Hound. But it has been long neglected by careleſſneſs or by deſign. The characteriſtic bulk of the hound has been gradually diminiſhing for ſome time. And this old and venerable breed is gradually dwindling away into little more than a larger generation of common harriers.

Theſe and our wolf-dogs were ſome of the original hounds of the iſland. And the Romans ſeem to have introduced into the one and to have added to the other the preſent breed of our common harehounds and the preſent race of our common ſpaniels. The former are pretty certainly foreigners, as their only game, the hare, could never have been hunted by the primæval Britons. And they are moſt probably Tuſcans. Nemeſianus has given us the following account of the Tuſcan dog: and the deſcription agrees exactly, I think, with the common harehound.

Quin & Tuſcorum non eſt extrema voluptas
Sæpe canum; ſit forma illis licèt obſita villo,
Diſſimileſque habeant catulis velocibus artus,
Haud tamen injucunda dabunt tibi munera prædæ;
Namque & odorato noſcunt veſtigia prato,
Atque etiam leporum ſecreta cubilia monſtrant [97]:

Nor on the file of hunters laſt is found
The merit, Tuſcans, of your native hound;

What-

What though their form be ſhagged with roughening hairs,
Nor one faint ſemblance of the greyhound wears,
Still will the table thank their uſeful care,
Served with the frequent banquet of the hare;
They ſnuff her footſteps on the ſcented mead,
They thread her mazes to her ſecret bed.

And the latter breed carries evidently the ſignification of its origin in the ſingularity of its name; the appellation of Spaniel or Spaniard being a ſufficient indication of its native country, and the Roman termination of its name, Hiſpaniolus or Spaniol, being a ſufficient declaration of its Roman introducer. And the ſame race of our dogs is pretty certainly meant by the ſame appellations in theſe lines of Nemeſianus,

Nec tibi Pannonicæ ſtirpis temnatur origo,
Nec quorum proles de ſanguine manat IBERO [21],
Praiſed are the fathers of Pannonia's brood,
And praiſed the children of HISPANIA'S BLOOD;

And in theſe lines of Oppian,

Εξοχ' αριζηλοι, μαλα τ' αγρευ]ηρσι μελονται,
Παιονες, Αυσονιοι, Καρες, Θρηικες, ΙΒΗΡΕΣ [22],

Firſt on the field appear Auſonia's race,
Thy dogs, O Caria, and thy hounds, O Thrace,
Firſt from the hunter claim the favourite's meed
Pæonia's offspring and HISPANIA'S BREED.

[1] Dio p. 1280.—[2] Ibid.—[3] Oſſian vol. I. p. 115, The Steeds of the Strangers.—[4] Pegge's Coins C claſs 4, N° 2 and 3. claſs 5, and N° 2. claſs 6, and Camden's 2d table N° 9 and 32.—[5] Cæſar p. 87, and Pomponius Mela lib. iii. c. 6.—[6] See Ware's Antiq. (Harris 1764) p. 160.—[7] Borlaſe's Coins N° 12, 19, 20, and 22, and Oſſian vol. I. p. 11.—[8] Oſſian ibid., Strabo p. 307, and Solinus c. 22.—[9] Pliny lib. viii. c. 43.—[10] Ibid. lib. xi. c. 41.—[11] Claudian p. 244 Elzevir.—[12] Pegge's Coins claſs 4. N° 5.—

[13] Strabo

[13] Strabo p. 305.— [14] Pliny lib. viii. c. 40. — [15] Strabo p. 305.— [16] Ibid. — [17] Gratii Cynegeticon p. 26. London 1699. — [18] De Laud. Stil. lib. iii. and Symmachus lib. ii. Ep. 77. — [19] The ſame as Ger Brache. So Durobriv-æ, Brig-e, and Duro-trig-es, one word varied into Briv, Brig, and Trig.— [20] Ovid's Canis Gallicus in Met. lib. i. and Gratius's Inconſulti Galli in b. i. l. 194, both compared with Nemeſianus. — [21] Lib. xiv. E. 200. — [22] Cynegeticon p. 123. London 1699. — [23] Ibid. l. i. — [24] Ibid. Camden p. 190 has ſtrangely applied this paſſage to our preſent gaze-hound. The mere reading of the words is ſufficient to ſhew the falſeneſs of the application.— [25] And the way of hunting even the fox in the eighth century was only by un-earthing it. Aſſueſcant pueri (ſays Alcuinus)—non vulpium fodere cavernas, non leporum fugaces ſequi curſus, Malmeſbury f. 13.— [26] Aubrey's Mſ. in the Muſeum Oxford.— [27] P. 117.— [28] P. 123.— [29] B. i. l. 370.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

I.

IN the whole circle of intellectual entertainments, few particulars carry ſo agreeable an appearance to the curious mind as the hiſtory of human manners. And that lower ſpecies of patriotiſm which ſhoots up inſtinctively in every breaſt makes it particularly pleaſing to view our own national manners genuine as they riſe in the pages of our national records, and to ſee faithfully repreſented in the mirror of hiſtory thoſe accidental combinations of ideas or thoſe rational modes of opinion which prevailed in the more diſtant ages of our fathers. Nor is this ſatisfaction confined merely to their ſublimer exertions of the underſtanding, their theories of political ſcience or their principles of literary taſte. It is even better felt on the ſurvey of their little faſhions and fancies in the more characterizing ſcenes of lower life, in the faithful exhibition of their private manners, and in the authentic detail of their domeſtic œconomy.

The proviſion for the table among the primitive Britons was taken chiefly from their herds of kine, their flocks of ſheep, their deer, and their hogs [1]. Their droves of the laſt muſt have undoubtedly furniſhed them, as their brethren the Gauls and the Spaniards were actually furniſhed [2], with a great variety of diſhes. The Gauls produced the largeſt and the beſt hog-meat that was brought into Italy [3]. And the northerly Gauls in particular ſupplied the whole compaſs of Rome and the greateſt part of Italy in the days of Auguſtus with gammons, hogs-puddings, ſauſages, and hams [4]. And to theſe the Britons muſt have added ſome others of the iſland beaſts and ſeveral of the

iſland

iſland birds. The former ſhall be ſpecified hereafter. The latter muſt have been the duck, the teal, the widgeon, the wildgooſe, and the ſwan; the woodcock, the quail, the heathcock or grouſe, and the ſnipe; the lark, the quoiſt or ſtock-dove, and others. Theſe are all natives of the iſland, as either the appellations of them in the Britiſh language or the mention of them in the Britiſh poems of Oſſian[s] evidently ſhew; and none of theſe appear to have been prohibited, as ſome certainly were, by accidental cuſtoms or religious obligations. And the Britiſh Cheneros or wildgooſe was actually eſteemed a great dainty in the reign of Veſpaſian, and was preferred by the Britons for the table to moſt of the other animals in the iſland[t].

But this bill of the Britiſh fare was greatly enlarged by the Romans. The intimate connection of the Britiſh with the Roman reſidents, and their faithful imitation of the Roman manners, muſt have naturally diſſolved the obligations which the mere influence of accidental opinions had preſcribed to the Britiſh tables. The declenſion of the druidical religion, and the neceſſarily preceding relaxation of its practical rigours, muſt have naturally untwiſted the bonds which the mere prejudices of national religion had impoſed upon the Britiſh palates. Geeſe hares and poultry were no more prohibited to be eaten. The Britiſh hen now firſt began to be fattened, and the Britiſh cock now firſt began to be caſtrated. The practice of cramming the hen was originally tried at Delos, and was prohibited by a law at Rome a little before the third Punic war[u]. But to dam up the current of luxury in one channel frequently ſerves only to make it directly break out into another. Hens were crammed no longer: but both hens and cockrels were fattened, as they are ſtill fattened amongſt ourſelves, with food ſteeped in milk, and were even rendered more agreeable to the palate than the former[x]. And the method of fattening the cock by the act of caſtration ſeems to have been entirely a Roman invention, and was certainly introduced into Britain by the Romans, the unhappy victim of barbarous luxury being ſtill denominated among us by his Roman appellation of Capo or Capon[y].

Nor

Nor were the prohibitions of the Britons confined entirely to hares geese and poultry. They extended equally to all the finny tribes that inhabited their rivers and frequented their shores [10]. And these were now equally as the others laid open to the waste of hunger and the ravages of luxury. Beneath the shelter of this prohibition the fishes had hitherto continued for ages in peace, neglected and unknown, and had multiplied into infinite numbers [11]. They were now first pursued into their watery element, and now first received their particular appellations. Hence the class of our fishes is so remarkably distinguished above the other ranks of our animals by the much greater frequency of Roman-British denominations among them. The Minimus or Minnow, the Gobio or Gudgeon, the Trutta or Trout, and the Perca or Pearch, the Conger or Conger, the Barbulus or Barbel, the Abramis or Bream, the Carpio or Carp, the Mullus or Mullet, and the rest, were now dislodged from their antient seats in the rushy channels and the hollow banks of our rivers. The Thynnus or Tunny, the Solea or Sole, the Salmo or Salmon, and the Raia or Ray, the Cochlea or Cockle, the Musculus or Muscle, and the Ostreum or Oyster were now taken from their primæval haunts upon our beaches and our shoals. And both now made their appearance upon our tables. The British oyster was deservedly famous among the Romans, and was even as early as the reign of Vespasian thought worthy to be carried into Italy [12]. The best were then gathered from the shore of Kent, were then denominated the Oysters of Rutupis, and were of the same species pretty certainly, and were probably collected from the same places as the present low-priced oysters of Milton and Feversham [13]. And the Romans first taught us the art of fattening our oysters in artificial beds and of feeding our fishes in artificial ponds; the feeding-pits of the former being first invented about ninety years before Christ and first constructed upon the shore of Baiæ, and large reservoirs being immediately made by others for the latter [14].

But the Romans increased the variety of the British provisions, not only by the introduction of many prohibited animals to the

table,

table, but alſo by the importation of many foreign animals into the iſland. Theſe were rabbits, pheaſants, cuckows, and pigeons, partridges, plovers, turtles, and peacocks. The perdix, petris, paitriſg, or partridge, the pluvialis or plover, the turtur, tyrtyr, or turtle, and the pavo, peav, or pea, all ſufficiently declare their origin in their names. The peacock was a diſh of conſiderable repute among the Romans, but was firſt placed upon the table by Hortenſius the Orator about ſeventy years before Chriſt and in a ſupper which he gave to the ſacerdotal college [15]. The rabbit was originally a native of Spain and its adjoining iſlands, and began to be brought into Italy in the days of Auguſtus [16]. It was denominated Cuniculus from its burrow by the Romans in Spain, and received therefore the appellation of Kunigl and Coniſl among the Bretoons, of Kuningen among the Welch, and of Kynin and Kuinin among the Iriſh [17]. The cuckow juſt fledged was reckoned by the Romans of the firſt century to excel every other ſpecies of birds in the fine taſte of its fleſh [18]. And its Roman name of Coccyx or Cuckow very evidently ſhews it to have been brought by the Romans into Britain. The domeſtic pigeon was once equally a ſtranger to Aſia and to Britain [19], and beſpeaks ſufficiently its introducers into the latter by the name of Klommen which it bears in the Welch, of Kylobman and Kolom in the Corniſh, and of Kulmor Kolm in the Armoric and the Iriſh. And the Phaſiana or pheaſant was originally derived from the banks of the Phaſis in Colchos, was carried over into Italy before Agricola's proconſulate in Britain [20], and appears plainly from its preſent appellation to have been brought into Britain by the Romans.

[1] Cæſar p. 89.—[2] Varro de re Ruſtica lib. ii. c. 4. and Strabo p. 293.—[3] Varro ibid.—[4] Strabo ibid.—[5] P. 58 and 145. vol. I. and p. 223 vol. II.—[6] Pliny lib. x. c. 22.—[7] Pliny lib. x. c. 50. —[8] Ibid.—[9] Martial lib. xiii. E. 63 and 64. and Columella p. 634. Geſner.—And the Romans had hen-coops. They were firſt invented in Italy, and were very common in the days of Agricola:

Pliny lib. x. c. 21. See two antient repreſentations of a Roman hen-pen in Montfaucon's Ant. Expl. tom. ii. plates 63. N° 3. and 64. N° 1.—[10] Dio p. 1280.—[11] Ibid.—[12] Pliny lib. ix. c. 54.—[13] Juvenal's fourth Sat. and ſee Camden p. 236.—[14] Pliny c. 54. lib. ix.—[15] Pliny lib. x. c. 20.—[16] Varro lib. iii. c. 12.—[17] Pliny c. 55. lib. viii.—[18] Pliny lib. x. c. 9.—[19] C. 29. lib. x.—[20] Pliny lib. x. c. 48, and lib. xix. c. 4.

II.

AS the general face of the iſland was everywhere tufted with large woods at this period [1], ſo ſome particular diſtricts were covered with immenſe foreſts. Three of theſe were diſtinguiſhed over the reſt by the wild extenſiveneſs of their range. One of them was in Scotland, and lined all the hills in the central regions of the Highlands [2]. Another was the great foreſt of the Coritani, which contained ſeveral towns and the ſeats of a whole nation within it, and which ſtraggled over the five whole counties of Lincoln Nottingham Derby Leiceſter and Rutland, and even ſuch parts of Northamptonſhire as lie to the north of the Nen [3]. But the third was ſtill larger than either, and ſwept acroſs the ſouth of the iſland for an hundred and fifty miles together, ranging even from Kent into Somerſetſhire [4]. Theſe neceſſarily remained the ſecure harbours and the great nurſeries of the many wild beaſts which were then produced in the country. And from theſe the leſſer woods and the more diminutive foreſts of the kingdom muſt have been perpetually repleniſhed with a new recruit of beaſts. In this appearance of Britain, the ſpirit of hunting which actuated the primæval Britons would undoubtedly be kept alive in the Roman by the nearly equal frequency of the game in the woods, and by the nearly equal neceſſity of preventing its increaſe upon them. And the beaſts which roamed in the Britiſh woods and were chaced by the Britiſh hunters were theſe.

Branching horns of a moſt extraordinary ſize have been diſcovered frequently in ſeveral parts of England and Ireland; and ſome of them were ſtill faſtened to the heads of their owners[4]. The diſcovery of them equally in Ireland and in England, and the great frequency of the diſcovery in both, ſhew the original proprietors to have been certainly natives of Britain. The horns have been ſuppoſed by ſome, and they are aſſerted by the tradition of Ireland, to be actually the horns of an elk. But as that animal appears plainly from its Latin appellation of Alce or Elk among us to have never been a native of Britain, ſo are its horns at once very different in figure and much inferior in ſize to theſe. The horns appear plainly to be the relicks of deer, and are undoubtedly therefore the antlers of a large ſtout breed of our Britiſh deer. The breed muſt have been uncommonly large. Several of the horns were ſo enormouſly tall, that the faireſt antlers of our preſent deer would appear as inſignificant in the compariſon with them as the young ſhoots of a fawn compared with the beams of a buck. Some of the horns branched out to ſo enormous a width, that the tip of the one was nearly eleven feet diſtant from the tip of the other[4]. The breed is now loſt in Britain and in Europe. But as it ſtill ſeems to ſubſiſt in the Mooſe of America, ſo it ſeems to have been originally frequent in the north of Germany; the horns of the mooſe and the antlers diſcovered in the Britiſh iſles being nearly of the ſame ſtandard[4], and the American Mooſe and the Scythian Tarandus being deſcribed by the naturaliſts exactly in the ſame manner. The body of the former is ſaid by the moſt circumſtantial deſcribers of the Mooſe to be about the ſize of a bull, and the body of the latter is declared by the one only deſcriber of the Tarandus to be about the bigneſs of an ox. The former is aſſerted to have a neck reſembling a ſtag's, and the latter a head greater than a ſtag's and not unlike it. And both are mentioned to have large branching horns, cloven hoofs, and ſhaggy hides[5]. Theſe muſt have been denominated by the Britons Seghs, Oxen, or Savage Deer, as Segh actually ſignifies an ox at preſent, and as in an old Iriſh gloſſary it is interpreted a Savage

Deer.

Deer [6]. And theſe actually continued in Ireland to the twelfth century, being evidently deſcribed by an author the cotemporary of Henry the Second among the wild beaſts of the iſland, as ſtags little calculated for flight becauſe of their extreme bulkineſs, rather low in ſtature, but greatly ſuperior to all others in the largeneſs of their heads and the dignity of their antlers [7]. Theſe however muſt have been only a peculiar ſpecies of our iſland deer. The common race muſt have been the large red deer, which have horns much greater than our preſent bucks, are ſtill found wild in our own foreſt of Bowland and in ſeveral other parts of Britain, and formerly abounded in all our woods. And the latter was hunted by the Britons in all probability with that big bold dog which exiſts only in Ireland at preſent, and which is popularly denominated the Iriſh wolf-dog. The buck-hound of the Britons, like the dog of Ireland, was grey-coloured, long-bodied, and well-ſcented, active enough to run down and ſtrong enough to maſter a Britiſh ſtag [8]. But very different muſt have been the original game of the Mancheſter hound. The uncommon length of its body and the conſiderable ſtrength of its jaws are both evidently uſeleſs in its preſent courſes after the hare. And the heavy bulkineſs of its frame, and the conſequent ſlowneſs of its motions muſt have equally diſqualified it for the chace of the ſtag. And as the race has been long dwindling at Mancheſter, ſo from the great neglect and the gradual extinction of it in the ſouth it appears to have been there equally dwindling for ages, and in all probability before the ſtrain was introduced into Mancheſter. Large therefore and ſlow as the dog is at preſent, it muſt have been once conſiderably larger and proportionably ſlower. The ſize of the dog has been ſtudiouſly diminiſhed at Mancheſter in order to increaſe its ſpeed. And in this view of the hound, enormouſly tall and long, and uncommonly heavy and ſlow, we can find only one ſpecies of game that is properly adapted to it. The boar the wolf and the ſtag are all evidently too fleet for its motions. Its genuine object muſt have been ſome animal that was at leaſt as heavy as

itſelf and at leaſt as ſlow. And that could have been only the Britiſh Segh or Mooſe. In this and only in this deſignation of the dog, all his remarkable qualities are properly combined together, and have all of them their proper object. The great bulk of the game required a proportionate ſize in the hunter, as the ſtrength of the one muſt have been in ſome meaſure correſpondent to the ſtrength of the other. The formidable armoury which the ſegh carried about him in the ſpreading branches of his pointed antlers required the ſegh-dog at once to be animated with a very conſiderable degree of reſolution for the attack, and to be furniſhed with ſharp ſtrong fangs for the hold. And as the ſlowneſs of pace in the latter reſulted from the ſame cauſe with and was therefore juſtly adapted to the ſlowneſs of pace in the former, ſo was it ſufficiently compenſated to the latter by the exhilarating thunder of its mouth and the ſure ſenſibility of its noſe.

The wolf, which is nothing more perhaps than a wilder ſpecies of dogs and is therefore denominated Madre Allaidh or the wild dog by the Iriſh to the preſent day, is well known to have been harboured in England for ages after this period, actually continued in Scotland to the commencement of the laſt century, and abſolutely remained in Ireland to the preſent[9]. The boar is equally known to have been an inhabitant of our woods, is repreſented on a coin of Cunobeline beneath the ſhade of a tree, is particularly celebrated in a Roman-Britiſh inſcription, and remained with us ſeveral centuries after the wolf[10]. But our woods alſo bred a number of wild bulls at this period. The common cattle of the iſland muſt have frequently run wild along our heaths and foreſts, and have naturally a tendency to a life of ſavage liberty at preſent. The domeſtic cattle of Europe now range wildly in herds along the graſſy levels of Patagonia. And the wild cows and wild bulls of the iſland continued very frequent among us in the fourth century, and remained even nine or ten centuries afterward[11]. Theſe were enormouſly large and bulky, all milk-white in their appearance, all briſtled with thick

manes

manes like lions, and almoſt as fierce and as ſavage as they [11]. Nor were theſe the only inhabitants of our woods. We had alſo a numerous breed of bears in the iſland. The hills of Portugal, the mountains of Spain, and the foreſts of Britain, all equally produced a variety of bears at this period [12]. Theſe continued in the north of England as late as the eighth century. Theſe continued in the ſouth of England as late as the Conqueſt. When any one, ſays the Penitential of archbiſhop Egbert, ſtrikes a wild beaſt with an arrow and it eſcapes and is found dead three days afterwards, if an hound a wolf a fox or a bear or any other wild beaſt hath begun to feed upon it, let no Chriſtian touch it. The town of Norwich, ſays Doomſday, in the time of the Confeſſor furniſhed annually one bear to the king and ſix dogs for the baiting of it [13]. And all theſe inhabitants of our extenſive woodlands muſt have been chaced by the dogs which ſtill continue remarkable among us, and which ſtill point out the original nature of their game in their preſent appellations of Bear-dogs Bull-dogs and Wolf-dogs.

All animals were in a great degree probably civilized at the æra of their releaſe from the ark, and ſome of them were carried equally tame by the firſt colonies of the Noachidæ into the weſt, and were wafted in the ſame veſſels with their maſters into the iſlands of Britain. There multiplying in conſiderable numbers and roving into the woods for food, they were no longer daily converſant with man or ſubject to the uniform reſtraints of authority, and in the courſe of two or three generations ſunk abſolutely into the nature of ſavages. Such was probably the caſe, as the confinement in the ark for more than a year muſt neceſſarily have tamed in ſome degree the wilder beaſts and muſt have civilized in a great degree the gentler. Such was more probably the caſe, as this explains that great difficulty in natural hiſtory which is explainable upon no other principle, the tranſportation of ſavage animals from the continent into diſtant iſlands. And ſuch was pretty certainly the caſe, as we know even the moſt civilized of all our domeſtic animals, our horſes, our dogs, and our kine, to have been tranſ-

ported

ported into America, and there in this manner and in a ſhort period to have gradually fallen away from their former diſpoſitions, and to have become as wild and as ſavage as moſt of thoſe which are peculiarly denominated wild beaſts.

Theſe beaſts muſt have been now caught for food and baited for diverſion by the Roman Britons. The bear was even tranſported into Italy, was hunted publicly in the Roman ſhews, and furniſhed great diverſion to the Roman people [15]. And the bull the bear the boar and the wolf muſt have been all equally baited by the Romans in Britain and by their imitators the Roman Britons. The baitings of wild animals were the favourite ſpectacles among the Romans, and the baitings of the bull and the bear are ſtill the favourite diverſions of our dogs and our populace. And as amphitheaters were conſtructed of ſquared ſtone and in a magnificent ſtyle for theſe exhibitions at Rome, ſo were others erected within the iſland in an humbler ſtile of architecture and of the humbler materials of clay, chalk, gravel, and turf. Such are the great amphitheaters at Silcheſter in Hampſhire and Dorcheſter in Dorſetſhire, once aſcending in ſeveral rows of ſeats, and ſtill extending an arena of nearly two hundred yards in circumference [16].

But the pleaſures of the chace were not the only recreations of the primæval Britons in the field. With a fondneſs for the exerciſe of hunting they had a taſte for the kindred diverſion of hawking. And every chieftain among them maintained a conſiderable number of heavogs, heauogs, or hawks for the ſport. This appears deciſively from a curious paſſage in the poems of Oſſian, in which a peace is endeavoured to be gained by the proffer of an hundred managed ſteeds, an hundred foreign captives, and "an hundred hawks with fluttering wing that fly acroſs the ſky [17]." The diverſion of hawking was ſcarcely known even by relation to the Romans of Veſpaſian's days. In Thraciæ parte ſuper Amphipolim, ſays Pliny, homines atque accipitres ſocietate quâdam aucupantur: hi ex ſylvis et harundinetis excitant aves, illi ſuper-volantes deprimunt; rurſus captas aucupes dividunt cum iis. Traditum eſt, miſſas in ſublime ſibi excipere eos;

et

et cùm tempus ſit capturæ clangore ac volatûs genere invitare ad occaſionem [18]. But the diverſion appears to have been introduced among them immediately afterwards [19]. The Thracians and the Britons were once the only followers of the ſport [20]. Among the former the recreation was purſued only by a particular diſtrict of the country [20]. Among the latter it ſeems to have been univerſally proſecuted by the chiefs, and appears to have been followed with ſpirit; as we find one of the moſt northerly chiefs, the private head of a family, and an inhabitant of a country ill adapted for the exerciſe becauſe of its numerous hills, offering no leſs than one hundred hawks to the enemy. And as the Romans adopted probably from the Britons their own uſe of the hawk, ſo they muſt have greatly improved the diverſion of the Britons by the introduction of ſpaniels into the iſland. So improved it appears among the Roman-Britons of the ſixth century. Gildas in a very curious paſſage of his Epiſtle ſpeaks of Maglocunus on his relinquiſhing the ſphere of ambition and taking refuge in a monaſtery, and poetically compares him to a dove that ſwiftly cleaves the air at the noiſy approach of the dogs, and with various turns and windings haſtily takes her flight from the deſtructive talons of the hawk [21]. And ſo improved it remained the favourite recreation of our Britiſh gentlemen beyond the middle of the laſt century, even till the predominant ſpirit of incloſure and the fabrication of light fowling-pieces baniſhed it very recently from the kingdom [22].

Such were the manly military recreations of our Britiſh anceſtors. Such the Romans found among them, and added three others to them.

The hare muſt have been never hunted in Britain before the conqueſts of the Romans. Previouſly to thoſe conqueſts, and for ſome time aſſuredly after them, the hare was a beaſt of augury among the Britons [23]. But as the Britiſh peculiarities of opinion were worn away by their commerce with the Romans, it loſt its importance in the ſcience of augury, and became as much expoſed to danger in Britain as its brethren were on the continent. This muſt neceſſarily have been the caſe with the

hare..

hare. This appears to have been actually the caſe from the repreſentations of hare-hunting which are made on ſeveral of the Roman-Britiſh remains among us [24].

When the Romans introduced the rabbet into Italy, they introduced the cuſtom of hunting it with ferrets [25]. When the Romans imported the ſame animal into Britain, they imported the ſame cuſtom with it. The great reaſon for the Roman introduction of the former animal into both was the great pleaſure which they took in hunting it with the latter [25]. And the Britons adopted what the Romans practiſed; and have tranſmitted to us, their ſucceſſors of the preſent days, the Roman-Spaniſh hunt and the Roman-Spaniſh name of the animal employed in it; denominating the Viverra in the Welch dialect Guivær and in the Iriſh Fircad or Ferret.

And with both theſe the Romans muſt have brought in the equally remaining diverſion of cock-fighting. This is a recreation which has been wildly ſuppoſed to be the native production of the Britiſh genius. This is a recreation which was known to many of the antients and was introduced by the Romans. In the firſt century a grand cocking was held every year in the city of Pergamus, cocks (according to the hiſtorian's expreſſion) being there matched as gladiators and exhibited as a ſpectacle [26]. And cock-matches were very common with the Greeks and not uncommon with the Romans in the third [27]. They even laid conſiderable wagers on the iſſue of their battles [28]. In both centuries the breeds of cocks that were produced in the iſland of Rhodes, about Tanagra in Bœotia, at Chalcis in Eubœa, and in the kingdom of Media, were ſuperior in reputation to all others for their ſpirit and reſolution in the fight [29]. And the uncommon bravery which has always diſtinguiſhed the breed of our Britiſh cocks would ſoon induce the Romans, ever fond as they were of barbarous diverſions, to train them up for the pit, to direct their blindly flaming courage againſt their brethren, and to arm them with guaiuvs, gaffs, gaffles, or lances. Theſe ſorts of exhibitions were leſs barbarous in their nature than their execrable ſhews of gladiators, and were nearly the ſame in the ſcale of

humanity as their baitings of the wolf the bull the bear and the boar. And as ſome of the cities in Britain conſtructed large amphitheaters for the latter, ſo others of them would naturally erect leſſer amphitheaters for the former. One at leaſt appears to have been actually erected, and many more were aſſuredly conſtructed in various parts of the kingdom. Such was plainly the little circle of gravel and ſand, the carcaſe of a caſtrenſian amphitheater, as Dr. Stukeley calls it, which tradition points out as ſomething remarkable, and which lies remarkably placed upon a rounded eminence, directly fronting the eye as we go from Sandwich to Richborough Caſtle, and looking down upon the large original harbour of the Roman navy, the flat marſhy level of Sandwich at preſent. Evidently too ſmall to have been conſtructed for the greater exhibitions, it muſt as evidently have been conſtructed for the leſſer. Conſidered ſolely by itſelf, conſidered comparatively with the ſimilar conſtructions, it can have been only a Roman cockpit. It is not half ſo large as the amphitheaters of Silcheſter and Dorcheſter, though theſe towns were merely the capitals of ſingle tribes and ſtipendiary, and Rutupæ was actually the metropolis of Britannia Prima and a colony. The arena at Dorcheſter and at Silcheſter, as I have remarked before, is almoſt two hundred yards in circumference. And the arena at Richborough appears to the eye to be only about ſixty or ſeventy in the ſweep [10].

[1] Strabo p. 305.—Richard p. 32, and Ptolemy, and b. I. ch. xii. ſ. 2.—[2] Richard p. 26.—[3] Richard p. 18. This wood, denominated Andred, was many ages afterwards an hundred and twenty miles in length and thirty miles in breadth, commencing from the weſtern boundary of Kent and running directly eaſt. See Saxon Chronicle A. D. 893. and Richard p. 18. Anterida.—[4] Phil. Tranſ. N° 227 (2), and Leigh's Lancaſhire b. I. p. 62, and Ware's Antiquities Harris's edit. p. 168.—[5] Pliny lib. viii. c. 34, Phil. Tranſ. N° 368 (1), and Smith's Cork vol. I. p. 139. —[6] Lhuyd under the word. And the horn of a rain deer, ſaid

by Leigh in Nat. Hiſt. p. 84. b. iii. to be found under a Roman altar at Cheſter, was moſt probably the horn of a mooſe.—' The paſſage has been aſtoniſhingly overlooked by all our writers. It is very curious and runs thus, Cervos præ nimia pinguedine minùs fugere prævalentes, quantoque minores ſunt corporis quantitate, tanto præcellentiùs efferuntur capitis & cornuum dignitate (Topographia Hiberniæ per Giraldum p. 709 Camden).— [8] Oſſian p. 4, 81, vol. I, and p. 110 vol. II.— [9] Camden c. 1279 and 1312 wolves are ſaid to remain in Ireland at preſent. But it is a miſtake: ſee Ware's Antiq. Harris p. 165. and Smith's Kerry p. 173 — [10] Pegge's Coins N° 1. claſs 2. And on a Roman altar diſcovered near Stanhope in the biſhoprick of Durham about 1749 was this ſignal inſcription, Silvano invicto ſacrum ..... ob Aprum eximiæ formæ captum quem multi anteceſſores ejus prædari non potuerunt.....— [11] Claudian de Laud. Stil. lib. v. &c. — [12] Camden p. 702 and 708, ſpeaking from ſome antient accounts which I have not ſeen. — [13] Claudian de Laud. Stil. lib. v. and Martial de Spect. E. 7. — [14] Egbricht's Penitentiale drawn up about 750, p. 138. vol. I. Concilia Mag. Brit. &c. Wilkins, and p. 777. Gale vol. I. from Doomſday.— And bears appear in Normandy nearly to the conqueſt of England: ſee Gemeticenſis p. 667. Camden.— [15] Pliny lib. viii. c. 36, and Camden p. 701.— [16] Itin. Cur. p. 155 and 170, and Phil. Tranſ. 1748 p. 603.— [17] Oſſian vol. I. p. 115.— [18] Lib. x. c. 8 — [19] Martial lib. xiv. E. 216. See alſo Oppian's Cynegeticks lib. i.— [20] Pliny, lib. x. c. 8.— [21] Tete, ac ſi, *ſtridulo canum lapſu* aerem validè ſecantem, ſævoſque rapidi harpagones *accipitris* ſinuoſis flexibus vitantem,—rapuiſti—*columbam* (p. 20. Gale).— [22] In maximâ Bibliothecâ patrum tom. xiii. p. 85. Ep. 40. of Boniface, Ethelbert, king of Kent in the days of Ethelbald his brother king of England, deſires Boniface archbiſhop of Mentz to ſend him a brace of falcons that were bold and taught enough to fly at cranes and bring them to the ground, as there were very few ſuch in Kent. And in Malmeſbury f. 27 we ſee Athelſtan requiring of the Welch Volucres quæ aliarum avium prædam per inane venari noſcerent.—See a further account of hawking in Spel-

man's Gloſſary (Acceptor), who was ignorant of the true original of the diverſion. And ſee Howel Dha's Laws lib. i. c. 15. &c., where hawking appears to have been a favourite amuſement among the Britons of Wales in the tenth century.—[23] Dio p. 1006.—[24] Battely's Antiq. Rutup. p. 84. See alſo Dio p. 1010.—[25] Pliny lib. viii. c. 55.—[26] Pliny lib. x. c. 21.—[27] Columella (Gefner) p. 634 and 635.—[28] Rixoſarum avium laniſtæ, cujus plerumque totum patrimonium, pignus aleæ, victor Gallinaceus puctes abſtulit (Columella p. 635.)—[29] Pliny lib. x. c. 21. and Columella p. 634 and 635.—[30] See Itin. Cur. p. 119 and 156.

III.

The face of the Siſtuntian empire muſt have exhibited nearly the ſame ſylvan appearance as the general face of the iſland. It was in moſt places tufted with woods, and it was in many overſpread with foreſts. The ſix woods which originally encircled the ſix fortreſſes of the primæval Britons now ſpread at a greater diſtance about the regular towns which had been conſtructed near them. And the ſouthern diviſion of the county contained no leſs than five or ſix very conſiderable foreſts within it. The foreſts of Pendle Roſſendale and Blackburne filled up nearly the whole circuit of Blackburne hundred, ſpread over the now ragged ſides of thoſe extended moors, capped the now naked creſts of thoſe numerous hills, and ſoftened the wildly dreary aſpect of both [1]. The foreſt of Horwich poſſeſſed all the north-weſterly region of Salford hundred, croſſed a part of Derby, and extended into the limits of Layland, and was as late as the fourteenth century no leſs than ſixteen miles in circumference [2]. And the foreſt of Derbyſhire was ſo denominated becauſe it ranged over a very conſiderable portion of Derby hundred, ſhooting out, even in the middle of the thirteenth century, from Sankey-water on the caſt to Bickerſtaff and Aughton on the north, the river Alt on the weſt, and the broad current of the Merſey on the ſouth [3].

The leſs extended foreſt in the boſom of which the Britiſh Mancenion was originally laid out, and the Roman-Britiſh Mancunium was originally erected, was ſtill diſtinguiſhed by its primitive appellation of Ardven Arden or the Great Wood. This appellation was naturally given it by the firſt ſettlers in the vicinity of the pariſh. And this appellation was as naturally retained for it by the ſucceeding generations of their deſcendants. The name, like many of the ſame nature in the kingdom, and like the appellations of moſt of the more remarkable objects within it, the rivers, the foreſts, and the towns, continued equally the ſame through the revolutions of the Saxon the Daniſh and the Norman ſettlements among us. And the name of Arden appears therefore upon the face of our records, even in the reign of Edward the firſt, as the name of a conſiderable diſtrict in the pariſh; the boundaries of the preſent Clayton being deſcribed in our records as beginning from Hardene, paſſing along the margin of Droylſden, edging cloſely to the ground of Sinderland, and terminating at the demeſne-lands of Hardene again [a].

This Arden had now gradually receded on every ſide of Mancunium, and had given up its more contiguous regions to the dominion of the ſpade and the plough. But it muſt ſtill have curved about the town in a large amphitheater of woods, and muſt ſtill have maintained its hereditary poſſeſſions over the greateſt part of the pariſh. It muſt ſtill have covered all the northern parts of the pariſh, the gentle knolls of Chetwood and the little hills of Blakeley. The name of Blakeley is derived from the great woods which, at the period of the Saxon eſtabliſhment among us, lined the ſloping ſides of the hills and ranged along the narrow levels of the vallies through the whole compaſs of the townſhip. The Saxon Bleac Black or Blake imports the deep gloom of a conſiderable wood. Hence we have ſo many places diſtinguiſhed by this epithet in England, where no circumſtances of ſoil and no peculiarities of water gave occaſion to it. Hence we have the villages of Blackburne and Blackrode in our county, Blakeley-Hurſt near Wigan, and our own Blake-

ley near Mancheſter [5]. And the woods of this Blakeley were even ſeven miles in circuit as late as the fourteenth century [6]. On the eaſtern ſide of the pariſh, the ſame Arden remained many centuries afterward in the woods of Collyhurſt and Nuthurſt and in the thicket of Bradford, the laſt being even in the reign of Edward the ſecond no leſs than a mile in circumference [7]. In the ſoutherly regions of the pariſh it peculiarly retained the name of Arden for ages, as I have previouſly ſhewn, and was latterly broken into the woods that gave denomination to Openſhaw to Blackbrook and to Blackſtakes, into Aſhton Hurſt and Heaton Wood, and into the large thicket that winded along the bank of the Merſey, gave the denomination of Hard-ey or Hardy to a range of meadows upon it, and (as I ſhall ſoon ſhew) afforded a particular ſhelter for the wild beaſts in the adjoining diſtrict of Barlow [8].

Thus was the pariſh of Mancheſter overſpread at this period with woods, and was at the ſame time ſkirted with other woods upon every ſide, having the foreſt of Werneth on the acclivity of Hollinwood and on the hills of Oldham to the eaſt, Drywood and Weſtwood on the weſt, and the Cheſhire Arden on the ſouth. Within the pariſh, no parts ſeem to have been free from the native oaks but the uncultivated area and the extended moſſes. The latter were certainly the moſs of Failſworth and aſſuredly others. The moſs of Failſworth undoubtedly exiſted in the earlieſt period of the Roman reſidence among us, as the road to Cambodunum puſhes boldly acroſs the breadth of it. And others muſt have equally exiſted with it. The ſame phyſical principles that generated the moſs of Failſworth muſt have equally generated others in the pariſh. And all our moſſes, in the juſt eſtimate of reaſon, muſt be preſumed to have been equally prior with the moſs of Failſworth to the ſettlement of the Romans at Mancheſter, except any of them can adduce a convincing proof to the contrary. But only one of them can. No traces of the plow, the ridge and the furrow, have been diſcovered in any of them, as have plainly been found in one of the Yorkſhire and many of the Iriſh moſſes [9]. In ſome of the

latter

latter have been diſcovered even the burnt ſtump of a large tree and the remains of a wattled hedge, the hedge ſtill ſtanding upon the ground under a depth of five or ſix feet, and the cinders and aſhes ſtill lying upon the ſtump at the depth of ten [10]. Nothing has been diſcovered in any but one of our Mancunian moſſes that even diſtantly beſpoke the previous reſidence of the Romans among us. And the watery waſte of Trafford moſs has been lately channelled from end to end by the Bridgwater canal, all our moſſes are continually cut into for their turf, all of them have been for ages encroached upon by the plough, and nearly the whole circuit of Houghs and abſolutely the whole of Failſworth moſſes have been recently converted into cultivated lands.

Sometimes the light grey ſand and the ſtrong tenacious loam of a wooded dingle, or of ſome wooded hollow upon the ſide of an hill, accidentally received the waters of an obſtructed brook, or regularly drank in the falling ſhowers of the winter, till the trees were unable to ſupport themſelves upon the ſpongy ſoil. Sometimes the trees were originally thrown or cut down, as many of the trees in our Mancheſter moſſes appear to have been actually cut down, and originally obſtructed the paſſage of the waters. Thus that particular region of Failſworth moſs which was traverſed by the Roman road, and which was evidently the boggieſt diſtrict of it, being now reduced nearer to the original level of the ground, has a conſiderable deſcent to it upon either ſide; and the higheſt region of Chatmoſs about two centuries ago, upon an extraordinary diſcharge of the ſwelling waters, appeared to be a fair valley and to be watered with a little brook [10]. And many moſſes are found upon riſing grounds and upon the declining ſide of an hill. Every drain for the moiſture being thus gradually choaked up, and the ground being conſtantly ſupplied with a recruit of ſtagnated water, the principles of putrid vegetation would begin to act with vigour, and a rank harveſt would overſpread the face of the ground. This dying every year and being every year ſucceeded with a freſh crop, a coat would gradually riſe upon the ſurface, and the matted maſs would

would in a century form a conſiderable cruſt. This is found upon our moſſes two or three or four yards in thickneſs. And as the great body of ſtagnated water was fed with regular ſupplies from the original current additional influxes or both, the moſſy tract would gradually extend itſelf, deſert the natural or artificial hollow in which it was originally formed, and ſpread over the neighbouring grounds. Thus the broad embrowned waſte of Chatmoſs muſt have begun at firſt in the hollow of a little valley, and muſt have afterwards uſurped upon all the loftier grounds around it; a conſiderable region of it now lying higher than many parts of the contiguous country, and the center being ſtill higher than the reſt. In theſe efforts the impriſoned waters have ſometimes ſo violently diſtended the coat, that the texture of it has been broken, the country has been deluged with an inky torrent, and the cultivated fields have been overſpread with a deſtructive ſlime. Thus our own Hough's moſs, or as in peculiar eminence it was denominated among us The Moſs, burſt on New-year's-day in 1633, ſpread a deep bed of filth over the neighbouring lands, and poiſoned all the fiſh in the neighbouring rivulets [12]. And, upon any long continuance of rain at preſent, the cruſt of Chatmoſs is viſibly lifted up by the heaving waters below, and even riſes ſo conſiderably as entirely to intercept ſome extended proſpects acroſs it. Nor is the firmer ground of our ſable moors any thing elſe in reality than ſuch an extent of moſſy ſoil diſcharged of its ſtagnant waters, dried either by the accidental diverſion of the feeding rill, by the accidental or regular emiſſion of its current, or by both, or having all its waters exhauſted and exhaled by the demands of the luxuriant harveſt above. Thus upon the firm levels of Walkden and Kearſley moors have been found innumerable trees, firs, birches, quickens, and oaks, buried within the black ſoil; and, even four yards below the ſurface and directly under the ſoil, a long lank graſs has been diſcovered in plenty lying upon the natural mold.

Theſe active principles muſt neceſſarily have operated with more or leſs vigour from the beginning. Theſe active principles muſt neceſſarily have acted with the greateſt vigour during the woodland

ſolitary

ſolitary condition of the pariſh before the coming of the Romans into it. No other period of its hiſtory could have given half ſuch ſcope to the waſteful powers as the original and the Britiſh. The woods muſt have been not a little contracted in their ſize, a town had been long planted in the center of them, and the reſt of our Arden muſt have been frequently traverſed by the inhabitants their flocks and their herds, at the period of the Saxon ravages in Lancaſhire. And the woods muſt have been much more contracted in their ſize, the town that had been planted in the center of them muſt have been much more populous, and the remains of our Arden muſt have been much more frequently traverſed by the inhabitants of it, at the later period of the Daniſh ravages in Lancaſhire.

Such was the aſpect of our more immediate precincts during the period of the Roman reſidence among us, the ſofter ground of many of our vallies being converted into an impracticable moraſs, and the firmer ground of the hill and the plain being generally covered with woods. In theſe or the neighbouring woods of the county was bred nearly all that variety of wild beaſts which I have ſhewn to be the natives of Britain, the ſegh-deer, the wolf, the bull, and the boar. The large branching horns of the ſegh have been found oftener in this than in any other county of the kingdom. One of them was dug up about ſeventy years ago at Larbrick near Preſton, having the entire head of the ſtag and even the vertebræ of the neck adhering to it; a ſtill larger was found a few years before in a moſs at Meales, having equally the head adhering to it; and a third was fiſhed out of the ſea in 1727 near Cartmel [13]. The wolf was once very common in Northumberland in Yorkſhire and in Derbyſhire, has given the appellation of Wulf-crags to a long range of rocky precipices in our foreſt of Wierſdale, and within half a century before the Conqueſt was frequent in our foreſt of Roſſendale [14]. The wild bull found an agreeable reſidence in our Mancunian Arden, and even continued in one part of it, the extenſive woods of Blakeley, as late as the fourteenth century [15]. And the wild boar roved at liberty over all the woods of the pariſh for many

centuries

centuries after the Roman departure from the ſtation, conſigned the appellation of Barlow or the Boar-ground to a diſtrict in the ſouth-weſterly region of the pariſh, and retained its primæval abodes in the wilds of Blakeley to the commencement of the fourteenth century [16]. Such were the native beaſts of our woods at this period. And with them our Mancunian Arden produced a breed of hawks of herons and of eagles [17]. The hawks were reclaimed by our Mancunian fathers from their wildneſs, and taught to purſue the feathered game at the command and for the uſe of their maſters. And the beaſts were rouzed by our Mancunian fathers from their dens, and were chaced to the ſound of the horn along the ecchoing banks of the Irke the Irwell the Merſey or the Medlock.

[1] Monaſticon v. i. p. 658, and copy of Records in the Britiſh Muſeum N° 2063, E. F, p. 176.—[2] Kuerden folio p. 278. and Spelman in Leuca from Ingulphus.—[3] Kuerden folio p. 238.—[4] A record in Collins's Peerage vol. vii. edit. 2. p. 24.—[5] See a miſtake therefore in Camden p. 616. concerning the etymology of Blackburne. The river of Blackburne has no more title than the Thames to the appellation of Black becauſe of its waters.—[6] Kuerden Folio p. 278.—[7] Ibid.—[8] Records ibid.—[9] Camden c. 850. and Mortimer's Huſbandry Part II. p. 27.—[10] Mortimer's Huſbandry Part II. p. 27.—[11] Camden p. 611. and Leland vol. vii. p. 41. The words of the latter are very remarkable: In the very tope of Chawmoure [called before Chateley More] where the moſſe was the higheſt and brake, is now a fayre playn valley as was in tymes paſt, and a rill rennith in it, and peces of ſmaull trees be found in the botome of it. —[12] Il's M. S. p. 26. And Leland thus of Chatmoſs: Chateley More a 6. myles in lengthe ſome way braſt within a mile of Morley Haul, and deſtroyed moche grownd with moſſe ther aboute, and deſtroyed moche freſhe watar ſiſhe theraboute; firſt corruptyng with ſtinkyng watar Glaſbroke, and ſo Glaſbroke carried ſtinkyng watar, and Merſey corruptyd carried the roullyng moſſe, parte to the ſhores of Wals, parte of [to] the

Iſle of Man, and ſome into Ireland (vol. vii. p. 41.)—[13] Leigh b. i. p. 62 and 63. and b. iii. p. 184 and the plate, and Phil. Tranſ. 1731 and 1732. p. 257.—The horns dug up at Larbrick were forty and forty-one inches and a half in length, were ſeven or eight inches round, twenty-three inches and a half diſtant from each other at the tips, but thirty-five about the middle, and had ſeveral branches ſhooting out in different directions from them (ſee the plate Tab. 5th in Leigh). And the horns found at Meales were even as large again (ibid. B. iii. p. 184). The brow-antlers in the latter were bigger than uſually the arm of a man is, the beams were near two yards in height, and betwixt the two oppoſite tips of the horns, which was the fartheſt diſtance, were two yards likewiſe (ibid. B. I. p. 63). The former were ſoft and pliable when they were taken out of the earth, but afterwards grew hard and firm (ibid. B. i. p. 62.)—[14] Sax. Chron. p. 113, Camden p. 58 and 420, and Monaſticon p. 658. vol. i.—[15] Leland vol. vii. part I. p. 42. Hearne.—[16] Leland ibid.—[17] Kuerden Folio p. 274, and Leland ibid.

V.

As the modes of Roman civility gradually prevailed among the Siſtuntians, more and ſtill more of their free villains would naturally be induced to quit the baronial villas in the remoter neighbourhood of Mancunium, and to ſettle with their brethren in the town. And, in the peculiar circumſtances of the Britiſh ſtates, the current of the Roman manners muſt have neceſſarily increaſed in its power and have expanded in its courſe, as it rolled down the three centuries and a half of the Roman reſidence among them. The dimenſions of Mancunium muſt therefore have been enlarged by the ſucceſſive acceſſions of inhabitants and the progreſſive additions of buildings. To the one original ſtreet which extended along the road of the Romans others muſt have been gradually annexed, and have ſhot out on the eaſt, the weſt, and the north. Four or five years ago

ago was diſcovered a pavement near the ſouth-weſtern extremity of the area, extending more than two yards in breadth, and ſeeming to tend nearly parallel with the original ſtreet, the line of the road to Ribcheſter. And this muſt undoubtedly have communicated with it by a croſs ſtreet. This actually communicated with it by no leſs than three croſs ſtreets. One was laid along the margin of the foſſe, and the remains of it, a narrow cauſeway about a yard in breadth, have been recently dug up for ſeveral yards by the gardiner. Another was lately found along the northern hedge of the firſt great garden; and a third about an equal diſtance from both, remaining only about half a yard in width. And five or ſix years ago was diſcovered another pavement, ſituated almoſt as much to the eaſt as the former was to the weſt of the principal ſtreet, and lying three yards in breadth and three quarters of a yard in depth. This commenced near the northern hedge of the Caſtle-field and in the middle of the private gardens, ſtretched obliquely acroſs that and the neighbouring garden, pointed leſs obliquely acroſs the neighbouring lane, and evidently carried a direction towards Aldporton Fold. And the three connecting ſtreets on the weſt of the Ribcheſter ſtreet muſt have been aſſuredly anſwered by three others on the eaſt, and the town have been modelled into a figure ſomewhat compact and ſquariſh. The great body of the buildings muſt have occupied only the ſpace which is now taken up with one great and ſeveral little gardens, which is bounded by the high bank, the ſtationary foſſe, Aldport-lane, and a [redacted] garden, and which contains about ſeven acres and a half in [redacted] tent. All this ground appears to be ſtrikingly diſtinguiſhed [redacted] the large garden to the north of it by the plainly factitious [redacted] ture of its ſoil and by the diſperſed rubbiſh of antient build[redacted] along it. In the intervals formed by the interſection of [redacted] ſtreets ſome vacant area was certainly laid out for a market-place. Markets were firſt introduced into Britain by the Romans, and are therefore diſtinguiſhed by the Roman appellation of Marchnads among the Welch, of Marchats among the Armoricans, and of Margaidhs among the Iriſh. Market-places are expreſsly declared

to have been originally laid out in the original towns of Lancaſhire [1]. And in the ſtate of Lancaſhire under the Romans, when there were only eight towns within its ample dimenſions, and when theſe were diſperſed at a diſtance over the face of the county, every town muſt neceſſarily have had a market, and Mancheſter muſt have been a market-town from the firſt actual moment of its commencement. But the ſtreets of Mancunium muſt have been all of them narrow. The firſt original ſtreet being conſtructed along the margin of the Roman road, the breadth of the latter muſt have been actually the width of the former. That I have previouſly mentioned to have been only about five yards in breadth. And the other ſtreets of the town would certainly not be conſtructed of a greater, would probably not be conſtructed of an equal breadth. The ſtreets even of Rome were very narrow in general; and when Nero rebuilt the city after the dreadful conflagration in 64, many of the Romans complained of his conduct, alledging the ſtreets to be unwarily widened and the heat of the ſun to be indiſcreetly let in upon them [2]. And the ſtreets of Silcheſter have been meaſured by the evident tracks in the corn and by the evident foundations on the ſides, and are found to have been generally ſeven or eight yards only in breadth [3]. Such therefore muſt have been the ſtreets of Mancunium, and the ſame inconvenient narrowneſs has continued nearly to the preſent century in all the ſubſequent ſtreets of Mancheſter. Theſe were all certainly paved by the Roman Britons. The Romans, who frequently ſpread a pavement of ſtones over the face of their Britiſh roads, would certainly not neglect to ſpread it, where it was much more requiſite, on the ſtreets of the Britiſh towns. The firſt and principal ſtreet muſt actually have been paved from the beginning, as the Roman road was paved along the borders of which the buildings of it extended. And all the remnants of ſtreets that have been diſcovered within the area of the town were all regular courſes of pavement.

Though the ſtreets of Rome were ſo narrow, yet the buildings of Rome were remarkably lofty. They generally roſe ſix ſeven

or

ſhire muſt have ſent a colony of her children to plant the eaſtern ſhore of Ireland [23]. And the Coriondii (I apprehend) were equally derived from the Carnabii of Cheſhire, the name being written either Carnabii, Corinavii, or Corion-dii, and the laſt appellation being exactly the ſame with the firſt, and only Diu being ſubſtituted for Ab or Av [24].

Thus far the Britons had lived unmixed with the Belgæ in Ireland, now conſiſted of ſeven tribes, and now poſſeſſed all the northern eaſtern and central parts of the iſland. And thus inhabited only by the genuine Britons, the iſland naturally received an appellation additional to its original name. This was not, like that, deduced merely from its poſition with reſpect to Britain, but was borrowed from the one common denomination of its poſſeſſors. This was the appellation of Inis-Fael or Inis-Fallin [25], the iſland of the Fael, Faell-in, or Gauls. The F, V, and W in the Celtic language are equivalent letters [26], and Fael, Vael, and Wall all equally expreſs the one denomination of the Britons. Thus among the Britons of Wales we have Cad-Fael-Hydr or Cad-Wal-adr, Hy-Fael or Ho-Wel, and Di-ofna-Fael or Dyfn-Wall [27]. And the denomination of the Britons among their own tribes and in all the neighbouring nations was popularly Gall or Wall: Hence the Saxon Chronicle mentions frequently the troops under Hengiſt and under Ælla, ſoon after the commencement of the war with the Britons, to have routed the Wealas, Wyliſhe, or Welch in Kent and in Suſſex [28]. And hence the Britons of the Highlands denominate themſelves the Caelic or Gallic, and the Britons of Ireland entitle themſelves the Eirinach or Iriſh Caelic, even to the preſent period. This appellation, which extended over all our iſlands and over a conſiderable portion of the continent, has been frequently explained by the critics both at home and abroad, but ſtill lies hid in its own original obſcurity. The genuine import of the word however ſeeems pretty obvious to an attentive mind. And I ſhall endeavour to throw a ſtronger light upon it. The Iriſh and the Highlanders, as I have already remarked, reciprocally denominate

the primitive Britons, as I have ſhewed before. And ſuch univerſally remained the houſes of the Mancunians below the recent æra of the Reſtoration. Bricks as well as ſtones however muſt have been uſed in the foundations of the ſtructures and in the funnels of the chimnies. And the chimney is undoubtedly a Roman addition to the Britiſh buildings; the round hole in the roof of the Britiſh houſe, ſuch as we ſtill ſee in the cabins of the Iriſh and the hovels of the Scotch, yet continuing merely an opening in the cieling as the fire was yet kindled in the middle of the hall [8], but being elegantly altered into a cupola-chimney by the Romans. And the Britiſh names for a Caminus or Chimney, the Welch Shimnæ, the Corniſh Tſhimbla, the Armoric Shimilan and Sheminal, and the Iriſh Shimilean, are all therefore derived from the Roman language [10].

The covering of the houſes in the north of Europe was univerſally made of long reeds about the period of the erection of Mancheſter [11]. But the Romans muſt have introduced into Britain the uſe of ſtramen or ſtraw for this purpoſe. And the houſes of Mancunium muſt have been generally roofed with a covering of it. Such was the general covering of the houſes in London within theſe three centuries. Such was the general covering of the houſes in Mancheſter within theſe two. But ſome of the more reſpectable ſtructures muſt have been roofed with ſcindulæ, ſhingles, or boards. Shingles are the common roofing of the houſes in all our American colonies. Shingles were the common roofing of the houſes amongſt ourſelves in former ages [12]. And ſhingles were the common roofing of the houſes even at Rome for the long period of nearly five centuries [13]. But either theſe afterwards or others at the ſame period muſt have been covered with tegulæ, the Saxon tægles, the Armorican teolen, or tiles. Theſe were firſt invented in Cyprus, were after the ſhingles the general roofing of the houſes in Rome [14], and appear ſufficiently from their name to have been brought into Britain by the Romans. But there is another kind of roofing, which is now nearly univerſal in Mancheſter, and which muſt have been firſt introduced into it during this period. This is that

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light-coloured ſpecies of flaky ſtone, of which we have numerous quarries in England, and which we ſtill denominate by its Britiſh appellation of Sglatta or ſlate. This is that white ſtone which Pliny mentions to be divided by the Celtæ more eaſily than wood, and to be ſawed by them into thin plates for tiles [14]. This ſtony foſſil was firſt divided into plates and firſt applied as tiles within the northern regions of Gaul, was ſo divided and ſo applied among them very commonly in the firſt century [15], and ſtill retains among the French its Celtic denomination of Eſclate or ſlate. And as this uſe of it muſt have been introduced into Britain from Gaul, ſo it appears to have been actually introduced during the period of the Roman ſtay in the iſland. Some Roman buildings in Britain appear from the remains that have been found about them to have been actually covered with ſlates. And theſe the Britons faſtened to the roofs of their houſes with nails of iron, hooked, long, and large [16].

The windows, guinedeus, or ſeeing-places in the Mancunian houſes muſt have been generally compoſed of paper [17]. Properly prepared with oil, this forms no contemptible defence againſt the intruſions of the weather, and makes no contemptible opening for the admiſſion of the light. This is ſtill uſed by our architects for the temporary windows of unfiniſhed houſes, and is not unfrequently uſed in the precincts of Mancheſter for the regular windows of our workſhops. And this is even uſed for the houſes of many of the towns of Italy to the preſent moment. But ſome of the principal houſes muſt have been windowed in a ſuperior manner. None of them however were fitted with glaſs. No windows in Europe were formed of glaſs at this period. The Romans the Britons of this period never once thought of the ſeemingly obvious and certainly very agreeable application of this metal to windows. And that regularly laminated and brightly tranſparent foſſil, Lapis Specularis or Iſing-glaſs, which was firſt uſed in the windows of Rome about the reign of Auguſtus [18] and became very common before the cloſe of the firſt century [19], was aſſuredly never introduced into the buildings of Britain. The ſuperior windows of Mancunium

muſt

muſt have been furniſhed merely with lattices of wood or ſheets of linen, as theſe two remained the only furniture of the windows even in our cathedrals nearly to the eighth century [m]. And the former continued in ſome of our meaner towns of Lancaſhire abſolutely to the eighteenth, and continue in many parts of Wales and in many the adjoining parts of England even to the preſent moment. But the paper the lattices and the linen muſt have been fixed in frames and partitioned into ſquares. The frames were called Capſamenta, Kaiſmeints, or Caſements. The ſquares were denominated Quadræ or Quadrellæ, Quarries or Quarrels. And both were diſtinguiſhed by the general appellation which ſtill remains popular among us at Mancheſter, of a Tranſenna or Tranſom [n].

One or more wells muſt have been ſunk in or near the town for the neceſſary ſupply of water to the inhabitants. One has been actually diſcovered, placed immediately on the outſide of the town, and ſunk for ſeveral yards in the rock. This was diſcovered about ſix or ſeven years ago upon the erection of the little alehouſe which ſtands oppoſite to the gate of the Caſtle-field. Upon opening the ground to form the cellar of the houſe, an hole appeared in the rock about ſix feet in the ſquare and entirely filled up with looſe rubbiſh. This was made ſo ſoft and ſludgy by the ſpring below, that a ſtaff was eaſily thruſt into it to the depth of four or five yards, and gave a temporary vent to the waters beneath. And three coins of braſs were found in it and a piece of thick ſhort gold-wire. The latter had not the happineſs to meet with any man of taſte, and was ſold to an unknown perſon for thirteen ſhillings. And of the former two appeared to be loſt when an inquiry was firſt made concerning them, and the third was in great meaſure ruined by the ruſt. No inſcription could be perceived upon it, and even no traces of an inſcription diſcerned, except ſuch as fancy will perpetually ſuggeſt to the judgment upon the examination of faded remains. Wells ſo ſquared as this was in the opening, and ſo lined with hewn ſtones at the ſides as this was with the native rock, have been diſcovered at Durnonagus or the town of Caſter near Peter-

borough, at Procolitia or Carrabrugh in Cumberland, and at Derventio or Littlechester near Derby [*]. And the excellent water of this and the other wells muſt have been raiſed out of them either by the aſſiſtance of a pole playing upon a tranſverſe beam and loaded with a weight at the handle, by a common wheel, or by a little windmill. All theſe machines appear to have been early in uſe among the Romans [*]. And all ſeem to have been equally ſimple and obvious in their conſtruction.

To mark the flight of time by external and ſenſible repreſentations, and ſo to diſtinguiſh the paſſing hours into ſtated periods and regular ſtages, was firſt the work of HIM who appointed the revolutions of the night and the day, the returns of the Sabbath, the variations of the moon, the viciſſitudes of the ſeaſons, and the courſes of the ſun. But to aſcertain the uniform progreſs of the day by the uniform motion of ſhades or ſubſtances, is an invention that is as curious in its nature as it was probably late in its diſcovery. It was certainly invented before the days of Ahaz the monarch of Judæa [*], and above two hundred years previous to the firſt inhabitation of Lancaſhire. This primitive dial ſeems to have been merely a ſimple diagram, which was deſcribed upon the ſteps of Ahaz's palace, and which marked the advance of the day by the ſhade of ſome neighbouring body gradually ſweeping over the face of it. And this contrivance ſeems to have remained the only dial of the eaſtern nations for a couple of centuries afterward, and firſt received the addition of a regular gnomon from the hand of Anaximenes the Mileſian at Lacedæmon [*]. But the knowledge of this or of the other was introduced very late into the weſt. The Romans diſtinguiſhed the day only by its two natural periods of ſun-riſe and ſun-ſet even for ſome time after the promulgation of the twelve tables. And the firſt artificial diviſion of the day was by the obvious diſtinction of noon. This began a few years afterward, the crier of the conſuls being ordered to proclaim the noon in their court when he ſaw the ſun appear betwixt two particular points of the forum. But the Grecian dial paſſed with the Grecian colonies into Sicily. And the firſt that was ever ſeen

at Rome was brought from the conquered Catana in Sicily during the firſt Punic war, and was fixed upon a pillar by the roſtrum. This dial however was inaccurately made, the lines not anſwering with preciſion to the hours. But it remained the irregular ſtandard of the Roman hours for the period of no leſs than ninety-nine years. And five years after it was reformed Scipio Naſica invented an horologe which could be ſerviceable on the frequent occaſions in which the other was uſeleſs, and marked the ſeveral ſtages of time as well under a cloudy as under a ſunny ſky and as well in the night as in the day. This was a large veſſel which meaſured the courſe of the hours by the trickling of water, and which Scipio ſet up under cover for the uſe of the public [26]. But the Britons muſt have been undoubtedly as ignorant of both at the period of the Roman invaſion as the Romans were at the commencement of the firſt Punic war. And the firſt of the latter that was ever brought into the iſland muſt have been introduced into it by Cæſar and his army at his firſt or ſecond attempt upon the country [27]. Both muſt have been introduced into Britain by the Romans. Both muſt have been for ages the only regiſters of the day in Mancunium. And the one therefore received the appellation of Horarium or an Hour-thing, and the other aſſumed the name of Diale a Dial or Day-thing, among the Roman Britons.

The town of Mancunium muſt have contained within it the manſion of the baron, the dwellings of his immediately attendant villains, and the numerous houſes of the artiſans. The many occupations that had been purſued by the baronial villains before in the neighbourhood of the pariſh muſt have been equally purſued by the baronial villains now within the precincts of the town. The many mechanical profeſſions that had been occaſionally practiſed by ſingle individuals before about the houſes of the chiefs muſt have been now generally appropriated to particular perſons and now regularly followed as particular occupations. The brazier the tinman the glazier the ironmonger, and others, artiſts all exiſting before the erection of Mancunium, muſt now all have exiſted in it. They were neceſſary to the

mutual

mutual accommodation of the baron and the townſmen, and they muſt have been actually ſettled in it with the chief. The buſineſs of the Plumbarius or plumber, of the Ferrarius or farrier, of the Tornator or turner, of the Apothecarius or apothecary, of the Barbarius or barber, and the like, often exerciſed occaſionally before by any of the chief's ambacton, appears from the Roman appellations of the artiſts to have been now firſt converted into a diſtinct occupation. And to theſe the Romans muſt have added the reſt, the mercer the fuller the tavern-keeper and the like. The barber was entirely unknown at Rome for four hundred and fifty years, and was then firſt introduced by P. Ticinius Mæna from Sicily [n]. The knowledge of medicinal herbs and of their influence in medicinal applications would naturally be cultivated in a military nation and was greatly attended to in the Britiſh. Thus we ſee a Britiſh chief in the Poems of Oſſian, who "had ſearched for the herbs of the "mountains, and gathered them on the ſecret banks of their "ſtreams," and whoſe "hand had cloſed the wound of the "valiant." Thus alſo it is particularly declared of another, that "to cloſe the wound was his, he had known the herbs of "the hills, and he had ſeized their fair heads on high as they "waved by their ſecret ſtreams." And an acquaintance with the virtues of ſimples and a ſkill in the application of them to the body were till theſe later days univerſal among the Britons of Scotland [o].

[1] Agricola induced the new ſubjects of the empire (ſays Tacitus Agric. Vit. c. 21.) ut Templa, *Fora*, Domos, extruerent.— [m] Tacit. Ann. lib. xv. c. 43.— [n] Phil. Tranſ. vol. xlv. p. 603.— [o] Tacitus Ann. lib. xv. c. 4. and the Note in variorum edit.— [p] Geneſis ch. xi. ver. 3.— [q] Exodus c. v. and Pliny lib. xxxv. c. 14, and Varro de Re Ruſt. lib. i. c. 14.— [r] Pliny ibid.— [s] Pliny ibid.— [t] Accenſo foco in *medio*, et calido effecto cœnaculo (in the year 627), Bede lib. ii. c. 13. See alſo lib. iii. c. 10.— [u] From the Corniſh Tſhimbla the mode of pronouncing the word which

now popularly prevails at Mancheſter, and which turns Chimney into Chimbley, appears to have deſcended to us from the antient Britons of Mancunium.—And ſee Suetonius in Vitellio c. 8. for Caminus a Chimney.—[11] Pliny lib. xvi. c. 36.—[12] Shingler is uſed in an antient ſtature as an appellation ſynonymous with Thatcher. So in 5 Eliz. ſect. 30. *Tiler*, *Slater*, or *Helier*, and *Thatcher* or *Shingler*.—[13] Pliny lib. xvi. c. 10.—[14] Pliny lib. vii. c. 56. The Germans on the continent had no tiles; Ne—apud illos—tegularum uſus (Tacitus de Mor. Germ. c. 16).—[15] Pliny lib. xxxvi. c. 22.—[16] Hearne's Stunsfield Pavement in Leland vol viii. p. 30. —[17] Guinedeu is undoubtedly derived from the verb Guened to ſee, a verb in Lhuyd under the article Candle. And this ſuperſedes at once the many forced etymologies of the word. The final part of the word is moſt probably Aduy; and both together, Guined-aduy or Guined-duy, ſignify literally the Seeing-holes.—[18] Seneca Ep. 90.—[19] Pliny lib. xix. c. 5. and Martial lib. viii. E. 14.—[20] See b. II. ch. viii. ſ. 3. The Lapis Specularis however ſeems plainly to have been uſed for thoſe eye-glaſſes which we oddly diſtinguiſh at preſent by the Roman name of Spectacula or Spectacles, the Iriſh calling them to this day by the Roman name of the iſing-glaſs window, Speculare or Speaklair.—[21] In Lancaſhire we ſtill pronounce the word in the Britiſh manner, changing the M into P, and calling it Tranſop.—[22] Moreton's Northamptonſhire p. 511, Stukeley's Itin. p. 79, Horſely p. 145 and 146 and Stukeley's Itin. p. 51.—[23] Pliny lib. xix. c. 4. E Puteo Pertică [or, as the context requires and ſome copies read, Rotâ] organiſve neumaticis, vel tollenonum hauſtu. And ſee a Tollenon deſcribed in Vegetius lib. iv. c. 21. —[24] 2 Kings ch. xx. ver. 11.—[25] Pliny lib. ii. c. 76.—[26] Pliny lib. vii. c. 60.—[27] Cæſar p. 89.—[28] Pliny lib. vii. c. 59.—[29] Oſſian. vol. I. p. 247. and vol. II. p. 148. and Note.

V. THE

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THE primitive Britons are charged by two of the moſt reſpectable hiſtorians among the Romans with the groſs barbariſms of a community of wives, inceſtuous loves, and unnatural mixtures [1]. And the accuſation is too ſurely as juſt in itſelf as it is enormous in its nature [2]. A community of wives is the principal point in the charge; and the inceſtuous and unnatural cohabitations are mentioned merely as the reſult of the other. And this is not, as at firſt ſight it may ſeem to be, repugnant to the Britiſh principles of gavelkind in private inheritances and to the Britiſh modes of ſucceſſion in public. A particular proviſion was made, that the children of every wife ſhould be reckoned as the progeny of the genuine huſband [3]. Nor is this community at all contradictory, as at firſt it may ſeem to be, either to ſome particular notices in the Roman accounts or to the general tenor of the Poems of Oſſian. In the former indeed Boadicia is mentioned as the appropriated wife of Praſutagus, another perſon is ſpoken of as the peculiar conſort of Caractacus, and Cartiſmandua is named as the particular ſpouſe of Vemtius [4]. But the marrier of the maid was always eſteemed as the huſband of the wife [5]. And though in the Poems of Oſſian we ſee the principle of matrimonial fidelity conſidered with delicacy and obſerved with religion among the Britiſh wives, yet this is very compatible with the accounts of the Romans. That principle might conſiſt in a fidelity not to one but to ſeveral, to all the individuals that were incorporated into the ſociety, who were generally ten or twelve in number, and who agreed among themſelves to a community of wives [6]. And an habitual a national aſſociation of ideas will ſoon render any groſſneſſes agreeable to delicacy and will ſoon make any impurities compatible with religion.

The Britiſh females, after the introduction of ſpinning, ſo conſtantly employed in the gentle labours of the diſtaff the many hours of leiſure which the want of literary amuſements muſt have left particularly vacant to the ſex in all ages, that the ſpindle became the ſymbol of the ſex, and an eſtate devolving

to

to the female line was formally ſaid by the law to deſcend to the diſtaff. And thus engaged the Britiſh virgin was declared by the laws marriageable at fourteen [8]. The lover regularly addreſſed himſelf firſt to the father of the maid, and requeſted his daughter in marriage. If the father agreed to the overture, he opened the hall of the maid, the apartment in which ſhe generally ſat retired from the men of the family, and introduced the ſuitor to his daughter [9]. The period of courtſhip among the Britiſh women appears to have been generally as ſhort as it was among the Patriarchal [10]. A few days concluded the ſuit. The abſolute authority of the father over the child took away all power of refuſal from the daughter [11]. If ſhe diſliked the lover whom her father recommended, ſhe had no other reſource than the tears of entreaty or the dangers of flight. The Britiſh wife, like the modern, brought generally a portion or Argyfrey with her [12]. And the Britiſh huſband, like the modern, as generally made a ſettlement or Egweddi upon her previous to the marriage [13]. This did not however, like the modern, ſuperſede her rights incident on ſurvivorſhip; and ſhe was intitled, if there were no children, to the full half of her huſband's property [14]. And the ratio of this Egweddi was not left, as it is left among ourſelves, to be determined by the indiſcretion of the lover, the expectations of the lady, or the conteſts of over-reaching relations. It was abſolutely aſcertained by the law, and was twenty-four pounds for a king's daughter, three for a noble's, and one for a villain's [15]. This ſettlement differed eſſentially from the modern and coincided exactly with the Saxon in its import, as it took place immediately upon the marriage, and the wife was immediately inveſted with the property [16]. And the rite of marriage was celebrated by the father in the ſhort form of giving up the maid to the ſuitor [17]. But after the marriage was another ſettlement, which was denominated Chowyll and anſwered to the Morgengife of the Germans, being made the morning after the marriage and actually before the couple aroſe from bed [18]. In ſuch a ſituation the man muſt have been in peculiar danger of acting indiſcreetly with his fortune: and the law which ſo ſtrangely expoſed him to the danger was obliged in equity to protect him from

from it. It ſettled the chowyll deciſively at eight pounds for a king's daughter, at one pound for a noble's, and at one hundred and twenty pence for a villain's [19]. And ſo ludicrouſly was the whole proceſs of the chowyll adjuſted by the law, that if the bride did not gain the ſettlement before ſhe aroſe ſhe had no title at all to it afterwards [20]. And after ſhe had gained it, if ſhe did not declare before ſhe roſe the particular uſe to which ſhe intended to apply it, the huſband enjoyed it afterwards in common with her [21]. The huſband was entitled either corporally to chaſtiſe his wife or to require a legal ſatisfaction from her for three crimes, for infidelity to his bed, for embezzling his goods, and for abuſing his beard [22]. Either of the parties, as was equally the cuſtom among the Jews, might require a divorce from the other [23]. The itch or a foul breath were legally reckoned as good reaſons for a divorce as impotence [24]. And the divorce was ſufficiently ratified by a mutual agreement in private. Thus Cartiſmandua the queen of the Brigantes divorced herſelf from her huſband Venutius the monarch of the Jugantes [25]. And thus Deugala, the wife of a Briton in Ireland, demanded and obtained an immediate divorce from her huſband Cairbar [26]. The whole ſubſtance of the family was regularly divided betwixt the parties, and, though two thirds of the children were conſigned to the huſband, one half only of the property was retained by him, and the other was carried away by the wife [27]. And by a very ſenſible preſcription of the law the parties were not reſtrained, as even in caſes of adultery they are ordinarily reſtrained among ourſelves, from an engagement in a ſecond marriage [28]. But, at leaſt after the introduction of Chriſtianity, if the bride was accuſed of any previous incontinence and could not clear herſelf by the rite of compurgation, her ſhift was torn up before and behind and ſhe was diſmiſſed by the huſband, he putting previouſly into her hands the ſoaped tail of a young heifer, and if ſhe could retain it by her hold allowing her to keep it for her portion [29]. And, at leaſt after the introduction of chriſtianity, adultery was puniſhed with very great ſeverity, the wife loſing all her Egweddi as well as all her Argyfrey for the act, and even forfeiting the former for the mere wantonneſs of an indulged ſalute [30]. When the wife was pregnant,

nant, ſhe was bound about with a ſanctified girdle. This was ſuppoſed to alleviate the pains and to expedite the birth. Such girdles are particularly mentioned in a remarkable paſſage of the Britiſh Poems, in which an hundred of them are promiſed by a chief as uſeful "to bind high-boſomed women" and as the "friends of the birth of heroes." Such girdles have been preſerved nearly to the preſent times in many families of the northern Britons [31]. The parental appellations among the primitive Britons were exactly the ſame as they remain among the inferior ranks of our people at preſent, Tat or Dad being the Britiſh name for a father, and Mam being the Britiſh term for a mother. And the parental appellations among the Roman Britons were exactly the ſame as they ſtill remain among the ſuperior orders of our people at preſent, the Tat and Mam of the Britiſh being changed into the Tata, Papa, and Mama of the Roman language.

The mode of interment among the primitive Britons and the primitive Gauls was either by conſigning the remains entire and undefaced to the ground or by previouſly reducing them into aſhes [32]. The former is undoubtedly the moſt natural and obvious and muſt therefore have been the original form of ſepulture in the world [33]. The latter is evidently a refinement upon the other, introduced at firſt in all probability to prevent any accidental indignities or to preclude any deliberate outrages upon the venerable remains of the dead. Thus introduced, the latter became frequent among the Britons, as the aſhes that have been diſcovered in the Britiſh ſepulchers upon Saliſbury Plain abundantly teſtify [34]. But the primitive rite of burial was ſtill generally retained in the iſland. In this manner pretty certainly was the illuſtrious Boadicia magnificently interred [35]. In this manner undoubtedly were all the heroes of Oſſian buried [36]. And under both forms the body was either repoſited in a cavity or was laid upon the ſurface of the ground, and a barrow was conſtructed over it. Thus formed are all the Britiſh burying-places upon the downs of Wiltſhire, the moors of Cornwall, and the plains of Ireland [37]. And thus formed in Ireland was the grave of Lamdarg in particular, which compoſed a conſiderable knoll

on the margin of the northern ſea [38]. Theſe barrows were ſometimes made of the common ſoil around them, and were ſometimes formed of three or four large ſlabs ſet upon an edge, cloſed with another ſlab above, incloſing a cavity for the body, and covered with cairns or heaps of little ſtones. Of the former ſpecies are all the barrows that have been opened upon Salisbury Plain [39]. But the latter appears to have been far the commoneſt among us, and is found very frequently in Britain in Scotland and in Ireland. This model of a barrow appears to have been very antiently uſed among the provincials [40]. And this model of a barrow continued very late among the Britons. It ſurvived the introduction of chriſtianity. It continued beyond the departure of the Romans. Many Roman coins have been diſcovered in one of theſe ſtone-barrows among the Corniſh [41]. And the Bedn Guortigern or grave of Vortigern in the mountains of Carnarvonſhire was a large collection of ſmall ſtones covering a Kiſt-vaen, a ſtony incloſure or cheſt, and protecting the body of the king repoſited in it [42]. In theſe barrows it was the practice of the Gauls and of the Britons to bury many particulars with the bodies which the deceaſed regarded in his life [43]. Hence in the grave of a young Britiſh woman upon the plains of Sarum were found ſome years ago beads of amber, globules of glaſs, and the head of a ſpear, the ornaments of the girl and the weapon of the heroine [44]. Hence the warriors in Oſſian ſo frequently order their bow, their ſword, the horn of their hunting, and a boſs of their ſhield, to be laid with them at their death in the dark and narrow houſe of the grave [45]. And hence the broken remains of ſwords, ſome half melted by the funeral-fire, have ſo frequently been found within the barrows of the Britiſh warriors in Cornwall [46]. This practice, a practice reſulting from a juſt but wildly devious belief in the immortality of the ſoul, was carried to ſo great a length, that favourite animals were ſlain in honour of the deceaſed and their remains were buried in the ſame grave with them. The cuſtom was obſerved univerſally in Gaul to the days of Cæſar [46]. And the cuſtom was obſerved occaſionally in Britain, ſome few of our bar-

rows upon Saliſbury Plain diſcloſing theſe diſtinguiſhable remains, and the Poems of Oſſian preſenting us with a remarkable inſtance of it, the burnt bones of horſes dogs and other animals being found mingled with human in the Wiltſhire ſepulchers, and Luath the dog of Cuchullin in the north of Ireland being actually interred with his maſter in the third century[49].

[1] Cæſar p. 89. and Dio p. 1007. In p. 1002 and the ſpeech of Boadicia the children are ſaid to be equally in common with their mothers. But this is certainly falſe (Cæſar p. 89).—[2] Mr. Rowland, Mr. Carte, and Dr. Macpherſon have endeavoured to vindicate the Britons, Mona p. 246, Hiſtory p. 71, and Crit. Diſſ. p. 140; and all equally in vain.—[3] Cæſar p. 89.—[4] Tacitus Ann. lib xiv. c. 31. and lib. xii. c. 36, 37, and 40.—[5] Cæſar p. 189.—[6] Cæſar p. 89.—[7] Howel Dha lib. II. c. xv. a. 5.—[8] Lib. II. c. i. a. 93.—[9] Oſſian vol. I. p. 50. and 115.—[10] Ibid. and Gen. c. xxiv.—[11] Cæſar p. 121 of the Gauls.—[12] Lib. II. c. i. a. 48. And ſee Cæſar p. 121. for the portion of the Gallic women.—[13] Lib. II. c. i. a. 89.—[14] Lib. II. c. i. a. 13. and c. xxvii. a. 16.—[15] P. 300.—[16] Lib. II. c. i. a. 40. and lib. II. c. i. a. 73—[17] Oſſian p. 50 and 77. vol. I.—[18] Lib. II. c. i. a. 37. and Hickes's Pref. to Theſaurus p. 9—[19] Howel p. 300.—[20] Lib. II. c. i. a. 74. [21] Lib. II. c. i. a. 75.—[22] Lib. IV. c. 5.—[23] Oſſian vol. i. p. 31. and Howel lib. ii. c. 1.—[24] Lib. II. c. i. a. 12.—[25] Tacitus Ann. lib. XII. c. 40.—[26] Oſſian vol. i. p. 31.—[27] Oſſian vol. i. p. 31. and Howel lib. ii. c. 1. a. 3 and 5.—[28] Lib. II. c. i. a. 6, 11, and 16. [29] Lib. II. c. i. a. 42. This is ſomewhat ſimilar to the cuſtom ſo well known in one or two manors of the kingdom, by which a widow that had forfeited her copyhold by incontinence was reſtored to it on coming into court mounted upon a black ram, holding the tail in her hand, and profeſſing penitence.—[30] Lib. II. c. i. a. 36 and 35.—[31] Oſſian vol. I. p. 115.—[32] Mela for the Gauls c. ii. lib. 3.—[33] See alſo Gen. c. xxiii.—[34] Stukeley's Stonehenge p. 10.—[35] Dio p. 1011.—[36] Vol. i. p. 140. &c.—[37] Stukeley c. 10. and Borlaſe c. viii. l. 3.—[38] Oſſian vol. i. p. 42.—

[39] Stonehenge

[39] Stonehenge c. 10.—[40] Oſſian paſſim. And ſee Crit. Diſſert. p. 315. —[41] Borlaſe's Cornwall p. 299.—[2] Kennet's Par. Ant. p. 698. And Carte p. 196. corroborates this account with the expreſs teſtimony of the old Welch bards, who aſſert this to have been the place of Vortigern's ſepulture.—[4] Cæſar p. 122 of the Gauls. —[41] Stonehenge p. 45.—[5] Oſſian vol. i. p. 55. &c.—[46] Borlaſe p. 238 and 239.—[47] Mela c. ii. l. 3.—[48] Cæſar p. 122.—[49] Stonehenge p. 46, Borlaſe p. 237, and Oſſian vol. i. p. 153.

VI.

THE art of drawing out our ideas into viſion and declaring the ſentiments of the mind by the ſpeaking imagery of characters could never have reſulted perhaps from any principle of human reaſoning, and muſt have been firſt ſuggeſted probably by the wiſdom of the Deity. Such an art became abſolutely neceſſary for a being like man, who required the extraordinary aſſiſtance of moral revelations to point out to him the line of his duty, and who needed the extraordinary interpoſition of conſolatory prophecies to encourage him in the practice of it. The divine declarations of duty and the divine predictions of redemption would neceſſarily be committed to writing for the ſame reaſon for which they were originally given, to preclude the fatal inconveniencies of miſtakes, and to inſtruct or confirm the future ages of the world. And one prediction we know to have been actually entruſted to writing even as early as the ſeventh generation only from Adam. This is that remarkable prophecy of Enoch which is formally cited by St. Jude, and of which a very ſolemn paſſage is tranſmitted to us by him [1].

The uſe of letters therefore is certainly prior to the æra which is commonly fixed for the introduction of them, the age of Moſes. As many divine revelations were certainly made to man, ſo many divine declarations were certainly committed to writing, before the period of the Moſaical works. And all the various combinations of the Noachidæ at Babel muſt have

a regular alphabet away with them to the places of their various diſperſions. This moſt of them afterwards forgot. They muſt firſt have neglected and loſt the code of divine laws and divine promiſes, as wiſhing not to be controuled by the diſcipline of the one, and having no longer therefore any ſatisfaction in the hope of the other. And they muſt afterwards have gradually forgot the letters which had been taught to their fathers entirely for thoſe ends, and the knowledge of which had been preſerved among them entirely by thoſe writings. The Gauls in particular had aſſuredly loſt the uſe of their original alphabet, and in the days of Cæſar had adopted the Græcian from the neighbouring Greeks of Marſeilles [2]. The Britons alſo had forgot the knowledge of their original characters, and in the days of Tiberius had borrowed the Roman alphabet from the neighbouring Romans of Gaul. That the Britons were for ages before the invaſion of Claudius not poſſeſſed of any Britiſh alphabet at all, we need no other argument to ſhow, than that even in the days of Cunobeline and before the firſt ſettlement of the Romans among them the Britiſh coins exhibit conſtantly a foreign alphabet and preſent us perpetually with Italian characters. In the flouriſhing ſtate of the Britiſh commerce during the reigns of Auguſtus and Tiberius, and in the frequent intercourſe of the Britons with the Romans and Romanized natives of Gaul, the former adopted the letters which they found univerſal among the latter, and firſt introduced the Roman alphabet amongſt us. This was the firſt perhaps that had ever been brought into the iſland. This was aſſuredly the firſt that had ever been introduced into Lancaſhire. And this uſeful invention which embodied thought and perſonified matter was inſtantly carried over the iſland, and appears from the coins of Durinum Eburo and Eiſu to have reached into the region of the Durotriges in the weſt, and into the dominions of the Brigantes in the north, before the victories of Veſpaſian in the one and the conqueſts of Agricola in the other. We find even the moſt northerly ſtates of Caledonia a little afterwards poſſeſt of an alphabet, and the celebrated Oſſian in the third century making

uſe

uſe of the Roman characters for his poems. From the ſhore of Caledonia letters muſt have been ſoon wafted over into Ireland. A continual intercourſe was maintained betwixt the inhabitants of the two countries[3]; and Ireland muſt certainly have received an alphabet before the period which is conſtantly aſſigned for the introduction of it, even one or two centuries at leaſt before the days of St. Patrick[4]. And the Corniſh the Welch the Scotch and the Iriſh languages have from that period to the preſent invariably uſed the characters of the Romans in writing.

The want of a Britiſh alphabet naturally gave a ready admiſſion to the Roman. The long reſidence of the Romans in Britain as naturally gave a free admiſſion to the Roman language. And the latter became nearly as familiar to the Britiſh ears as the former to the Britiſh eyes. The Roman language ſeems to have been generally ſpoken by the Britons. Hence we find the ſepulchral inſcriptions of the Britons even after the departure of the Romans all uniformly inſcribed in the Roman language. Such is Pabo's, ſuch is Eneon's, and ſuch is Cadvan's, all three in the iſle of Angleſey only[5]. And though the Roman could never have been likely to ſuperſede the genuine language of the iſland, yet it appears to have been greatly incorporated with it, and to have furniſhed it with a ſixth or a ſeventh of its preſent terms.

[1] This remarkable paſſage has been imagined by the generality of our critics not to be cited by St. Jude from any book of Enoch's exiſting in the days of the apoſtle, but to have been merely ſuggeſted to his mind by the power of inſpiration. But this ſuppoſition, however general, is obviouſly an idle piece of critical refinement. The paſſage is as formally cited by St. Jude from the book of Enoch as the well-known line and half-line are quoted by St. Paul from Epimenides and Aratus. And theſe quotations may as juſtly be referred to the mere ſuggeſtions of inſpiration as that. Reaſon is often obliged to appeal from Criticiſm to Common Senſe.—[2] Cæſar p. 120.—[3] Oſſian paſſim. [4] See Ware, &c.—[5] Mona plates 9 and 10.

WHEN

VII.

WHEN Claudius ſubdued the more ſoutherly Britons, he prudently deprived them of their arms [1]. But when Oſtorius took poſſeſſion of his government over the conquered regions of Britain, he found the natives not diſarmed at all by the preceding governors, and he diſarmed ſuch only as he particularly ſuſpected of turbulent deſigns [2]. And on the peaceable ſettlement of the country and its chearful ſubmiſſion to the Romans all the Britons appear to have recovered their arms again. Hence, even on the doubtful confines of the north and in the dangerous neighbourhood of the Caledonians, we ſee the Britons indulged with their arms and conſtantly prepared for war [3]. And hence ſome Britiſh Celts have been actually diſcovered in Cornwall wrapt up in a covering of linen [4], a ſpecies of cloth (as I ſhall afterwards ſhew) introduced into Britain by the Romans, and others have been found both in Cornwall and in Yorkſhire accompanied with Roman coins [5]. Many of the Britons were levied for the foreign ſervice of the Romans, and were ſent in different bodies to different parts of the continent [6]. Many of the Britons were equally levied for the ſervice of the Romans at home, and were ſent in bodies to the armies in action or to the garriſons on the borders. For theſe purpoſes only could the Romans have allowed any arms at all to the Britons. And ſeveral bodies of them are mentioned in Tacitus and in inſcriptions to have been actually engaged in battle againſt the northern Britons or actually ſtationed upon duty along the northern wall [7]. Theſe muſt have been demanded of the ſtates in rotation by the Romans. Theſe muſt have been raiſed among the ſubjects in rotation by the monarchs. Each body muſt have marched to the place of deſtination commanded by the monarch or his deputy, and marſhalled under the ſtandard of the kingdom; and each ſubordinate chief in it muſt have commanded his own ambacton under the general,

and have ranged them under his own ſtandard. Such was the general diſpoſition of the Britiſh forces [8]. And theſe bodies muſt have been all armed after the Britiſh mode, with braſs ſwords, braſs Celts, the ſpear, the dagger, the ſcythed chariot, and the bow. Theſe Britiſh implements of war would be fully ſufficient in themſelves againſt the ſimilarly armed Britons of the north. The Roman auxiliaries conſtantly retained their own weapons of war [9]. And the copper ſwords and the braſs Celts of the Britons have been found folded up in Roman-Britiſh linen and attended by Roman-Britiſh coins.

The military diſcipline of the Britons was greatly ſuperior to the ideas which are univerſally entertained concerning it. They commonly encamped behind a ſtream for fear of a ſurprize by night [10]. They lighted their fires and poſted their centinels about the camp [11]. They even had regularly what they denominated "The troop of the night," which was ſtationed at ſome diſtance from the camp, to deſcry the remoter approaches of an enemy, and to guard the more effectually againſt a ſudden attack [12]. Their commanders frequently walked the rounds in the night, and perſonally inſpected the order and diſpoſition of the men [13]. And they had certain appointed ſignals for the day or the night, the ſeveral "voices of their kings, which the war-"riors received from the wind and marked over all their tribes [14]." Theſe were given either by the general's horn, by the beating of his ſhield, or by the exertion of his voice [15]. The ſhield of the commander was fitted with ſeveral hollow boſſes, each of which was occaſionally beat upon with his ſpear and emitted a loud and a different ſound [16]. As the general ſtruck the ſhield of his alarms, the warriors of the night moved on to their poſts [17]. As another boſs was ſounded, the bards acknowledged the ſummons and immediately attended his perſon [18]. By one ſignal from the ſhield the troops were ordered inſtantly to advance and begin the fight, as by a ſecond they were commanded to diſcontinue the fight and to retreat [20]. The troops marched up to the attack beneath the ſounds of their military ſongs, the bards beginning the chaunt and the troops taking it from them, till

the

the whole army re-echoed with the ſtoried deeds of their fathers and with the predictions of ruin on their enemies [1]. And the bards conſtantly attended upon the general in the hour of battle. As his aids in the field, they were ready to carry occaſionally his orders to the chiefs [22]. As the poets of the ſtate, they were uſeful to invigorate occaſionally the fainting courage of the men with ſongs [23]. And, as they ſung the ſong of peace, the battle ceaſed along the field [24].

Though the Romans modelled the Britiſh troops into cohorts, they left them, as they left all their auxiliaries, to follow their own diſcipline in war [25]. But from the conſtant intermixture of the Britiſh and the Roman forces the officers of the former neceſſarily learnt, and ſometimes occaſionally introduced into their armies afterwards, the Roman diſpoſition in battle [26].

Thus muſt all the Britons have been ſucceſſively called out into ſervice. Thus muſt a military ſkill have been continually cultivated among the Britiſh gentlemen. And thus muſt a military ſpirit have been continually kept alive among the Britiſh villains.

[1] Dio p. 959.—[2] Tacitus Ann. lib. xii. c. 30.—[3] Oſſian vol. I. p. 130.—[4] Camden p. 137.—[5] Borlaſe p. 283.—[6] Vit. Agric. c. 13. and Gruter.—[7] Agric. V. c. 29. and 32, and Horſeley N° 20 Scotland and 76 Northumberland.—[8] Oſſian vol. I. p. 57.—[9] Vegetius lib. ii. c. 2.—[10] Oſſian vol. II. p. 39.—[11] Vol. I. p. 235.—[12] Vol. I. p. 18.—[13] Vol. II. p. 39.—[14] Vol. II. p. 128.—[15] Vol. I. p. 66, 77, &c.—[16] Vol. II. p. 85, 87, 129, and 130.—[17] Vol. I. p. 19.—[18] Vol. II. p. 130.—[19] Vol. II. p. 85 and 87.—[20] Vol. II. p. 56 and 106.—[21] Vol. II. p. 50, and Dio p. 1010.—[22] Vol. I. p. 54.—[23] Vol. I. p. 56.—[24] Vol. I. p. 118 and 140, and Diodorus p. 354, for Bards. See alſo Cæſar p. 90 for Addreſs in war.—[25] Vegetius lib. ii. c. 2.—[26] Huntingdon f. 180 and 181. at the battles of Beranbury and Wodneſbury.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

I.

WHEN guilt had introduced the foreign principle of ſhame into the human mind, and had made the foreign covering of cloaths requiſite to the decencies of the human body; when vengeance had charged the ſeaſons with inclemency and had armed the elements with unkindneſs againſt the votary of ſin, and had made an artificial warmth often neceſſary to the health of his frame; the ſkins of beaſts muſt naturally have been the firſt clothing of man. The flocks and the herds around him preſented their wooly or their hairy garments to his hand. And the Moſaical records demonſtrate him to have uſed them [1]. This ſpecies of cloathing continued regularly among the deſcendants of Adam for a long ſucceſſion of ages. And our own Britons in particular retained it to the days of Cæſar [2]. But this muſt have been prepared in various manners and modelled into various ſhapes. And even in ſkins elegance muſt have naturally ſucceeded to convenience.

The next improvement in the drapery of man would be to ſeparate the fleece from the hide, to conſign the latter to the covering of tents or the lining of couches, and to combine the former by itſelf into veſts. And this conſiderable improvement appears to have been actually made within few ages after the diſperſion [3]. Made originally in the eaſt, it muſt have afterwards taken its courſe into the weſt. But the mere refinements of dreſs will always ſpread very ſlowly through nations military and roving. This in particular appears not to have made its entrance

into Britain till fourteen or fifteen ages at leaſt after its original commencement, and till an hundred or an hundred and fifty years before the period of Cæſar's invaſion. At the æra of that invaſion, the uſe of woolen veſtures was nearly confined to the Belgic colonies in the ſouth. And moſt of the original Britons ſtill retained the original dreſſes of their fathers [4].

When the county of Lancaſter ſtooped with a forced ſubjection to the arms and bowed with a chearful ſubmiſſion to the virtues of Agricola, many woolen manufactories were then carried on with ſucceſs within the circuit of the Roman empire [5]. A very conſiderable one was particularly eſtabliſhed in Gaul. This was a manufactory of that plaided drapery which I have mentioned before [6]. And this had been long proſecuted by the inhabitants of Gaul [7]. This therefore, in the open commerce that was carried on betwixt the Gauls and the Britons, muſt have been neceſſarily wafted over into Britain, and was actually introduced into the iſland by the commercial coloniſts upon its coaſts. Theſe coloniſts appear equally to have uſed the drapery among them and to have not imported it from the continent [8]. Such muſt have certainly been the original commencement of a manufactory in Britain, which has ſince been of ſuch political conſequence to the nation, the ſource of all her accumulated wealth, the baſis of all her extended power! But this manufactory could not long have been confined within the pale of the Belgic ſtates. Even in the days of Cæſar ſeveral of the Britiſh monarchs ſeem already to have introduced it into their own kingdoms [9]. And from them it muſt have been eaſily diffuſed and appears to have been actually ſpread over the whole face of the iſland [10]. Such muſt have certainly been the original commencement of a woolen manufactory in Lancaſhire, which has ſince been of ſuch conſiderable importance to it, the kind origin of all its commerce, the beneficial occaſion of all its greatneſs!

But this manufactory muſt have made little progreſs in Lancaſhire before the epoch of the Roman advance into the county. The Siſtuntian monarch muſt have invited artiſts and imported implements from the ſouth; and each Siſtuntian baron had pro-

bably a loom in the offices of his houſe, worked by ſome of his own retainers, and furniſhing himſelf and his own family with this agreeable clothing. But the manufactory of the Britons muſt have been greatly improved by the Romans. And the woolen manufactory of Lancaſhire in particular was probably carried by the Romans nearly to all that ſtandard of mixt perfection at which it was proſecuted about two or three centuries ago among us.

The woolen manufactory muſt neceſſarily have been prior in its origin to the linen. The fibrous plant from which the linen threads are produced ſeems to have been firſt noted by the eye, and firſt worked up into cloth by the hand, of the inhabitants of Egypt. That at leaſt is the firſt kingdom which we find poſſeſſed of the drapery. And there the origin of the manufactory muſt have been remarkably early, as even at the æra of the miniſtry of Joſeph it had riſen to a very conſiderable degree of refinement [11]. For many centuries afterwards, the Egyptians had large plantations of flax among them, and Egypt remained the great ſtaple of the linen manufactory [12]. From this kingdom it was probably carried with every other art into Greece, and plainly appears from the uſe of its Greek appellation among the Romans to have been brought by the Greeks into Italy. And Italy muſt have carried her military ſettlements and her linen manufactory together into Spain, Gaul, Germany [13], and Britain. That this was really the caſe, is ſufficiently ſhewn by the German the French the Spaniſh and the Britiſh appellations for flax or linen, all theſe nations having originally adopted the Roman Linum for it, and all of them retaining it almoſt without any variation at preſent.

Flax muſt have been originally a native of the eaſt, the weſtern flax being evidently a degenerate ſpecies of the eaſtern, and the eaſtern being ſtill conſtantly imported among us. It muſt have been firſt planted in the ſoil of Britain by the Romans, and the preſent manner of working it into cloth is evidently Roman. Being plucked up by the roots and formed into bundles for the hand among the Romans, it was hung up to dry in the ſun and

was afterwards ſteeped in a river or a pool. When the plant was ſufficiently macerated in the water, it was dried in the ſun and was beaten upon a ſtone with a mallet. The interior and finer filaments being extracted, and fifteen pounds of filaments being deduced from fifty of bundles, it was carried to the diſtaff and wound into thread. This was ſoftened and ſmoothed by being frequently taken out of the water and daſhed againſt flints, was woven into cloth, and was beaten with keys [14].

This linen or flaxen manufactory muſt have been introduced into the iſland with the firſt ſettlements of the Romans in it. And the coarſer manufactory of hemp muſt have been equally introduced by the Romans. Hence the Roman appellation for hemp, Cannabis, is ſtrongly reſounded in the Kanab of the Armoricans and the Kannaib of the Iriſh, and is ſoftly echoed in the Saxon Hænep and the Engliſh Hemp. The plant ſeems equally with flax to have been brought from the eaſt. In the firſt century, the beſt European hemp was imported from Aſia, and the plant was not very common in Italy [15].

The naval cordage of the firſt ages was in all probability thongs of leather. The hide which covered the tent, formed the bed, and cloathed the body, would naturally offer the moſt obvious ſupply of cordage to the mind of man. And as the northern inhabitants of Britain actually retained theſe primitive ropes in the third century [16], ſo the nations to the north of the Baltic retained them to the ninth or tenth [17]. In other nations theſe had been early ſuperſeded by the uſe of vegetable threads and the arts of combining them into ſtrength. In this manner the Greeks appear to have uſed the common ruſhes of their country. In this manner the Carthaginians appear to have uſed the ſpartum or broom of Spain [18]. And as all the cordage of the Romans was made of theſe materials at the æra of their laſt deſcent upon our country [19], ſo muſt the art of forming them into cordage have been neceſſarily introduced with the Romans at the period of their ſettlements among us. Beneath the direction of the Roman artiſts, our thongs of leather muſt have been laid aſide, and the junci or ruſhes of our plains have been worked up into

cordage.

cordage. And hence, and hence only, the remnants of old cables are ſtill diſtinguiſhed among our ſailors by the popular appellation of old junk.

The nations of Roman Britain and the tribes of Caledonia and Ireland had inherited from their earlieſt anceſtors many of the ruder arts of navigation [20]. Their ſhips were large, open boats, framed of light timbers, ribbed with hurdles, and lined with hides [21]. In theſe veſſels they tranſported ſmall armies from South-Britain to Gaul, from Caledonia to Ireland, and from Ireland to Silley [22]. Theſe were furniſhed with maſts and ſails. The ſails muſt have conſiſted of hides, as the tackle was compoſed of thongs. The ſails were never furled, and were only bound to the maſt [23]. The ſails were actually compoſed of hides among the commercial Veneti upon the continent and as late as the days of Cæſar [24]. But theſe ſlight ſea-boats and their rude furniture muſt have been ſoon diſmiſſed by the provincials for the more ſubſtantial veſſels and the more artificial ſails of the Romans. The ſails of the Romans were compoſed of flax in the days of Agricola [25]. Theſe however muſt have been afterwards ſuperſeded by the ſtronger ſheets of hemp; and our ſails are therefore denominated by our mariners to the preſent moment cannabis or canvaſs. And about the ſame period aſſuredly muſt the junk of the Britiſh cordage have given way to the ſame materials, the uſe of hempen ropes upon land and of hempen nets for hunting being both very common among the Romans in the firſt century [26].

The commencement of letters I have already ſhown to have been conſiderably previous to the flood. Theſe letters were firſt inſcribed perhaps, according to the tradition of the heathens, upon the broad leaves of the palm [27]. The leaves of the palm, the bark of various trees, ſheets of lead and linen, and tables of wax, were ſucceſſively uſed as the paper of the antients. The famous reed of Egypt which furniſhed the firſt materials, and gave the preſent denomination to paper was diſcovered immediately before the æra of the demiſe of Alexander, and was for a long time ſuppoſed to be peculiar to the banks of the Nile. And the exportation

portation of it being occaſionally prohibited by one of the Egyptian monarchs, Ptolemy king of Egypt and Eumenes king of Attalia contending with each other in the growing magnificence of their libraries, and the ſagacity of the human underſtanding being excited by the force of emulation, a new ſpecies of paper was invented at Pergamus in Attalia, and was denominated Pergamenum or Parchment from the city [2]. Of the reed Papirus, which was afterwards found equally in other regions of the eaſt, all the paper of the Romans was made at their firſt entrance among us and for many ages after their departure from us [9]. The Britons, who had no letters, could have no paper. And the Romans muſt have introduced both paper and parchment into the iſland. Hence the former is denominated Pappyr among the Welch, Paper and Pabaur among the Armoricans, and Phaipear among the Iriſh. Hence the latter has received from the Roman Pergamenum the appellation of Parſhemin among the Armoricans, and from the Roman Membrana [o] has derived the denomination of Memrun among the Welch and of Meambrun among the Iriſh. And a coarſe manufactory of paper and parchment muſt have been certainly introduced into Britain with the knowledge of them.

The primæval inhabitants of Britain were equally unacquainted with the making of ſalt. This agreeable and uſeful article in our food during the reigns of Auguſtus and Tiberius was imported by foreign merchants into the ſouth-weſtern regions of Britain [11]. And had it been made at all in the kingdom, it muſt have been made within that region of it particularly, and in ſuch quantities as under the circumſtances of the iſland would have abſolutely prevented any importation at all. The Romans had long been acquainted with the art [12]. And they introduced it very early into Britain. The firſt attempt would naturally be the eaſieſt, and confined to the margin of the ſea. And a very conſiderable quantity of the fineſt and the firmeſt ſalt in Europe appears to have been made upon the ſhores of Britain in the fourth century [13]. But the Romans had been long inſtructed to ſearch for the ſprings of brine in the ground, and

to

to boil the water into glebes of ſalt[14]. And they actually opened ſome Salinæ, Salainnans, or ſalt-pits before the middle of the ſecond century. The firſt that were opened ſeem to have been the ſalinæ which were ſituated in the country of the Cattieuchlani or Caſſii and have given denomination to the preſent Salndy in Bedfordſhire[15]. About the ſame period or very ſoon after it other ſalinæ were ſunk at Droitwich in Worceſterſhire[16]. And poſteriourly to both muſt the Romans have diſcovered the ſalt-ſprings of Cheſhire and have opened the requiſite wells to them[17]. Theſe new ſalinæ lay near to the Roman-Britiſh Condate, and muſt have been the preſent brine-pits of Northwich. The ſalt-ſpring at Condate lies ſixteen or ſeventeen yards below the ſurface: but at Northwich it riſes into light. The latter therefore would naturally be diſcovered long before the former, though the ſpring at Northwich was at the diſtance of three or four miles from the ſtation, and the ſpring at Condate flowed actually within the area of it; as the mines of ſolid ſalt at the ſame Northwich lay concealed beneath the ground and unknown to us all till the year 1670. And the towns of Salndy Droitwich and Northwich aroſe ſucceſſively in conſequence of theſe ſaltpits, and were conſtructed immediately in the vicinity of them[18].

[1] Gen. xxxi. 21.—[2] Cæſar p. 89.—[3] Gen. xiv. 23. and xxxviii. 12.—[4] Cæſar p. 89.—[5] Pliny lib. viii. c. 48.—[6] Pliny ibid. and Strabo p. 301.—[7] Strabo ibid.—[8] Cæſar p. 89. Interiores pellibus ſunt veſtiti, and Strabo p. 305 and 307. for imports.—[9] Cæſar p. 89. Plerique interiores pellibus ſunt veſtiti.—[10] Oſſian vol. i. p. 140. and 156. In the latter page we have the robe of an Iriſh or extra-provincial woman mentioned. And in the former we have the robe of a provincial woman oppoſed to it.—"She is "ſeen, Malvina, but not like the daughters of the Hill; her "robes are from the ſtrangers land."—[11] Gen. xli. 42.—[12] Exodus ix. 21. and Pliny lib. xix. c. 1.—[13] See Pliny ibid.—[14] Ibid.—[15] Pliny lib. xix. c. 9.—[16] Oſſian vol. i. p. 106.—[17] See Alfredi vita.

vita per Spelmannum p. 205. for king Alfred's preface to his verſion of Oroſius.—[14] Pliny lib. xix c. 2.—[19] Ibid.—[20] Cæſar p. 240. and Pliny lib. iv. c. 16.—[21] Cæſar and Pliny ibid. and Solinus c. 22.—[22] Oſſian vol. i. p. 106 and 41, and Cæſar p. 73. And Cæſar tranſported troops in ſuch boats acroſs a great river in Spain (p. 240).—[23] Oſſian vol. i. p. 41, 45, and 75.—[24] Cæſar p. 55. and Dio p. 212. From this account of the ſtate of navigation among the Caledonians of the weſtern coaſt Solinus appears certainly to have been miſtaken in c. 22, where he repreſents the paſſage acroſs the Iriſh ſea to have been ſo dangerous in theſe curroghs. And in the iſle of Sky they uſed theſe leathern boats upon all ordinary occaſions within theſe hundred years (Crit. Diſſert. p. 325).—[25] Pliny Procm. and c. i. l. 19.—[26] Pliny c. ii. and ix. l. 19.—[27] Pliny c. xi. l. 13.—[28] Ibid.—[29] Ibid.—[30] Ibid. [31] Strabo p. 265.—[32] Pliny c. vii. l. 31.—[33] Camden p. 194.—[34] Pliny c. vii. l. 31.—[35] Ptolemy and Camden c. 339. and Itin. Cur. p. 74.—[36] Richard's tenth Iter and Ravennas.—[37] Ravennas, Derventione, Salinis, Condate.—[38] Mines of rock-ſalt were known to the antients. Sunt et montes nativi ſalis, ſays Pliny, ut in Indis Oromenus, in quo Lapidicinarum modo cæditur renaſcens. lib. xxxi. c. 7.

II.

THE firſt foreign commerce of the Britons was occaſioned by the reſort of the Phœnicians to their coaſts. Theſe bold adventurers in navigation and traffic, having planted colonies at Carthage and at Cadiz, and ranging along the borders of the great untraverſed ocean on the weſt, reached the ſouth-weſtern promontories of Britain, and entered into a trading correſpondence with the inhabitants of it. The real ſingularity and the commercial conſequences of the voyage gave great reputation to the officer who conducted it, and have occaſioned the name of Midacritus to be tranſmitted with honour to poſterity. Midacritus brought

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the firſt veſſel of the Phœnicians to our coaſts. And Midacritus opened the firſt commerce of the Phœnicians with our fathers. He found the country to abound particularly with tin, a metal that was equally uſeful and rare. He trafficked with the Britons for it. And he returned home with a cargo of the ſilvery metal [1].

Such was the firſt faint effort of the commercial genius of Britain, which was afterwards to conduct the veſſels of the iſland to the ſhores of Cadiz of Carthage and of Tyre, and even to raiſe the Britons ſuperior in boldneſs and in ſkill to the Phœnicians! Such was the firſt faint effort of the commercial genius of Britain, which has ſince diſplayed ſuch a variety of powers, has ſince opened ſuch a variety of channels, and has diffuſed the overflowing tide of the Britiſh commerce into all the quarters of the globe! This effort was firſt made ſome years before the time of Herodotus and about the period of the firſt inhabitation of Lancaſhire, about five hundred years before the æra of Chriſt [2]. The Belgæ were not yet landed in the iſland. The original Britons ſtill poſſeſſed all the ſouthern regions of it [3]. And the trade was opened with the Britons of the Caſſiterides or Silley iſlands [4]. Theſe iſlands were then only ten in number, though they are now more than an hundred and forty; and only nine of them were inhabited as late as the reign of Tiberius [5]. But one of them was greatly ſuperior in ſize to the reſt, and was therefore diſtinguiſhed by the general appellation of the whole, being denominated Caſſiteris Inſula or the one Tin-iſland [5]. This was the firſt land of Britain which the Phœnicians reached and with which Midacritus began the traffic for tin [6]. This was known amongſt the Britons by the appellation of Silura, and muſt have communicated the ſtill-remaining name of Silley to its contiguous iſles [7]. And this was then a very conſiderable iſland, being ſeparated only by a dangerous ſtrait from the ſhore of Cornwall [7], and reaching beyond the preſent uninhabited iſlet of Silley. The preſent iſles of Brehar, Guel, Treſcaw, St. Martin's, and St. Sampſon's, the rocks and iſlets ad-

joining to all, and St. Mary's and the Eaſtern iſles, muſt all have compoſed this original iſland. And large banks ſtill extend from St. Martin's nearly to St. Mary's and the Eaſtern iſles, which are all uncovered at low water and have only a depth of four feet at high. The iſles of Guel and Brehar, now half a mile diſtant from the rock of Silley, appear plainly to have been once connected with it. And Treſcaw, Brehar, St. Martin's, St. Sampſon's, and their adjoining iſlets, were once evidently united together. Sands extend from Brehar to Treſcaw, and may ſometimes be croſſed on foot. Betwixt Treſcaw, Brehar, and St. Sampſon's the flats are laid entirely bare at the receſs of a ſpring-tide, and a dry paſſage is opened over the ſand-banks from the one to the other. In theſe banks, over which the tide riſes ten or twelve feet in depth, hedges and walls of ſtone are frequently diſcloſed to the view by the ſhifting of the ſands. And from the general remains of ſtone-hedges ſtone-walls and contiguous houſes, and from the number of barrows which are diſperſed over the face of theſe iſlands, the whole appears to have been once fully cultivated and thoroughly inhabited [8].

This iſland was peculiarly repleniſhed with mines of tin, though the preſent unburied remains of it exhibit no veſtiges of the antient works and ſcarce carry any appearances of the antient metal. But in the month of May 1767 a rich vein of tin was diſcovered in St. Mary's, which bore directly into the ſea and pointed towards the ſhore of Cornwall. And the cargo which Midacritus brought from the iſland, and the account which he gave of it and its contiguous iſles, occaſioned a regular reſort of the Phœnicians to the coaſts of Silley. The trade was infinitely advantageous to the ſtate. And the track was moſt ſolicitouſly concealed by the public [9].

Thus continued the trade of Britain for nearly three hundred years, being eſteemed the moſt beneficial commerce in Europe, and being carefully ſought after by all the commercial powers in the Mediterranean [10]. The Greeks of Marſeilles firſt followed the track of the Phœnician voyagers, and ſome time before the days of Polybius and about two hundred years before the

the age of Chriſt began to ſhare with them in the trade of tin [11]. The Carthaginian commerce declined. The Maſſylian commerce increaſed. And in the reign of Auguſtus the whole current of the Britiſh traffic had been gradually diverted into this channel [12]. At that period the commerce of the iſland was very conſiderable. Two roads (as I have formerly mentioned [13]) were laid acroſs the country, and reached from Sandwich to Carnarvon on one ſide and extended from Dorſetſhire into Suffolk on the other; and the commerce of the coaſts muſt have been carried along them into the interior regions of the iſland. The great ſtaple of the tin was no longer ſettled in a diſtant corner of the iſland. It was removed from Silley, and was fixed in the iſle of Wight, a central part of the coaſt, lying equally betwixt the two roads, and better adapted to the new arrangement of the trade [14]. Thither the tin was carried by the Belgæ, and thither the foreign merchants reſorted with their wares. And the trade was no longer carried on by veſſels that coaſted tediouſly along the winding ſhores of Spain and of Gaul. It was now tranſported over the neighbouring channel, was unſhipped on the oppoſite coaſt, and was carried upon horſes acroſs the land or by boats along the rivers to Marſeilles and to Narbonne [15].

The Iſle of Wight, which as late as the eighth century was ſeparated from the remainder of Hampſhire by a channel no leſs than three miles in breadth, was now actually a part of the greater iſland, disjoined from it only by the tide and united to it always at the ebb [16]. And during the receſs of the waters the Britons conſtantly paſſed over the low iſthmus of land, and carried their loaded carts of tin directly acroſs it [17]. Such alſo were many other iſlands on the ſoutherly ſhore of Britain, appearing as iſlands only on the tide of flood, and becoming peninſulas at the tide of ebb [18]. It is curious to mark the different operations of the ſea upon the different parts of the Engliſh coaſt. The ſea has gained conſiderably upon the ſhores of Yorkſhire Norfolk Suffolk and Eſſex, the eaſtern coaſt of Kent, and the coaſts of Suſſex Hampſhire Dorſetſhire and Cornwall [19]. With-

in theſe forty years it has greatly uſurped upon the Silley iſlands in general [17], and even from May 1766 to May 1767 it encroached near forty inches upon one of them in particular. And theſe gradual and ſucceſſive depredations, theſe and theſe alone, muſt aſſuredly have been the cauſe that has been ſo vainly explored in the annals of hiſtory, and that has reduced the Silley iſlands to their preſent condition. Theſe, and not the violence of an earthquake or a tempeſt, muſt aſſuredly have widened the narrow turbid ſtrait of Solinus into an ample and calm expanſe of thirty or forty miles, have covered half the great iſland of Silura with the waters of the ocean, and have left only its mountains and its promontories riſing like ſo many iſlets above the face of the waves. Theſe appear from the experience of the recent ravages in the iſlands to be a cauſe too unhappily adequate to the effect. And the ſame cauſe has greatly plundered the coaſts of North-Devonſhire Pembrokeſhire and Cardiganſhire [18]. But the ſea has reſigned a part of its original domain on the ſouthern ſhore of Kent in Lincolnſhire and in Lancaſhire. In Kent it has retreated from the ſhore of Sandwich, has ſunk the ſmall æſtuary of Solinus into an inſignificant current, and has converted the fine harbour of Rhutupæ, where the Roman fleet was regularly laid up, into an expanſe of rich paſtures and a valley watered with a rivulet [19]. In Lincolnſhire it has added a conſiderable quantity of ground to the coaſt, ſhrinking from the original boundaries, and leaving many thouſands of acres betwixt the old bank of its waters and the preſent margin of its ſhore [20]. And in Lancaſhire the ſands which originally formed the beach of the ſea and were originally covered every tide with its waters are now regularly inhabited. Theſe are ſtill diſtinguiſhed among us by the appellation which they received from the Britons, and which is equally common to the ſea-ſands of Lincolnſhire Norfolk and Wales, the appellation of Meales or looſe quaggy lands [21]. But looſe as they once were by nature, and quaggy as they were once made by the overflowing of the tide, they are now annually cultivated, a parochial church has been erected, and a village has been conſtructed upon them.

In

In this ſtate of the Britiſh commerce, the articles imported into the iſland were earthen-ware, ſalt, and braſs both wrought and in bullion [22]. In this ſtate of the Britiſh commerce, tin was not, as it had been originally, the only export of the iſland. It ſtill remained the principal article of our foreign trade [23]. But with it were exported gold, ſilver, iron, and lead, hides, cattle, corn, ſlaves, and dogs, gems and muſcle-pearls [24], poliſhed horſe-bits of bone, horſe-collars, amber toys, and glaſs veſſels [25].

Such was the nature of our foreign commerce when the Romans ſettled among us. And it inſtantly received a conſiderable improvement from the Romans. This appears ſufficiently from that very remarkable particular in the interior hiſtory of the iſland, the ſudden riſe and the commercial importance of London within a few years after their firſt ſettlement in the iſland [26]. But the trade was no longer carried on by the two great roads to the ſouthern ſhore, and the ſtaple was no longer ſettled in the Iſle of Wight. The principal trade ſtill appears to have been confined to the ſouth in general and to the regions of Middleſex Kent Suſſex and Hampſhire in particular. But the commerce was diffuſed over the whole extent of the Roman conqueſts, and was carried on directly from the weſtern and the eaſtern ſhores as well as from the ſouthern. Thus new ports were opened on every ſide of the iſland, moſt indeed about the ſouth-eaſtern angle of it, but ſome along the eaſtern and the weſtern coaſts. Thus Middleſex had the port of London, Kent the ports of Rhutupæ Dubris and Lemanis, Suſſex had the ports Adurnum Anderida and Novus, and Hampſhire had the port Magnus [27]. And thus Yorkſhire had its port Felix on one ſide, and Lancaſhire had its port Siſtuntian on the other [28]. Theſe were evidently the commercial ports of the Roman Britons. Had they been merely the uſeful harbours upon the coaſts, as they muſt certainly have been much more conſiderable in number, as they muſt certainly have been mentioned upon every part of our coaſts, ſo muſt they have been equally noticed upon the coaſts of Caledonia and the ſhores of Ireland. They were all of them harbours

harbours firſt uſed by the Romans, they had all of them cities firſt raiſed by the Romans upon them, and under the Romans they muſt all have become conſiderable ports for commerce [29]. And the articles introduced into the iſland at theſe ports were the many particulars which I have previouſly mentioned to have been introduced into Britain by the Romans, and ſugar, pepper, ginger, writing-paper, and other ſimilar articles perhaps, beſides them. The ſaccharum or ſugar of the Romans, like our own, was the extracted honey of a cane, was brought from Arabia or from India, and was uſed only for medicinal purpoſes [30]. And all theſe ſpices appear plainly from their Roman-Britiſh appellations to have been actually imported among us by the Romans. And the articles exported from the iſland muſt have been partly the ſame as before, and partly the additional particulars of gagates or jet, the Britiſh jet being the beſt and the moſt copious in Europe [31], bears for the foreign amphitheaters, baſkets, ſalt, corn, and oyſters [32].

Such was the foreign commerce of the iſland in general during the reſidence of the Romans among us. And ſuch muſt have been in part or in whole the foreign commerce of our own port in particular. This was not merely the port of a ſingle county. It was the only commercial harbour along the whole line of the weſtern coaſt, and had no rival from the Cluyd to the Land's-End. And the exports of the neighbouring region, the lead of Derbyſhire and the ſalt of Cheſhire, the corn the cattle and the hides of the whole, muſt have been all ſhipped at the port of the Ribble. The Britiſh dogs in general were a very gainful article of traffic to the Romans [33]. And as all the interior countries of Britain, then firſt turned up by the plough, muſt have produced the moſt luxuriant harveſts at firſt, ſo the whole iſland freighted no leſs then eight hundred veſſels with corn every year for the continent [34].

Thus was a foreign commerce firſt introduced into Lancaſhire, where it now flouriſhes in ſo vigorous a ſtate, and where it has now branched out to ſo large an extent. And thus was the firſt

ſcene

ſcene of its reſidence upon the banks of the beautiful Ribble. There Ribcheſter enjoyed all the varied emoluments of it. The voice of tradition aſſerts and the diſcovery of ruins evinces the village of Ribcheſter to have been once a very conſiderable city, to have been ſuperior to Mancheſter in grandeur, and to have excelled perhaps all the towns of the north in wealth. And the commerce of the Siſtuntian port is the only aſſignable reaſon, the commerce of the Siſtuntian port was undoubtedly the genuine cauſe, of all its particular importance.

Ribcheſter was not, like Freckleton, neceſſarily planted upon a diſagreeable ſite, and had not, like it, a large extent of low marſhy grounds ſweeping for ſeveral miles on both ſides of the river, overflowed with the waters at every tide, and loading the air with rank exhalations at every receſs. Ribcheſter, like London, was fixed at a diſtance from the ſea and upon an agreeable ſite, and enjoyed, like it, the advantage of a fine air from the dry nature of the ſoil around it and from the lively flow of the river before it. And the Roman town at the Neb of the Neſe was only as the Greenock of Glaſgow the Shields of Newcaſtle or the Freckleton of Preſton at preſent. It muſt have been inhabited ſolely by ſuch as were retained in the more immediate ſervice of the veſſels. All the traders muſt have reſided, and all the commercial buſineſs muſt have been tranſacted, at Ribcheſter. The exports of the neighbouring diſtricts muſt have been carried to Ribcheſter, have been lodged in the warehouſes of the town, and have been ſent in boats to the veſſels in the harbour: And the imports for the neighbouring diſtricts muſt have been unſhipped in the harbour, have been ſent in boats up to Ribcheſter, and have been diſperſed from it over the country.

[1] Pliny lib. vii. c. 56. — [2] Herodotus p. 254, Weſſelingius. — The teſtimony of Herodotus carries the Phœnician arrival up to 440 or 450. And the progreſs of population in Britain and in Ireland, as it has been already and will hereafter be deſcribed (b. I. ch. xii. ſ. 4.), forbids it to be carried beyond the year 500.

— [3] Richard

—[3] Richard p. 50,—[4] Pliny lib. vii. c. 56.—[5] Strabo p. 265.—[6] Pliny lib. vii. c. 56.—[7] Solinus c. 22. What this author has ſaid concerning the iſland Richard has ſtrangely applied to the Silures of Wales, deceived by the likeneſs of the name, p. 21.—[8] Borlaſe's Scilly Iſlands p. 53, 58, 59, 62, 63, and 85.—[9] Herodotus p. 254. and Strabo p. 265.—[10] Strabo ibid.—[11] Polybius, who lived about 180 years before Chriſt, p. 290 and 291. Amſtel. 1670.—[12] Strabo p. 305.—[13] Ch. iii. ſ. 3.—[14] Diodorus p. 347.—[15] Bede's Hiſt. lib. i. c. 3. and lib. iv. c. 16, and Diodorus ibid.—[16] Camden c. 899, 467, 411, 211, 237, 199, 205, &c.—[17] Borlaſe p. 88.—[18] Camden c. 47. and 757.—[19] Richard p. 17. and Solinus c. 22.—[20] Itin. Curioſ. p. 5, 11, and 15.—[21] Itin. Cur. p. 119, Camden c. 468, and Mona p. 14 and 115. There is alſo a large plain on the edge of the ſea near Hyll-lake in Cheſhire, which is equally called Mels or Meals, where General Schomberg encamped his army before it was embarked for the reduction of Ireland in the reign of King William (Leigh's N. Hiſt. b. I. p. 29.)—[22] Strabo p. 265. and Cæſar p. 88.—[23] Diodorus p. 347.—[24] Mela lib. iii. c. 6.—[25] Strabo p. 265, 305, and 307.—[26] Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 33.—[27] Tacitus ibid., Antoninus's Iter 3 and 4. and Richard's Iter 15, Notitia, Richard Iter 15, and Ptolemy.—[28] Ptolemy and Richard p. 27.—[29] Antoninus and Richard ibid., Richard p. 27. and 18, and Iter 15.—[30] Pliny lib. xii. c. 8.—[31] Solinus c. 22.—[32] Martial lib. Spect. Ep. 7. and lib. xiv. E. 99, Camden p. 194, Juvenal Sat. 4, and Camden p. 2.—[33] Gratius p. 26.—[34] Camden p. 2.

III.

THESE were the multiplied advantages which our Britiſh anceſtors received from the ſettlement of the Romans among them. The mechanical arts that had been previouſly purſued in the county were conſiderably improved. And arts previouſly unknown

unknown were brought into it. The varied treaſures of our ſoil were now firſt diſcovered or were better collected. Our ſocieties were combined into cities, our manners were refined into politeneſs, and our minds were enlightened with learning. And agriculture manufactories and commerce were introduced among the natives of Lancaſhire and of Mancheſter.

Theſe were very conſiderable advantages reſulting to the county. But they were attended by another which was far ſuperior to them all, and in compariſon of which all theſe united together muſt abſolutely ſink into nothing. This was that great that momentous event, the introduction of Chriſtianity among the Siſtuntii. Beneath the government of the Romans, and ſpeeded by the communication which their empire had opened betwixt Judæa and Britain, was Chriſtianity introduced among the natives of the north. Beneath that government and ſpeeded by that communication did this Sun of Righteouſneſs ariſe upon the benighted inhabitants of Lancaſhire. The religion of an atoning Jeſus was now proclaimed in the ſtreets of Mancheſter. The religion of an accepting Jehovah was now propoſed to the inhabitants of Mancunium. And they were called upon to turn away from that deep night of ignorance, and to ſhake off thoſe heavy chains of depravity, in which they had unhappily continued from their firſt ſettlement among the woods and moſſes of this diſtrict.

When by the dread ſin of our great repreſentative in paradiſe corruption was firſt admitted into the moral world, ignorance was equally admitted with it into the intellectual. And as corruption proceeded in her work, gradually tainting the principles of the moral life, ignorance followed regularly behind, and as gradually clouded the powers of the moral diſcernment. In this ſtate of the human conſtitution, the heart fuming up to the head, and viciouſneſs in the one diffuſing darkneſs over the other, the original religion of man muſt ſoon have been coloured with folly. The mind, chained down to ſenſitive gratifications and brooding perpetually over ſenſitive ideas, muſt ſoon begin to loſe the remains of its native elaſticity of ſpirit in the conſideration

of religion, and all its religious ideas muſt have begun to grow bodily and ſenſitive. The ſoul of the generality could no longer riſe of itſelf to the contemplation of the ſpiritual world with which it was ſo intimately connected, and to the adoration of the ſpiritual Lord to whom it was ſo immediately ſubjected. It required ſome material repreſentation, ſome ſubſtituted and imaginary reſemblance, to be planted before the eye, in order to aſſiſt its ideas and to call out its devotions. Hence the ſpreading tree was ſelected and the lofty pillar was raiſed as an emblem of God and an object in prayer. And the dread Majeſty of heaven and earth was regularly worſhiped through the medium of the one or the other.

Such probably was the firſt introduction of images into the worſhip of the Heathens! Such certainly was the firſt introduction of images into the worſhip of Chriſtians ſince! And aſſociated vice and folly muſt ſoon have molded religion into a more corporeal ſyſtem. Accuſtomed to ſenſible objects in devotion and weakened in her faculties by ſin, the mind muſt ſoon have loſt all the ſpiritual ideas of worſhip and have retained only the exterior and the bodily. Such we have ſince ſeen to have been unhappily the caſe among the Chriſtians of the Roman church, in a leſs vitiated ſtate of the human mind and under the advantage of a greater illumination. Among the groſs intellects of the generality, the worſhip in both ſoon ceaſed to be directed to God, and reſted abſolutely and entirely in the image of him.

Thus in all probability was the adoration of the pillar and the tree introduced at firſt into the world. And the Britons adopted the idolatry. They worſhiped the flouriſhing oak [z]. They adored the maſſy column [a].

Matter being once made univerſally the object of prayer, the mind would naturally wander over the creation, and ſelect ſuch parts of it as appeared moſt ſplendid and important. The ſun and the moon therefore would firſt engage her attention, and for the ſame reaſon appear to have been more the general objects of worſhip than any other parts of our material ſyſtem. The pla-

nets, the elements, mountains, rivers, and rocks, imaginary intelligences, and departed ſpirits, would next riſe in ſucceſſion to the world the ſenſeleſs deities of abuſed reaſon. And all of theſe probably, and moſt of theſe certainly, were the national divinities of Britain [1].

Amid theſe wild wanderings of diſordered religion, the two original inſtitutions of God, prieſts and ſacrifices, and the three original doctrines of a ſuperintending Providence, of the world's final deſtruction, and of the ſoul's continuance in a future period of exiſtence, were all carefully retained by the Britons [2]. The great incident of the fall muſt have originally occaſioned the inſtitutions. And the great incident of the fall muſt ſtill have been pointed out by the obſervancies. If the Deity had not known man to have fallen from his original perfection, if heatheniſm had not believed a taint of corruption to have ſtained his original purity, the former could not poſſibly have enjoined and the latter could not poſſibly have retained theſe particular obſervancies at all. The appointment of interceding miniſters and the inſtitution of conciliating ſacrifices muſt certainly have been made on account of, and muſt as certainly have pointed out in their obſervance, ſome fixed but erazeable principle of impurity in man and ſome permanent but appeaſable principle of anger in God. And theſe were retained by all the Heathens in general. But the doctrines of a Providence, the ſoul's immortality, and the world's deſtruction, were almoſt confined to the Britons in particular. They remained among them the peculiar incentives to moral actions. In that vitiated tone of the human mind however the united force of all theſe was very weak. The doctrine of the ſoul's immortality had the abuſive notion of tranſmigration engrafted upon it [3]. The prieſts were polluted with human ſacrifices [4]. And, as I have ſhewed before, the people were guilty of the groſſeſt impurities and the moſt abominable mixtures [5].

There was ſomething however in the Druidical ſpecies of heatheniſm that was peculiarly calculated to arreſt the attention and to impreſs the mind. The rudely majeſtic cincture of ſtones

in their temples, the huge enormous Cromlech, the maſſy tremulous Logan, the great conical Carnedde, and the magnificent amphitheater of woods, all muſt have very ſtrongly laid hold upon that religious thoughtfulneſs of ſoul which has been ever ſo natural to man amid all the wrecks of humanity, the monument of his former perfection.

In this ſtate of the Siſtuntian religion the Romans entered the country. Their religion was fully as wild a combination of human vice and human folly, more ſplendid and leſs cruel, yet leſs retaining the illuſtrious doctrines of God's ſuperintendance, the eternity of the ſoul, and the tranſitorineſs of matter, and leſs adapted to touch the religious ſtring of the heart. But the Britons, on their adoption of the Roman manners, muſt have naturally adopted the Roman Theology, and muſt as readily have claſſed the Roman with the Britiſh deities as the Romans incorporated the Britiſh with their own [8]. This ſtrange conduct of exchanging divinities, ſo common to them and to all the other heathens, was plainly the natural reſult of a conſcious want of ſatisfaction in a right worſhip, and a miſ-directed deſire of ſupplying the want of the one by multiplying the objects of the other. This ſtrange conduct however muſt have been made ſubſervient to the more ready introduction of both within the pale of the Chriſtian religion. Both muſt in conſequence of it have become leſs addicted to either. The Britons half-romanized and the Romans half-britonized in their idolatry muſt neceſſarily have loſt all that attachment to their national religion which is merely the ſervant of prejudice, and which is generally the ſtrongeſt barrier againſt a converſion.

Under the government of the Druids, the learning of the iſland conſiſted in the knowledge of aſtronomy geometry geography metaphyſics botany and mechanics [9]. And with theſe the Britons ſeem to have acquired a competent degree of acquaintance. In mechanics they were particularly learned, as the great temples of Abury and Stonehenge and the various Cromlechs and Logans in the kingdom ſufficiently teſtify. With the mere tackle of leathern thongs they raiſed ſuch enormous loads

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as would ſtrain the ſtouteſt tackle of the preſent times. And all this learning was confined entirely to the Druids [9]. But, upon the arrival of the Romans among us, the Roman learning was carefully cultivated and ſucceſsfully ſtudied by the Britons [10]. This muſt have greatly affected the dignity of the Druids and have conſiderably wounded the authority of Druidiſm. This muſt have particularly taken away all that reverence for the former which ignorance will ever render to knowledge.

But the introduction of the Roman manners in general and the conſtruction of Roman-Britiſh cities in particular directly broke in upon, and muſt have gradually deſtroyed, the whole wild ſuperſtructure of Druidiſm itſelf. The religion of the conquered Britons began early to yield to the religion of the victorious Romans. Even as early as the firſt century, the Britons of the north deſerted the leading principles of the Britiſh religion in the form and the ſite of their temples. The original temples of the iſland were all raiſed in the depth of woods, were all conſtructed with great rude obeliſks of ſtone, and were all abſolutely open to the ſky above. Such we ſee on the plains of Sarum, on the edge of Rollright-heath, in Cornwall, and in Scotland. But eſſential as ſuch a form and ſituation muſt neceſſarily have been ſuppoſed to religion in any country that had immemorially retained them, the Britons of the north deſerted them before the reign of Trajan. They conſtructed their temples of hewn ſtones. They erected their temples in towns. And they covered their temples with roofs [11].

Thus early did Druidiſm decline in the iſland, not rooted up, as has been univerſally ſuppoſed, by the violence of a proſcription, but undermined by the progreſs of Roman learning and overborne by the irruption of Roman manners. And in this ſtate of the national religion Chriſtianity was brought into Britain. This ſtate had happily prepared the Britons for a more favourable attention to it. And it was a religion that drew aſide the thick curtain of heathen ignorance, and laid open to the view the genuine nature of God, the genuine nature of man, and the duties and rewards reſulting from both. It placed a true and abſolute

ſolute Divinity at the head of the creation, eternal in duration, unlimited in power, and undefined by ſpace, an Intelligence unerringly wiſe and unweariedly provident, and a Will infinitely juſt, unſpeakably kind, and inconceivably pure. It repreſented man to have been once exactly fitted to his ſphere of action, all moral harmony within, all natural order without, the central point of this lower creation, and a probationer for an happy eternity in an higher. It then reverſed the glaſs, and ſhewed him no longer moving in the fair orbit of duty and receiving light and warmth from the ſun-beams of Divinity, but voluntarily ſtooping to ſin and neceſſarily ſubjected to wretchedneſs; his body ravaged by diſeaſes, his underſtanding veiled in darkneſs, and the little empire of his paſſions and appetites all riſen in rebellion againſt the ſovereignty of his reaſon. It found his mind perplexed with doubts and his ſoul diſtracted with fears, conſcious of weakneſſes that required the aſſiſtance of ſome kind interceſſion, ſenſible of guilt that needed the aid of ſome friendly atonement, but vainly caſting a wiſhful eye for the one and the other through all the compaſs of created nature, ſinking therefore in melancholy under the weight of ſin, and ſhuddering with horror at the world unknown. And it diſplayed this kind interceder, it pointed out this friendly atoner, to the eye of deſpairing man; One fully qualified to mediate from the purity of his will, One abſolutely enabled to atone from the dignity of his nature; a man interceding for the ruined manhood, a God appeaſing the offended Godhead; a Friend deſcending from the Throne of Heaven, a Saviour conducting us to the happineſs of it. Such a ſyſtem of religion, ſanctioned as it was by precedent prophecies and authenticated by accompanying miracles, muſt carry conviction of its divinity to the ſoul, muſt melt even the obſtinacy of prejudice, and muſt proſelyte even the proſligacy of guilt.

This the genuine religion of our nature, which echoes the ſentiments of every ſeriouſly feeling heart and reflects the ideas of every ſeriouſly thinking mind, was introduced into Britain as early as the period of the apoſtles, and ſome little time before

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the insurrection of Boadicia in 61 [11]. And it was favourably received. It was embraced by many. It was persecuted by none [12]. The Britons the Romans listened to the voice of revelation, and were incorporated into the church of God. And about the middle of the second century it must have reached the confines of Lancashire [13]. The genius of Sistuntian idolatry and the dæmon of Sistuntian impurity fled before it; and the sons and daughters of Mancunium commenced the disciples of Christ. Thus was the only religion that could administer real comfort to the wildly wandering soul of man first brought into the parish of Manchester. There has it ever continued since, exalting the intellect and refining the passions, the parent of many a genuine saint. And there may it ever continue, the enlivening ray of our reason, the purifying principle of our conduct, till creation shall sink in the final flame and probation be succeeded by the final allotment.

[1] M. Tyrius Dissert. xxxviii. p. 401. Cambridge.—[2] Gildas c. 2, Lucan. lib. iii. lin. 412, Borlase's Cornwall b. iii. c. 2, and Gale's Antoninus p. 16, 17 and 39.—[3] Gildas c. 2, Borlase c. 16, b. ii, Cæsar p. 121 and Tacitus Agric. V. c. 11, and Ware (Harris) p. 122. And the numerous circles of stones that remain in the island, the well-known temples of the Britons, were assuredly fanes in honour of the sun. We have a Roman-British inscription Appollini Granno (Horsley p. 206), Grannus being the Irish word Grian or the sun (Crit. Diss. p. 314). And a large heath in Scotland betwixt Badenock and Strath-spey and on the banks of the Spey, having many of those circles upon it, is called Slia-grhannas or the heath of the sun to this day (Crit. Diss. p. 314).—[4] Strabo, p. 302, A. Marcellinus lib. xv. c. 9, Mela lib. iii. c. 2, Cæsar p. 120, and Agric. V. c. 11.—[5] Cæsar p. 120.—[6] Ibid.—[7] C. x. s. v.—[8] Horsely, Apollo Grannus p. 206, Belatucadro Westm. N°. 3 and Cumberland 31, Cocidi Cumb. 17, Setlocenice Cumb. 69, and Matuno, Mogonti. Vitiri, Tanaro, and others—[9] Cæsar, p. 120, Mela lib. iii. c. 21, Pliny

Pliny lib. xvi. c. 44, lib. xxv. c. 9, and lib. xxiv. c. 11, and Stukeley's Stonehenge.—[10] Agric. V. c. 21.—[11] Ibid.—[12] Euſebius Dem. Evang. l. iii. c. 7, Clemens Romanus Ep. 1. ſ. 5, and Gildas c. 5 and 6 (Interea)—[13] Gildas c. 7 and 8.—[14] Tertullian adv. Jud. tom. 1. p. 212, Lutetiæ, 1634. Writing about the year 200, he ſays that many even of the Caledonians were then Chriſtians—loca—Romanis inacceſſa—Chriſto ſubdita.

IV.

A RELIGION like the Chriſtian, once firmly footed in the iſland, was certain to gain ſpeedily upon the remaining heathens of it. And though it combated the native tendencies of the animal paſſions and proſelyted only by an appeal to the rational, it actually gained very ſpeedily upon them. Early in the third century the Roman Britons were generally ſettled in the profeſſion of the Chriſtian faith [1]. Idolatry indeed was ſtill the national religion both of Romans and of Britons. But Chriſtian temples were publickly opened in the iſland, and the Chriſtian faith encountered ſcarcely any of that oppoſition within it which it regularly met upon the continent. It ſuffered no perſecution at all till the concluſion nearly of the third century. And this oppoſition was ſucceeded by a great encouragement from the worthy Conſtantius and by an open profeſſion from the glorious Conſtantine. Then the ſtandard of Chriſtianity was diſplayed victorious over Roman Britain. Then the ruined churches were repaired and new temples were conſtructed. And then the great rites in the œconomy of Chriſtian worſhip were univerſally celebrated with devotion, the principal tranſactions in the hiſtory of the Chriſtian redemption were formally commemorated with gratitude, and the church of Britain was eſtabliſhed in piety and in peace immediately after the commencement of the fourth century [2].

When the Chriſtians were firſt formed into a ſociety, they muſt neceſſarily have been ſubjected to a regimen. They could

not have been left by the Divinity to examine the various models of government and to ſettle the beſt for themſelves. He who molded the frame and therefore knew the ſprings of the human heart would never have referred a point to the determination of man, which from the vanity of mere ſpeculation and the neceſſary want of ſufficient experience has always been ſo variouſly conſidered by man, which from the greatneſs of its object engages moſt ſtrongly the two ruling paſſions of the ſoul, pride and ſelfiſhneſs, and which for both reaſons muſt certainly have embroiled the church with the wildeſt diſſenſions, and have aſſuredly torn up the infant eſtabliſhment from its baſe. The God of wiſdom could not thus have inſtituted his church in folly. As a ſociety, as a ſociety modelled in wiſdom and founded on peace, the individuals of it muſt certainly have been retained in their proper ſpheres by a concentrating principle of obedience in ſome and by a regulating power of government in others. But the Chriſtian was not modelled merely like a common ſociety. It had this peculiarity in the frame and texture of its conſtitution, that it could not have begun to exiſt at all without a previouſly inſtituted platform of government. It began to exiſt at firſt by the baptiſmal adminiſtration of the apoſtles. And the apoſtolical power of introducing proſelytes into it muſt have neceſſarily included in its idea a power of government over the proſelytes afterwards. The firſt Chriſtians were actually admitted into the pale by apoſtolical miniſtration. The firſt Chriſtians were actually ſubject in the pale to apoſtolical government.

The mode of polity that was firſt delivered to the apoſtles for the preſent government of the church muſt have been the ſame that was continued over the church in the days of the apoſtles. The mode of polity that was either then or afterwards appointed by Chriſt for the regimen of his church in all ages muſt have been the ſame that was carried with Chriſtianity into all nations and has continued with Chriſtianity in all ages. And both were indubitably the monarchical or epiſcopal. This was the model of eccleſiaſtical polity that was

obſerved in the age of the apoſtles [1]. This was the model of eccleſiaſtical polity that was obſerved in all the Chriſtian nations of the world. No other ever made its appearance in the church till the year 1541. And this was the model of eccleſiaſtical polity that was particularly erected in Britain. The beſt platform of government in itſelf, it appears to have been early introduced into the iſland. And the Roman conqueſts among us were regularly partitioned into dioceſes as early at leaſt as the year 314 [2].

The firſt biſhopricks of the church would naturally be commenſurate with the provinces of the ſtate. The firſt ſees of the biſhops would naturally be ſettled at the capitals of the provinces. In conſequence of the former, the biſhopricks aſſumed the general denominations of Provinces and Dioceſes. In conſequence of the latter, the biſhopricks adopted the particular appellations of the Provincial Capitals. The firſt dioceſes in Britain therefore muſt have been the ſame as the provinces of the Romans, and muſt have been, like them, only four in number within the compaſs of the preſent England and Wales [3]. And three of theſe provincial biſhops appear as ſubſcribers to the Council of Arles in 314; Eborius Epiſcopus, de Civitate Eboracenſi, Provinciâ Britanniâ; Reſtitutus Epiſcopus, de Civitate Londinenſi, Provinciâ ſupra-ſcriptâ; and Adelphius Epiſcopus, de Civitate Coloniâ Londinenſium [4]. Theſe were all of them indiſputably biſhops in Britain. And two of theſe were evidently the biſhops of the provinces Maxima and Flavia. Eborius had his ſeat at York, the metropolis of our Maxima. And Reſtitutus had his reſidence at London, a city probably ſuperior in grandeur to all the other cities of Flavia and the capital of them and of the province [5].

But where ſhall we fix the ſeat of Adelphius? Where ſhall we find the ſite of his Colonia Londinenſium? The enquiry has long engaged the buſy efforts of conjectural criticiſm. But the difficulty is not yet removed. Camulodunum, Iſca Silurum, and Lindum, have all three been ſuppoſed by different critics to be the particular reſidence of Adelphius [6]. The interior condition

dition of Roman Britain was very imperfectly known to the critics, and a mere community of nature or the ſmalleſt ſimilarity of name was therefore naturally thought a ſufficient reaſon for ſuch a ſuppoſition. About ſixty years ago the MSS. of Ravennas being found to exhibit the kindred appellation of Colonia Lindum, and both theſe reaſons being united together, the hint was eagerly caught by the antiquarians, and the ſee of Adelphius has ever ſince been authoritatively fixed at Lincoln [9]. But the Lindum Colonia of Ravennas and of Richard is certainly not the Colonia Londinenſium of the Council. No authority of manuſcripts permits us with theſe critics to change Londinenſium into Lindinenſium. No proprieties of language allow us with theſe critics to deduce either Londinenſium or Lindinenſium from Lindum [10]. And, if both the one and the other could be permitted, Lincoln could not poſſibly be the ſee of a biſhoprick, being actually in the ſame province and conſequently in the ſame dioceſe with London.

The genuine name is Civitas Colonia Londinenſium. And we have no right to ſuppoſe a corruption merely becauſe we meet with a difficulty. The ſite of the colony muſt certainly be ſought in a region of Britain remote from Lincolnſhire and in a province or dioceſe diſtinct from Flavia. And a few obſervations will actually lead us to it.

The ſecond Auguſtan legion, which was ſtationed at Caerleon in Monmouthſhire, was equally ſtationed at London. The head-quarters of the legion, once ſettled at Caerleon, were afterwards transferred to London. Hence in the laſt century a ſepulchral inſcription was diſcovered upon the declivity of Ludgate-hill addreſſed to the memory of one of theſe legionaries [11]. And hence Auguſta, the legionary name of Caerleon at firſt, became early in the fourth century the legionary appellation of London [12]. At London the head-quarters of the legion continued for ſome time [13]. And while the two or three principal cohorts that muſt have compoſed the colony continued ſtationary at it, they might eaſily acquire the appellation of Londinenſes. The legionaries might as naturally receive the title of Londi-

nenſes as London obtain the title of Legio Auguſta. And the Roman troops in general pretty frequently received appellations from the names of their quarters, ſix or ſeven legions of Roman citizens (as I have previouſly ſhewn [13]) being denominated from the places of their reſidence, and a body of Nervii ſtationed at Dictis being called Dictenſes, another body lodged at Longovicus being named Longovicarii, and the garriſons of Petriana and Derventio aſſuming the titles of Ala Petriana and Derventionenſes [14]. Thus denominated, the principal cohorts were afterwards removed from London to Rhutupæ [15]. And the new colony might properly obtain and would naturally receive the title of Colonia Londinenſium. Rhutupæ was certainly the only colony in the kingdom that could poſſibly have received this appellation at all. Rhutupæ was certainly a colony of the ſecond legion and the metropolis of the province. And Rhutupæ appears certainly in the earlieſt period of the Saxons to have actually been diſtinguiſhed among them by the very ſame denomination of London, London Port, and Lundenwic [16].

Thus were three biſhops appointed as early as the year 314 over the three provinces of Britannia Prima, Flavia, and our own Maxima. Thus did three biſhops fix their reſidence as early as the year 314 at the three capitals of the provinces, Rhutupæ, Londinium, and our own Eboracum. The biſhop of Britannia Secunda, whoſe ſee was at Caerleon the Roman metropolis of Wales, was either abſent from the council of Arles or ſubſcribed not to the decrees of the biſhops [17]. And the county of Lancaſter in general and the pariſh of Mancheſter in particular were now ſubject equally to the civil authority and to the eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy of York.

Thus was Epiſcopacy eſtabliſhed at firſt coeval with Chriſtianity in Britain. Thus did Epiſcopacy flouriſh afterwards coequal with Chriſtianity in the iſland. And Epiſcopacy and Chriſtianity have continued inſeparably united among us to the preſent moment.

[13] Origen

[1] Origen on Ezek. tom. iv.—Britannia—conſenſit, and Gildas c. 7 and 8.—[2] Gildas c. 7 and 8.—[3] Ignatius's Epiſt. ad Smyrnæos ſ. 8. and ad Polycarpum ſ. 6 &c. (Ruſſell.)—[4] Sirmondus's Concilia Gallica Lutetiæ 1629, tom. I. p. 9.—[5] Richard p. 15.—[6] Sirmondus tom. I. p. 9.—[7] Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 33.—[8] Uſher, Selden, Spelman, Stillingfleet, &c.—[9] Gale's Antoninus, Baxter, Carte, &c.—[10] Bede calls the region Lindiſſis and the town Lindo-colina lib. ii. c. 16.—[11] Wren's Parentalia p. 265.—[12] Marcellinus lib. xxvii. c. 8. Lundinium vetus oppidum quod Auguſtam poſteritas appellavit.—[13] Ch. vi. § 4.—[14] Notitia.—[15] Ibid.—[16] Somner's R. Forts in Kent p. 9 &c.—[17] Richard p. 22. and Carte p. 214. a Note. And the biſhop of Valentia was equally abſent, whoſe ſee was at Leucophibia or Whitern in Galloway; a ſee being ſettled there in the times of the Britons, and Nynias a Briton being biſhop of it multo tempore before 565, Bede lib. iii. c. 4.

The ſtory of king Lucius, which has been ſo greatly canvaſſed by our hiſtorical critics, can be true only in the manner in which it is repreſented by Mr. Carte vol. I. p. 137. And I have already evinced that there were kings in Britain beneath the Roman government. But the two coins impreſſed with a croſs and the letters LVC, firſt mentioned by archbiſhop Uſher and more or leſs depended upon by all, muſt certainly be ſpurious. Uſher's manner of mentioning them renders the fact infinitely precarious. He had ſeen two coins, he ſays, which were marked with the ſign of the croſs and Literis *obſcurioribus* quæ LVC denotare *videbantur* (p. 22, 1687). And no Britiſh king, as I have already ſhewn from Gildas, was allowed to mint money after the Roman conqueſt.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

I.

IN the two military municipies and the ſeven military colonies which were planted by the Romans in the iſland, the lands aſſigned to the legionaries muſt have regularly deſcended to their heirs. This the nature of ſuch aſſignations neceſſarily requires. This the continuance of the ſame legions in the ſame municipies and colonies for three or four centuries together, which was the caſe particularly with the ſixth, very evidently demonſtrates. Thus inherited, the lands were undoubtedly military feuds in themſelves, and were undoubtedly enjoyed by military tenures from the emperor. And the male deſcendants from the original legionaries muſt have been all legionaries by birth, at the military age muſt have all engaged by turns in the regular duties of the garriſon at home, and muſt all by turns have been draughted out for the occaſional duties of the iſland abroad.

In the revolution of three or four centuries the males of the municipies and colonies muſt have been conſiderably multiplied, and the number of legionaries in each of them have been conſiderably augmented. In the revolution of three or four centuries the original three or four thouſand perhaps of each garriſon, merely by the natural effect of a ſucceſſive propagation, and only by a ſingle duplication of the whole in each ſucceſſive generation, muſt regularly have dilated themſelves into a very conſiderable number. Each of the nine cities muſt at leaſt have decupled the full amount of its original inhabitants in that long

period

period of time; and the native Romans of the iſland muſt have been nearly half a million of men at the concluſion of it. And hiſtory remarkably coincides with the reaſoning, actually mentioning the Roman inhabitants of the iſland as a diſtinct nation of themſelves, and conſidering them equally with the populous nations of the Britons the Angles the Picts and the Scots within it[1].

In this gradual multiplication of the Roman legionaries, and in that gradual increaſe of the Roman power which muſt have been the natural reſult of it, the neceſſity of maintaining ſo many troops in the iſland muſt have been regularly taken away. And about the cloſe of the third or the commencement of the fourth century ſeveral of the legions muſt have been nearly ſuperfluous in Britain. Hence we find the twentieth Valerian Victorious the tenth Antonian Auguſtan and the ſeventh Twin Claudian to have been recalled from the iſland before the fifth century[2]. And hence we find the firſt of them in particular to have not been recalled nearly till the middle of the fourth century, till ſome time after the date of Antonine's Itinerary and the conſtruction of the famous Conſtantinople[3]. Having very large bodies of native legionaries in her municipies and colonies, the iſland was ſufficiently able to diſmiſs three of her five legions, and was ſufficiently defended againſt her enemies by the remaining two.

The full legionary complement of men muſt have been draughted out of the military citizens that reſpectively belonged to each of the three legions, muſt have marched away under the legionary ſtandard, and muſt have embarked with their wives and children for the continent. The reſt remained behind. And theſe, together with the military citizens that were afterwards left by the two other legions upon the final departure of all, muſt have neceſſarily formed a very conſiderable figure in the iſland, the amount of their diſperſed numbers entitling them to the collective appellation of a nation, and the Romans being denominated as one of the five tribes that divided the iſland betwixt them. Thus Bede declares the Divinity to

have been worſhiped among us in the languages of five different nations, the Angles, the Britons, the Picts, the Scots, and the Latins. Thus the Saxon Chronicle mentions five ȝeðeoꝺe or nations to have inhabited Britain, the Angles, the Britons, the Picts, the Scots, and the Boc-ledene [3]. And what deciſively evinces the Boc-ledene and the Latini of theſe authors to be actually and abſolutely the original Romans, they both immediately after the mention of theſe ſeveral nations endeavour to aſcertain the periods of their primary introduction into Britain; and referring the firſt advent of the Britons the Picts and the Scots to certain dark and ſucceſſive æras, they fix the firſt arrival of the Angles in the time of Hengiſt, and they ſettle the firſt arrival of the Latins in the days of Cæſar [4].

In this interior condition of the iſland, Mancunium and the Siſtuntii enjoyed in peace all the various advantages of the Roman reſidence among them, employed in the proſecution of commerce, engaged in the profeſſion of Chriſtianity, and bleſt equally in the feeling of preſent and in the proſpect of future happineſs. But alas! the period was now haſtily approaching when the general happineſs of the iſland was to ceaſe. War was now ready to enter the five provinces of Roman Britain, to deform the fair ſcenes of Roman cultivation and Britiſh refinement, to ravage her rich vallies, and to deface her gay cities. Miſery was now ready to be let looſe upon the five dioceſes of Roman Britain, to diſtinguiſh by the teſt of ſufferings the mere votary of the eſtabliſhment from the cordial embracer of the religion, to give the genuine Chriſtian the honourable privilege of retaining his faith under the weight of diſcouragement and the eſtabliſhment of idolatry, and to call out all thoſe ſtronger graces of the ſoul which ſhoot active through the breaſt in the trying period of calamity, and which more particularly exalt the ſentiment invigorate the mind and dignify the man.

The Caledonians the Saxons the Scots were all preparing to deſcend upon Roman Britain, united by the bond of intereſt and impelled by the hope of conqueſt. This was the ſad commencement of an æra of ſorrows to her. And this it is re-

quiſite

quiſite to explain at large, to remove the thick cloud which ignorance has raiſed before the hiſtory, to clear away the wild whimſies which folly has incorporated with the facts, and to give a brief authentic detail of the whole. In theſe momentous particulars the citizens of Mancunium were very deeply intereſted. Theſe deprived them of their friendly protectors in the adjoining caſtrum of the Caſtle-field. Theſe broke for ever the chain of connection that had ſo long and ſo happily ſubſiſted between Mancunium and Rome. And theſe brought the ravages of war into our borders, introduced the natives of North-Germany into our pariſh, and even planted a colony of barbarians from the Elbe in our ſtreets.

[1] Bede's Hiſt. c. i. l. 1, and Sax. Chron. p. 1.—[2] Notitia.—[3] Antonini Itinerarium p. 9. Bertius's edit. & Iter Brit. 1, 2, and 12.—[4] Bede's Hiſt. l. i. c. 1.—[5] Sax. Chron. p. 1.—[6] Bede l. i. c. 1-15, and Sax. Chron. p. 1—11.

II.

THE Britiſh nations beyond the Vallum of Antoninus were ſixteen in number. Of theſe ſome had once been entirely reduced by the Romans. Of theſe others had ever remained independent of them.

[1] The former conſiſted of ſix tribes and had about twenty ſtations among them [2]. The Horeſtii lived immediately beyond the wall, in Sterling and in Fife, in the South-eaſtern parts of Strathern and Menteith, and in that ſmall portion of Perth which is to the ſouth of the Tay; being bounded by the Tay on the north, and having the towns of Alauna, Lindum, and Victoria in their dominions. Before the coming of the Romans the Horeſtii had been attacked and ſubdued by the Dam-

nii; and their towns are therefore aſcribed to the Damnii by Ptolemy. But, after that coming and the erection of the forts or the wall, the Horeſtii were entirely ſeparated from the Damnii, became a part of the new province Veſpaſiana, and were ſubjected to the new capital Victoria. The Vecturones reſided in the reſt of Perth, in all Gawry, Angus, and Merns, and in the narrow region of Mar which is to the ſouth of the Dee; having the towns or ſtations Orrea, Ad Hiernam, Ad Tavum, Ad Eſicam, and Ad Tinam [3], and acknowledging the firſt of them for their capital. The Taixali lived beyond the Dee, in the reſt of Mar and in Buchan, owning Devana or Old Aberdeen in the former for their metropolis, and giving their own name to Buchan Neſs or Kinnaird's Head upon the margin of their ſhore. Adjoining to theſe on the Weſt along the retreating line of the coaſt, and ſeparated from them by an arm of the Grampian hills about the North-weſtern limits of Buchan, the Vacomagi poſſeſſed the regions of Bamff, Murray, Inverneſs to the town of Inverneſs, nearly the whole of Badenock and Argyle, and the ſmall part of Broadalbin that lies to the North of the Tay; having the towns of Tueſſis, Rothes upon the Spey in Murray, Banatia or Bane-caſtle, Varis, Far upon Nairne river, and Ptorotone or Inverneſs, in the diſtrict of Inverneſs, Ad Tueſſim or Ruthvan upon the Spey in Badenock, and Tamea or Brumcheſter in Athol [4]. To the South of the Vacomagi were the Damnii Albani, a tribe totally omitted by Ptolemy and therefore certainly ſubjected to another, a tribe actually ſubjected to their neighbours the Damnii, receiving the former half of their appellation from their conquerors and the latter from the Alben or heights among which they were ſituated, and conſidered as conſiſting of two gentes or tribes, which inhabited the ſmall part of Athol and Broadalbin that is to the ſouth of the Tay, and the remainder of Strathern and Menteith [5]. And, to the South of theſe, the Attacotti reſided in Lenox [6], extending only along the ſide of the Cluyd and a part of the Roman Vallum, and having Al-cluith or Balclutha [7], the town upon the Cluid, Dun-Briton or Dun-Barton, the town of the Britons, for their capital. Such were the once ſubjected Britons of the North, formed into

the

the province of Veſpaſiana, and owning Ptorotone for their provincial capital [8].

[9] The unconquered Britons conſiſted of ten tribes, and inhabited the large remainder of Scotland. To the ſouth [10] of Murray Frith were placed the Proper Caledonians, poſſeſſing the interior regions of Inverneſs, the weſtern of Badenock and Broadalbin, the eaſtern of Lochaber, and the north-eaſtern of Lorn, reaching in a long line acroſs the iſland from the Frith of Murray in the North-Eaſt to the head of the Sinus Lelamnonius, Lelannonius, Lelanus, or Loch Fyn, in the South-Weſt [11], and having all the weſtern parts of their country quite covered over with the Caledonian foreſt [12]. But along the eaſtern coaſt of the iſland, and to the north of theſe and of Murray Frith [13], the Cantæ enjoyed all the eaſtern parts of Roſs, having the river Loxa or the Frith of Cromarty paſſing through the center of their poſſeſſions, the promontory Penoxullum, Uxel Pen, or the High Head, the Lofty Bank of Ptolemy, and the preſent Tarbeath Neſs, on one ſide of them, and the river Abona, or the Frith of Dornock to the North of them. Beyond the Frith were the Logi or the maritime people, inhabiting the ſea-coaſt of Sutherland, and reaching to the river Ila or Ale in Caithneſs. And the Carnabii inhabited the reſt of Caithneſs, being the moſt north-eaſterly of all the Britons, and having the two promontories of Viruedrum and Berubium [14], the Dungſby and the Neſs Heads, to the Eaſt and North-Eaſt of them. To the Weſt of theſe were the Catini, ſpreading along the whole ſea-coaſt of Strathnavern to the weſt; as to the ſouth of the Catini, in the interior diſtricts of Strathnavern and Sutherland, and adjoining on the Eaſt to the Logi [15], were the Mertæ. The Catini had been ſubdued by the Carnabii, who thereby extended their dominions along all the northern ſhore of the iſland from the river Ila on the South-Eaſt to the promontory Tarvidum, Orcas, or Faro Head on the North-Weſt [16], and to the river Nabæus or Loch Aſſynt beyond it on the South-Weſt. To the South of the Nabæus, the Carnonacæ extended along the ſhore of Roſs, having the Promontorium Ebudum or the headland of Row Stoir Aſſynt on one ſide of their country and the Volſ... Sinus or Loch Breyn

to the ſouth of it. Bounded by Loch Breyn on the north and by the river Itys on the ſouth, a river placed by Ptolemy two degrees to the ſouth of the Volſas Sinus and probably the Sheyl in Invernesſhire, were the Cerones; as the Creones were limited by the Itys on the north and the river Longus or Loch Long on the ſouth, a river placed by Ptolemy three or four degrees to the ſouth of the Itys [16]: theſe two nations poſſeſſing all the remainder of Roſs, of Inverneſs, of Lochaber, and of Lorn, and the whole of Argyle [17]. And the Epidii inhabited the little reſidue of Scotland, the narrow cherſoneſus that is formed by the ocean on the weſt and Loch Fyn on the eaſt, which contains Cantire and Knapdale, and which terminates in the Epidium Promontorium or the Mull of Cantire [18].

All theſe in the days of Agricola were united together under one monarch and combined into one monarchy [19]. This monarch was a Pendragon or dictator, one king exalted into a pre-eminence over the reſt upon the alarming invaſion of the country by Agricola, and, like the Pendragons that had been previouſly created in the ſouth, inveſted with a military authority over them. The Pendragonſhip muſt certainly have been inſtituted at firſt among the Southern Britons upon the firſt invaſion or the ſubſequent encroachments of their firſt common enemies, the Belgæ, and was therefore firſt inſtituted in all probability after Divitiacus had obtained the command of all Belgic Britain [20]. The united Belgæ appear to have gained very conſiderable advantages over the diſunited Britons [21]. The Cantii, who had previouſly ſeized the ſouth of Middleſex and the fortreſs of London [22], and who, as Novantes or new-comers in Middleſex, had their fortreſs diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Tre-Novantum or the abode of the Novantes [23], and afterwards received or aſſumed the diſcriminating title of Trinobantes, at that period in all probability enlarged their dominions, as I have formerly ſhewn their poſſeſſions to have been actually extended, over all Middleſex and all Eſſex. The Regni, who were previouſly confined, I ſuppoſe, to the county of Suſſex, now pretty certainly obtained their dominions in Surry, and (as appears from the name

name of their town, Novio-magus [24]) there acquired the appellation of Novieu or ſtrangers. And it was at this period moſt probably that the Dammonii ſubdued the Carnabii of Weſt-Cornwall and the Cimbri of North-Cornwall and South-Somerſetſhire, and that the Proper Belgæ conquered the Segontiaci in the contiguous parts of Hampſhire and Berkſhire, and reduced the Hædui in the north of Somerſetſhire the north-weſt of Wiltſhire and the ſouth-weſt of Gloceſterſhire. Such ſucceſſes muſt have greatly alarmed the native Britons, and muſt have ſtrongly ſolicited them to copy the beneficial practice of their enemies, and to unite, like them, under one common governour. And accordingly we ſoon find all the ſoutherly tribes combined together under one head, and jointly proſecuting the war againſt the Belgæ [25]. This head was the famous Caſſi-vellaunus or Caſſibellinus [26], the Belin or king of the Caſſii [27]. He was created the Pendragon or the head of the kings, the whole military authority over the combined tribes was committed to him, and under his conduct the war was carried on with vigour [28]. The Caſſii recovered all the country which had been ſeized by the Trinobantes, and which muſt pretty certainly have been previouſly taken away from themſelves, the whole tribe of the Trinobantes being reduced into ſubjection [29]. And the Bibroces recovered from the Regni what as certainly had been their own before, the county of Surry, even purſued the Regni into Suſſex, and abſolutely ſubdued the kingdom [30]. Such ſucceſſes would ſtrongly recommend the new model of government to the Britons. And at the ſecond and more formal deſcent of Cæſar upon the iſland both the Belgæ and the Britons very prudently united together for their common ſafety, and the Pendragon of the latter became equally for a ſhort period the dictator of the former [31]. And this dignity was not merely temporary, created for the emergency and expiring with it. It was a dignity that continued for life in the poſſeſſor, and that ſeems even to have deſcended at his death to his male heir. Thus Cunobeline and Caractacus, the two ſucceſſors of Caſſivellaun in the monarchy of the Caſſii, ſeem alſo to have been his heirs in the Pendragonſhip of the iſland.

iſland. This the firſt introduction of a mint from the Roman continent by Cunobeline, though as the king of the Caſſii he was with relation to them only an inland monarch [32]; this the intimate acquaintance of the Romans with his name and capital, though he lay at a diſtance from the ſouthern coaſts [33]; and this the appellation of Cunobeline, Cuno Belin ſignifying the Head King; all concur to render highly probable with reſpect to the former. And Caractacus, the Charatic of Dio and the Caradoc of the Triades, was undoubtedly the Pendragon of the Britons, as is equally implied in the name Cara-tac, Cara-tog, or Head King [34], as is expreſsly aſſerted by Tacitus, and as is demonſtrated by the whole tenour of his hiſtory [35]. Thus alſo, as I ſhall afterwards ſhew, the ſame office was lineally hereditary among the Britons of Caledonia and among the Britons and the Belgæ of Ireland [36]. Among the Caledonian Britons the dignity muſt have been firſt inſtituted upon the advance of the firſt common enemy which had hitherto attacked them, the Romans under Agricola. Then, wiſely providing againſt the general danger by a general union, all the unconquered tribes of the iſland ſolemnly confederated together, and put themſelves under the authority of Galgacus [37]. This was the monarch of one of their tribes, ſuperior to the reſt in deſcent and valour [38], and perhaps, as Pendragon, denominated Gal-gac, Gal-cog, or the king of the Gauls. In the family of Galgacus the Pendragonſhip moſt probably remained till the middle of the ſecond century. Then the royal houſe of the Creones was nominated to it, and Trenmor, Trathal, Comhal, and Fingal ſucceeded each other as regularly in the public command as in the private monarchy [39].

All theſe tribes were firſt called by the general appellation of Caledonians or Caledonian Britons [40]. And this appellation was not derived, as the learned Macpherſon imagines [41], from the two words Cael and Don, and ſignifies the Gauls of the Hills. It was the denomination of the inhabitants equally in the Lowlands of the eaſtern coaſt and on the mountains of the northern and weſtern Highlands [42]. This appellation, originally peculiar to the tribe that ranged in a long line acroſs the iſland and inhabited the hills in common

with the Cerones the Creones the Carnonacæ and others, was derived from the great foreſt that ſwept acroſs all the weſtern regions of their country. The woods of Britain in general and the three greateſt of them in particular were diſtinguiſhed among the natives by the ſimple denomination of Caledon or the Woods [41]. Reſiding almoſt entirely within the precincts of an extenſive foreſt, the tribe was originally denominated the Caledon-ii or the Woodlanders, and equally communicated its name to all the tribes that lay to the north of the Friths. But this communication appears not to have been made, as we have previouſly ſeen the name of one tribe imparted to another in South-Britain, by the reduction of the people in war. It was occaſioned, as is moſt probable, and as we ſhall hereafter find the caſe equally in Ireland, merely by the ſuperiority of the Caledonians to the reſt of the tribes in extent of dominion and in greatneſs of power. And the other tribes of the north were as certainly inferior to the Caledonians in political dignity as they were partakers with them in their national appellation [44].

Theſe about the cloſe of the ſecond century, when all the level regions of Sterling and the eaſtern coaſt were now no longer diſſevered from Caledonia, were very naturally and occaſionally diſtinguiſhed by the two general appellations of Caledonians and Maiatæ [45]; the latter inhabiting the marſhy plains that lay the neareſt to the wall of Antoninus [46], poſſeſſing equally without doubt the lowlands of the eaſtern coaſt [47], and being therefore denominated the Mai Aitich or the Dwellers on the Plains [48]; and the former reſiding in the wild mountains behind and on one ſide of them [49]. Among the former, the tribes that lay along the weſtern ocean were called from their ſituation Deu-caledones, the Water or Maritime Caledonians, and gave to the neighbouring ſea the name of the Deucaledonian Ocean [50]. And all theſe were afterwards known by the one comprehenſive appellation of Picts, which commenced about the cloſe of the third century [51], and which finally ſuperſeded the reſt. This name has been invariably ſuppoſed by the critics to be derived from the Roman language [52], and was equally ſuppoſed to be derived from it by the more ig-

norant

norant even among the Romans[51]. The word appears evidently at the firſt view to be as little Roman in its origin as the very ſame appellation of Pictones in Gaul, Pict in the ſingular forming Pict-i or Pict-on-es in the Plural; which is equally ſeen in the names of Allo-Brig-es or Brig-ant-es, Friſ-ii or Friſ-on-es, Cang-i or Cang-an-i, Cen-i or Cen-om-es, and a thouſand others. The name was not confined at all to the Romans and Roman Britons. It was uſed equally by the natives themſelves. The name was not peculiar to the Caledonians. It was the appellation equally of them and of the Iriſh. The name is therefore abſolutely Celtic, and was pronounced by the Britons of Scotland and Ireland Fict or Vict, the Caledonians calling themſelves the Fict-ied, and the Hibernians denominating themſelves the Gathel Fict-ied. The name is evidently derived from the Britiſh Guith or Guict, the divorced or ſeparated. Hence aroſe the appellation of Vectis or the ſeparated region for the Iſle of Wight[52]. And as the labials M, B, P, V, and F are conſtantly ſubſtituted one for another in the Britiſh language[53], Guict would be variouſly formed into Mict, Bict, Pict, Vict, and Fict. Thus we have Vent in the Venta Icenorum of Norfolk, Gwent in Caer Gwent the antient Venta Silurum, Wint in Wintcheſter the Venta Belgarum, Bint in the Bindogladia of Ravennas the Venta-Geladia of Richard, and in Vindovium or Bintcheſter, all four exactly the ſame word with Pend or Pent an Head. Thus we have Aval an Apple, Papyrus Papir or Pabaur, Populus Poball or People, Durobrovis or Duroprovis, Menapia St. David's or Menevia, Brydhain Frydhain or Prydhain for Britain, and an infinite variety of others[54]. And names like theſe, names ſignifying a ſeparated people, were very common among the Celtæ in general; appear (as I have already ſhewed[55]) even in the name of the iſland, Britain; appear alſo in the original and general appellation of all the iſlands around it, which were all equally denominated Britains; and are found in Vectis and Mictis, the names of one or two of theſe iſlands in particular, in the Vect-uriones of Scotland, in the Pictones of France, and in the Vettones of Spain[56]. And the name of Fict or Pict in our own country, being common to the Caledonians and

and the Iriſh, muſt have been derived from ſome ſeparation that was common to them both, and muſt therefore have denoted the ſeparation of both from the tribes of the Roman Britons and the poſition of both without the pale of the Roman-Britiſh empire ".

It is one of the moſt ſingular events in the Roman annals, and reflects a peculiar honour upon the bravery of the Britons, that in the long courſe of more than three centuries the Romans could never make an entire conqueſt of the iſland. This was the only country in the world in which the Romans reduced the greateſt part of the natives, and yet were for ever beat off by the ſmall remainder of them. The conqueſt was attempted by ſome of the greateſt generals that were produced in the armies of Rome, was proſecuted with the greateſt vigour and conduct, and yet was never accompliſhed. All the efforts of the Romans, however ſucceſsful at firſt, were finally baffled by the Britons. They ſtill lived independent in their native mountains, and looked down with pity upon the reſt of their brethren, ſtooping to the power and adopting the manners of the Romans. When the gallant Silures had ſubmitted to the Romans, and the equal highlands of Wales had ſuffered Roman ſtations to be planted among them; when even the hills of Athol and the mountains of Badenoch had been ſcaled by the Roman armies and were traverſed by the Roman roads; ſtill with a reſolute obſtinacy of ſoul did the Caledonians maintain their liberty, at laſt drove the enemy back to the friths, and even purſued them into the provinces.

When Agricola invaded the country, though he came recent from the conqueſt of Half-Britain, they oppoſed his advance and encountered his army. Though he came attended by a gallant fleet and at the head of a powerful army, though he gained more than one victory over them, and though he ſpent no leſs than three years in his expedition, they bravely perſiſted in their own defence and defeated all his attempts to reduce them ". They were not, as the Britons of Valentia and Maxima ſeem to have been before, a number of independent tribes unconnected

by union and uniformed with vigour. They were embodied together under one common government, and their operations were actuated with one common ſpirit. But when Lollius entered the country, they appear to have been diſtracted with diſſenſions. The pendragonſhip was then vacant, and the kings contended for the honour [60]. In theſe circumſtances defeat naturally ſucceeded to defeat; the Romans gained greatly upon the regions of Caledonia; and, additional to their old conqueſt of the Horeſtii, the five whole tribes of the Vecturiones the Taixali the Vacomagi the Damnii Albani and the Attacotti were fully reduced by Lollius [61]. The fever of private ambition was extinguiſhed by the fear of public deſtruction. And the monarch of the Creones, diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by the only ſucceſs in the war, was nominated to the pendragonſhip [62]. His dominions extended along the coaſt of Lochaber Lorn and Argyle; and his capital fortreſs was conſtructed towards the upper end of the country, was entitled Selma, and was planted in the great wood of Morven [63]. A part of Lochaber near the point of Ardnamurchie ſtill indicates the ſite of the capital, retaining to the preſent period its antient denomination of Morvain [64]. As the king of the Creones, he was called the Sovereign of Selma or the Monarch of Morven [65]. As the pendragon of the Caledonians, he was called Trenmor, Teyrn or Tren Mor, the Great King, or was denominated the King of Ardven [66]. Ardven was the general name of the country, and is ſynonimous with Caledonia. And as the dominions of Ardven extended up to the friths, and the vallum in particular [67], ſo they alſo took in the whole compaſs of the peninſula of Caledonia in general [68]. And in all probability the new pendragon preſerved the remainder of Caledonia from the Romans. They had now victorioufly carried their arms to the great chain of mountains that commences near the town of Dunbarton, ranges acroſs the weſtern ſide of Athol and Badenoch, and extends beyond the Frith of Murray. And this, as the natural the long-continued barrier of the unconquered tribes of Caledonia, which it certainly was, does for twenty miles together in the regions of Badenoch and of Athol

retain

retain the ſignificant appellation of Drum Uachtur, the Ridge of the Vecturiones, or the Mountains of the Picts, to the preſent period [69]. Having therefore conquered all the eaſtern and north-eaſtern ſhore, and having ſucceſsfully reduced the mountaineers of Badenoch and Athol, Lollius would certainly not have diſcontinued his conqueſts if he had found it practicable to extend them. Lollius had made a progreſs which none of the Romans had made before him, and muſt have eagerly wiſhed to have crowned his ſucceſſes and to have completed his glory by the abſolute and entire ſubjection of the ſtubborn iſlanders. And the Caledonians afterwards burſt from their mountain-barrier and attacked the Romans in their new conqueſts with ſo much vigour and perſeverance, that in leſs than thirty years after the expedition of Lollius the Romans were entirely beaten out of them all, were diſlodged even from the conqueſts of Agricola in the country of the Horeſtii, and were forced to ſhelter themſelves behind the vallum of Antoninus [7].

The next and the laſt great attempt to reduce the Caledonians was made by the Roman emperor in perſon, by Severus and by the whole collected power of the empire under him. The Caledonians were then ſubject to Fingal, the Vind-Gall or Head of the Gauls, the ſon of Comhal, the grandſon of Trathal, and the great grandſon of Trenmor, a pendragon worthy to be the antagoniſt of Severus, a chief worthy to be the hero of Oſſian [8]. Severus paſſed the two walls [72], and entered the country. The Caledonians perpetually hung unſeen upon his army during their march, attacked him vigorouſly at every advantageous turn, and frequently drew his parties into artful ambuſcades [73]. Thus continually harraſſed by a bold and watchful enemy, the Romans were reduced to conſiderable diſtreſs. They were obliged to put all their ſick and wounded to the ſword that they might not fall alive into the hands of the enemy, and actually loſt no leſs than fifty thouſand men in the expedition [74]. And though the Britons at laſt ceded a conſiderable tract of ground to the Romans for peace, a part of the country undoubtedly that had been previouſly ſubdued by Lollius [75], all the conquered Mæatæ immediately

diately revolted, were immediately joined by the Caledonians, and the Roman power was once more confined to the five provinces [76]. The Romans re-entered the country, conducted by Caracalla and commiſſioned to exterminate the natives [77]. Fingal met him in the county of Sterling and on the banks of the Carron [78]. "The ſon of the King of the World, Caracul, "fled from his arms along the fields of his pride [79]." He reſigned up the conteſted dominions, and haſtily retired to the ſouth of the wall [80].

Thus unſucceſsful were all the attempts of the Romans to ſubdue the Caledonians! Thus did the Caledonians perpetually riſe more vigorous from every repeated attempt! And they had no ſooner diſlodged the Romans from their ſettlements on the north of the Wall in the year 170, but they attacked them "behind their gathered heap [81]," paſſed the Wall, cut the Romans in pieces, and ravaged the province of Valentia [82]. And though they were finally repelled they ever perſiſted in their attacks, ſtill ready to break into the province, and ſtill eager to retaliate upon the Romans and Roman Britons all the woes which they had brought upon Caledonia [83]. And the moment the Roman forces relinquiſhed the iſland they even broke through both the walls, they even invaded both the provinces of Valentia and Maxima, and inſtantly began the complicated calamities of Roman Britain.

[76] Richard p. 30.—[77] Iter 9 and 10 of Richard, and Ptolemy.—[78] Iter 9 of Richard.—[79] Iter 10 of Richard.—[80] Infra Tayum (Richard).—Theſe Damnii Albanii (as Richard ſays) were intra lacuum montiumque claustra plane reconditæ.—[81] Unde [a civitate Aleluith] lineæ ad oſtium fluminis Varariæ dictæ terminos oſtendit [Veſpaſianus]. Richard p. 15.—[82] Richard p. 31, Beda l. i. c. 1, and Oſſian vol i. p. 120.—[83] Richard's map of this province is very inaccurate. The Vecturones or Verturiones are carried to the ſouth of the Tay and into the country of the Horeſii, and in ſuch a manner as if they had the Horeſii in ſubjection to the Roman

Roman invasion. But the Horestii were then actually subject to the Damnii. And as the Damnii are placed immediately to the south of the Tay, in the little portion of Broadalbin and in Strathern, the Albanii are translated to the west of Loch Fyn and into Argyleshire. And Vespasiana and the Attacotti are carried quite up to Loch Fyn. Dr. Stukeley has in some measure corrected the two first mistakes, has retained the third, and has fallen into others. The Vespasiana quæ et Thule of Richard's map he has strangely mistaken, annexing the Quæ et to Taixali, and with both forming Taixali Aquæ. And the Vacomagi he has brought to the south of the Tay.—[9] Richard p. 32. [10] Richard says, ad *Occidentem* Vararis; here, and here only, copying the grand mistake of the Romans as to the position of Scotland, which has put the East for the North and the West for the South, the North for the West, and the South for the East. And instead of a course right Northerly and Southerly the Romans have given Scotland a direction full Eastern and Western. This is the case with Ptolemy in particular. And thus Strabo p. 307 places Ierne or Ireland to the north of Britain; and the Scotch writers have idly caught at the position in order to make Ierne stand for the north of Scotland (see Macpherson vol. i. Ossian p. 5, &c.)—[11] Ptolemy and Richard p. 15. —[12] Ptolemy places the Caledonian wood υπερ, above, or to the north, that is, to the west, of the Caledonians; and Richard in a part of their country. It was therefore in the western part of their country. And Ptolemy places the Vacomagi υπερ or above, to the West of the Caledonians. But this υπερ should certainly be υπο, below, or to the East of, the Caledonians. And Horseley and Bertius, who both read υπερ, both translate it as if it was υπο.—[13] Ptolemy.—[14] Ibid. Richard has confounded these two promontories and made them one and the same.—[15] Ptolemy.—[16] Ibid.—[17] The lands of Etha, the country upon Loch Etyff or Etha in Lorn, were in the dominions of the Creones and the kingdom of Morven (Ossian vol. i. p. 168 and 170). And Richard accordingly says p. 15, Unde [a civitate Alcluith] linea ad ostium fluminis Vararis ducta terminos ostendit [Vespasianæ].

ſianæ]. The Creones therefore came up nearly to Dunbarton, as the Attacotti inhabited only the banks of the Cluyd, Clotæ ripas incolebant (p. 31). And as the river Longus was the ſouthern boundary of the Creones, it muſt be the preſent Loch Long, and Ptolemy's Epidian promontory and river Longus muſt have been tranſpoſed. Such tranſpoſitions we find in the fourteenth and twelfth Iter of Antoninus compared with the 11th of Richard.—[18] Richard's map is again inaccurate. The Proper Caledonians are all fixed to the north of the Varar, when they all lay to the ſouth of it. The Carnabii are extended over all the north of the iſland, and the Catini are placed to the ſouth of them. And the Creones and the Cerones are tranſpoſed. Ptolemy has equally tranſpoſed them. But Richard's deſcription is more authentic than either. Dr. Stukeley's map has repeated all theſe miſtakes, and added others, omitting alſo all the dotted boundaries of the kingdoms. The Caledonian wood, to which Richard's map ſeems not to have given any particular poſition, the Dr. has planted to the north of the Proper Caledonians, and even to the weſt of the Mertæ and the Logi. The Carnabii are placed to the ſouth of the river Nabæus. And the Carnonacæ, who ſhould begin immediately to the ſouth of the Nabæus, are puſhed down to the ſouth of the Straba fluvius, and have the whole body of the Catini interpoſing betwixt them and their northern barrier.—[19] Agric. V. c. 25 and 29.—[20] Cæſar p. 34. Britanniæ Imperium.—[21] Richard p. 50.—[22] Ptolemy.—[23] Richard p. 25.—[24] Ptolemy.—[25] Cæſar p. 88 and Richard p. 50.—[26] Richard p. 25.—[27] Richard p. 51: and Nennius calls him only Rex Bellinus (c. 14.)—[28] Cæſar p. 88. [29] Cæſar p. 92.—[30] See b. I. c. iii. f. 2.—[31] Dio. p. 227. Cæſar p. 88.—[32] B. 4. c. ix. f. 1.—[33] Suetonius in Calig. and Dio p. 957 and 959.—[34] See Baxter in Carm. Taximagulus and Togidumnus.—[35] Tacitus Ann. l. xii. c. 33, Caractici—quem extulerant ut cæteros Britannorum Imperatores Præemineret.—[36] See a miſtake therefore in Richard p. 7.—[37] Agric. V. c. 25, 27 and 29.—[38] Ibid. c. 29.—[39] See hereafter.—[40] Agric. V. c. 25 and Martial l. x. E. 44.—[41] Gildas præf. to vol. ii. p. 4v.—[42] Agric. V. c.

25, Richard p. 29 and 30, and Dio p. 1280. See alſo ſ. 4.—[43] Richard p. 18 and 26.—[44] Minores Populi, Richard p. 32. See ſ. 4. And thus the Iſraelites have been long denominated Judæi or Jews from the name of their principal tribe.—[45] Dio p. 1280.—[46] Ibid.—[47] The real name of the people that merely lived next to the wall of Antoninus was Horeſtii and Attacotti. But the Mæatæ were ſeveral nations, Dio p. 1280 συνεχωρησεν.—[48] Oſſian vol. ii. p. 219, the *c h* being quieſcent as in Cromla for Cromlach (Oſſian vol. i. p. 4.) in Cuneda or Cunedag (Nennius p. 102 and 142) and a thouſand other words.—[49] A. Marcellinus l. xxvii. c. 8. and Ptolemy. So Dubana now the river Ban in Ireland. So ſeveral places in Wales are denominated Deu-draeth or the ſea-beach. So the inhabitants that range ſucceſſively along the ſhore of Scotland in Roſs Sutherland and Cathneſs are ſometimes called by the Highlanders An Duaghael, and their country is ſometimes denominated An Duaghaldock, to the preſent moment (Crit. Diſſ. Pref. p. viii). And as Dy or Du are the ſame word, Ammianus's Di-caledones is a good reading and needs no alteration. The prefacer to Dr. Macpherſon's Critical Diſſertations (p. viii) derives Deu-caledones from their northerly poſition, as Baxter had before derived it from their ſoutherly. But their poſition was neither in the north nor in the ſouth of Caledonia. They lay along the weſtern coaſt, as appears from the weſtern ocean being denominated the Deucaledonian in Ptolemy.—[50] Eumenius's Paneg.—[51] Except by Verſtegan, who ridiculouſly derives the word from the Saxon Fight and Fighter, and by Dr. Macpherſon in Crit. Diſſ., who idly deduces it from Pictdich a robber, p. iii.—[52] Claudian, Nec falſo nomine Pictos. But in c. vii. ſ. 5. I have already ſhewn the Provincials to have certainly retained the cuſtom of painting as well as the Caledonians.—[53] Nennius c. 2.—[54] Mona p. 261. and 262. and Lhuyd p. 19 and 20.—[55] See Lhuyd ibid.—[56] Ch. i. and ſ. 1.—[57] See Pliny l. iv. c. 16. Albion ipſi nomen fuit, cum Britanniæ vocarentur omnes.—[58] And the name was accordingly communicated at laſt to the inhabitants of Veſpa-

ſiana,

ſiana, as they were in the third and fourth centuries equally with the other Caledonians without the pale of the Roman empire: See b. II. c. 1. Such of the Caledonians as we now call Highlanders ſtill denominate themſelves by the equivalent appellation of Al-ban-ich, the inhabitants of the Alb-an or Hills. The whole body of the Caledonians was alſo denominated Cruithnich (Baxter and Macpherſon's pref. to vol. ii. p. v.). And this name has been generally derived from Craith, a cut or wound, the Picts making little inciſions in their bodies in order to impreſs the painting, Ferro Picta genas (Claudian). This name has been recently interpreted to ſignify the Eaters of corn or wheat, the Picts being ſtrangely ſuppoſed to live only along the eaſtern coaſt of Scotland, and to be diſtinguiſhed from the other Caledonians by the knowledge of Agriculture (Macpherſon, ditto). Both etymologies are obviouſly abſurd. The provincials (as I have ſhewn c. vii. ſ. 5) equally painted their bodies as the Picts. And the Picts actually lived on the weſtern and northern as well as on the eaſtern coaſt. And, whatever is the etymon of the name, the appellation was certainly not peculiar to the Caledonians. One of the Iriſh tribes was ſometimes denominated Cruthéni, Cruthen making Cruthen-ich as Gael is lengthened into Gaelich and Erin into Eirinach (Carte p. 158). And in Patricii Opuſcula a Waræo, Londini 1656, their country is ſaid to be in the northern parts of Ulſter (p. 114). The name is obviouſly nothing more than Cruth-en-i or the Harpers, a name by which all the Iriſh have been diſtinguiſhed in the title of Citharœdi, the harp having been as much the national inſtrument of muſic to all the Britons as it is the national enſign of the Iriſh at preſent. — " Agric V. c. 24, 25, 26 and 29. — " Oſſian V. ii. p. 194. — " Richard's Itinerary. — " Ibid. Fingal was the great grandſon of this Pendragon by Trathal and Comhal, and, when he was yet young, oppoſed Caracalla in 211 (p. 87. v. i.). Allowing therefore 20 years or thereabouts to Fingal, and 30 to Comhal and as many to Trathal, we come very near to the only period of the ſecond century, in which *the ſtrangers* or Romans

invaded

invaded the country, and fought many battles with the Caledonians (v. ii. p. 195 and 196). And as Comhal died the day on which Fingal was born (v. i. p. 114), the requiſite deduction of 9 or 10 years from Comhal's 30 will bring us exactly to the period.—[63] Oſſian p. 195. v. ii.—[64] In Oſſian we find frequent mention of the towers of Selma and the oaks of its ſhaded walls (v. i. p. 104), as Selma was, like the towns of the old Britons, in the middle of a foreſt. The ſtream of Cona flowed along the fortreſs or palace (v. i. p. 113), and on its entrance into the ſea formed a bay for ſhips (p. 112). And the country was watered with five other rivulets, Balva (p. 97 and 98) Strumon (p. 230) Lora (p. 84. vol. ii) Duthula (p. 155. v. ii) and Carmona, the latter, like Cona, forming a bay (p. 229). And the iſle of Mull muſt have belonged to the Creones, as the ſhips of Fingal are ſometimes called the ſhips and his warriors the ſons of the lonely iſle (p. 29 and 36. v. i.), and as upon the weſtern ſide of it and at the head of Loch Levin is ſtill a place denominated Birgael or Fingal.—[65] Oſſian v. i. p. 132 and 222.—[66] Oſſian.—[67] Oſſian v. i. p. 95 and 96.—[68] "Ardven's ſea-ſurrounded rocks". So Lochlin or Jutland is ſaid to be ſurrounded with waves (p. 22. v. i.). So Tacitus, ſummotis velut in aliam Inſulam hoſtibus (c. 23. Agric V.)—[69] See preface to Crit. Diſſ. p. ix. for the fact. And the bounding line of Caledonia and Veſpaſiana is drawn by Richard exactly along this chain of hills: Veſpaſiana autem a Bdoræ Æſtuario ad civitatem Alcluith, unde linea ad oſtium fluminis Vararis ducta terminos oſtendit (p. 15).—Richard p. 52.—[72] Oſſian v. i. p. 87. expreſsly mentions Fingal to have oppoſed Caracalla in 211. And as Fingal had then been in Lochlin and loved Agandecca, the firſt of his loves (p. 42), and therefore prior to Comala (p. 87), he muſt have equally oppoſed Severus, who came into Britain only in 207 (Richard p. 52).—[72] Herodian l. 3. c. 48.—[73] Dio p. 1281 and Herodian ibid.—[74] Dio p. 1281.—[75] Richard p. 52. Mæatis, and Richard p. 52. Citerior pars [Caledoniæ] alio atque alio tempore ab illis [Romanis] poſſeſſa fuit, and Dio p. 1282.—[76] Dio p. 1283.—[77] Ibid.—[78] Oſſian v. i. p. 92.—[79] Oſſian v. i. p. 91 and 92.—[80] Dio

1287 and Richard p. 53. — [11] Offian v. i. p. 96. — [12] Richard p. 59, Dio p. 1209 and 1260, and Herodian l. iii. c. 46. — [13] Ammianus l. xxvii. c. 8. and Richard p. 53.

III.

THE Saxons have been derived by our critics from various regions of the globe, from India, from the north of Aſia, and from the foreſts of Germany. And their appellation has been equally referred to various cauſes, to the name of their Indian progenitor, to the plundering diſpoſition of their Aſiatic fathers, and to the ſhort hooked weapons of their warriors. But the genuine origin of the Saxons and the genuine derivation of their name ſeems clearly to be this.

In the earlier period of the Gallic hiſtory, the Celtæ of Gaul croſſed the Rhine in conſiderable numbers and planted various colonies in Germany [1]. Thus the Volcæ Tectoſages ſettled on one ſide of the Hercynian foreſt and about the banks of the Neckar, the Helvetii upon another ſide of the foreſt and about the Rhine and the Maine, the Boii beyond both, and the Senones in the heart of Germany [2]. Thus we ſee the Treviri, the Nervii, the Suevi, the Marcomanni, the Quadi, the Venedi, and others, in Germany, all plainly betrayed to be Gallic nations by the Gallic appellations which they bear, and all together poſſeſſing the greateſt part of Germany [3]. And thus, even as late as the concluſion of the firſt century, we find one nation on the eaſtern ſide of this great continent actually ſpeaking the language of Gaul, and another upon the northern ſide of it actually ſpeaking a language nearly related to the Britiſh [4]. But as all the various tribes of the Germans are conſidered by Strabo to be γνησιοι Γαλαται or genuine Gauls in their origin [5], ſo thoſe nations particularly that lived immediately beyond the Rhine, and that are aſſerted by Tacitus to be indubitably native Germans [6], are expreſsly denominated Γαλαται or Gauls by Diodorus, and are expreſsly declared

clared by Dio to have been diſtinguiſhed by the equivalent appellation of Celtæ from the earlieſt period [7]. And the broad line of nations which extended along the ocean and reached to the borders of Scythia were all known to the learned in the days of Diodorus by the ſame expreſſive appellation of Γαλάται or Gauls [8].

Of theſe nations the moſt noted were the Si-Cambri and the Cimbri [9]; the former being ſeated near the channel of the Rhine [10], and the latter inhabiting the peninſula of Jutland [11]. The denominations of both ſufficiently indicate their original, and evince both to have been derived from the common ſtock of the Celtæ, and to have been of the ſame Celtic kindred with the Cumbri of our own Somerſetſhire and with the Cymri or Cambrians of our own Wales. The Cimbri are accordingly denominated Celtæ by Strabo [12]. The Cimbri are accordingly aſſerted to be Gauls by Diodorus, to be the deſcendants of thoſe Gauls who ſacked the city of Rome, who plundered the temple of Delphos, and who ſubdued a great part of Europe and ſome regions of Aſia [13].

Immediately to the ſouth of the Cimbri were the Saxons, and extended from the iſthmus of the Cherſoneſus to the current of the Elbe [14]. Theſe were equally Celtic in their origin as their neighbours. Theſe were equally denominated Ambrones as Saxones [15], and as ſuch are included by Tacitus under the general appellation of Cimbri [16], and are comprehended in Plutarch under the more general appellation of Celto-Scythæ [17]. And this denomination of Ambrones appears to have been undoubtedly Gallic in itſelf, being common to the Saxons beyond the Elbe and to the Ligurians in Ciſalpine Gaul, as both found to their ſurprize on the irruption of the former into Italy with the Cimbri [18]. Theſe Saxons or Ambrons compoſed a body of more than thirty thouſand men in that irruption, and were principally concerned in cutting to pieces the large armies of Manlius and Cæpio [19]. And the appellation of Saxons muſt be equally Celtic as the denomination of Ambrons. It muſt originally have been the ſame with the Belgic Sueſſones of Gaul, the capital of

the Sueſſones being now entitled Soiſons by the French, and the name of the Saxons being now pronounced Saſſen by the Netherlanders, Saſon by the Scotch, Saiſen by the Welch, and Saſenach or Saxſenach by the Iriſh. And the Sueſſones or Saxones of Gaul very plainly derived their appellation from the poſition of their metropolis upon a river, the ſtream at Soiſons being now denominated the Aiſne and being formerly denominated the Axon [20], Ueſſ-on or Ax-on importing only waters or a river, and S-ueſſ-on or S-ax-on ſignifying only the waters or the river. The Sueſſones are therefore actually denominated the Ueſſones by Ptolemy. And the Saxones are therefore abſolutely entitled the Axones by Lucan [21].

Theſe Sueſſones, who with their brethren and allies the Cimbri had been more formidable enemies to the Romans by land than the Samnites the Carthaginians the Spaniards the Gauls or the Parthians [22], in the ſecond century applied themſelves to navigation, and became nearly as formidable to the Romans by ſea. They ſoon made themſelves known to the inhabitants of the Britiſh iſles by their piracies in the northern ſeas [23], and were denominated by them Lochlyn or Lochlynach, Lucd Lyn ſignifying the People of the Wave, and the D being quieſcent in the pronunciation [24]. They took poſſeſſion of the Orkney iſlands, which were then merely large ſhoals of ſand, uncovered with [illegible], and overgrown with ruſhes [25]. And they landed in the north of Ireland and ravaged the country [26]. Before the middle of the third century they landed a ſecond time in Ireland, diſembarked a conſiderable body of men upon the iſland, and deſigned the abſolute ſubjection of the country [27]. Before the concluſion of the third century they carried their naval operations to the ſouth, infeſted the Britiſh channel with their little veſſels, and made frequent deſcents upon the adjoining coaſts [28]. And in the fourth and fifth centuries, acting in conjunction with the Picts of Scotland and the Scots of Ireland, they ravaged all the eaſtern and ſouth-eaſtern ſhores of Roman Britain, began the formal conqueſt of the country, and finally

ſettled their victorious ſoldiery in the kingdom of the Siſtantii and in the poſſeſſions of the Mancunians [22].

[1] Cæſar p. 123 and Tacitus de Mor. Germ. c. 28.—[2] Cæſar and Tacitus ibid., Livy l. v. c. 34, and Ptolemy. Tacitus therefore is inconſiſtent with himſelf in thinking the Germans to be unmixed c. 2 and 4.—[3] Tacitus c. 28, 38, 42, and 46.—[4] Tacitus c. 43 and 45.—[5] P. 444.—[6] C. 28.—[7] Diodorus p. 350 and Dion p. 216. See alſo Dio p. 704 —[8] P. 355. See alſo Plutarch's life of Marius p. 495. v. ii. Bryan.—[9] Strabo p. 451.—[10] Strabo p. 444 and 447.—[11] Ibid. p. 449.—[12] P. 449 and 450 —[13] P. 355.—[14] Ptolemy. —[15] Ἀμβρωνες in Plutarch and Ἀμβρονες in Dio; Nennius (Bertram) p. 140 and 143.—[16] C. 37, compared with Plutarch p. 506 vol. ii. concerning the defeat of Maulius and Cæpio.—[17] P. 405 compared with p. 501.—[18] Plutarch p. 506. Ambron in Celtic ſignifies fierce. Hence Ambrones lupi in Gildas c. 13. And ſo alſo Ambrones in Bonifacii epiſt. i. p. 70. tom. 13. Maxima Bibliotheca Patrum. But in all probability this is only the ſecondary idea of the word, as Cimber latterly ſignified a thief and Brigantieus a turbulent man. The original word is probably the ſame with Camber, the aſpirate being omitted as in Umbri or Cumbri &c., and Camber making Cambri or Cambrones in the plural. And they are actually called Cimbri by Tacitus.—[19] Plutarch p. 506.—[20] See Cæſar p. 34.—[21] Ptolemy p. 53. Bertius, and Lucan l. i. 423.—[22] Tacitus c. 37.—[23] Oſſian v. i. p. 6.—[24] Ibid. They are therefore called the Sons of Ocean (vol. i. p. 17). And the Norwegians and Danes in the ninth century were called Lochlonnach or Mariners (Ware's Ant. of Ireland by Harris p. 60.). So in Oſſian vol. i. p. 3, 7, and 14.—[25] Oſſian vol. i. p. 14. and Solinus c. 22.—[26] Oſſian vol. i. p. 17.—[27] Ibid. vol. i. p. 26 and 16. Fingal was then a middle-aged man, all his ſons being then adults.—[28] Eutropius l. ix. c. 21.—[29] For the further account of the Saxons the Angles and the Jutes, ſee b. II. c. vi. ſ. 2. And more may be expected in b. III. c. 1.

IV. Con-

IV.

CONFEDERATED with the Picts and the Saxons was another nation, that equally occaſioned the Roman departure from our own Mancunium, and equally cauſed the complicated calamities of Roman Britain. Theſe were the Scots, a nation that has been wildly derived from Scythia from Spain and from Caledonia, whoſe real origin has for a century and an half engaged two whole nations of contending antiquarians in war, and whoſe real hiſtory has hitherto remained involved in the obſcurities of tradition and the dreams of conjecture. But the origin of the Scots, I preſume, may now be clearly aſcertained. And the hiſtory of the Scots, I think, may now be authentically detailed.

'The iſle of Ireland was inhabited by eighteen tribes, by one upon the northern and three upon the ſouthern ſhore, by ſeven upon the weſtern and ſix upon the eaſtern coaſt, and by one in the center. Along the eaſtern ſhore and the Vergivian or Internal ocean were ranged the Damnii, the Voluntii, the Eblani, the Caucii, the Menapii, and the Coriondii. The Damnii inhabited a part of the two counties of Antrim and Down, extending from Fair-Head the moſt north-eaſterly point of the iſland to Iſamnum Promontorium or the point of Ardglas haven in the county of Down [2], and having the Logia or Carrickfergus Bay within their poſſeſſions and Dunum or Down-Patrick for their capital. The Voluntii poſſeſſed the coaſt from the point of Ardglaſs haven to the river Buvinda or Boyne, the remainder of Down, the breadth of Ardmagh, and all Louth, having the river Vinderus or Carlingford river in their dominions, and the town Laberus near the river Deva, Atherdee in the county of Louth, for their metropolis [3]. The Eblani reached from the Boyne to the Læbius, Læv-ui, or Liffy, reſiding in Eaſt-Meath, and in the large portion of Dublin county which is to the north

2 of

of the Liffy, and acknowledging Mediolanum, Eblana, or Dublin for their capital [4]. The Caucii ſpread from the Liffy to the Letrim, the Oboca of the antients, over the reſt of Dublin county, and over ſuch parts of Wicklow as lie to the north of the Letrim, and owned Dunum or Rath-Downe for their principal city. The Menapii occupied the coaſt betwixt Letrim river and Cancarne Point, all the reſt of Wicklow, and all Wexford to the Point; their chief town, Menapia, being placed upon and to the eaſt of the Modona, Slanus, or Slane [5]. And the Coriondii inhabited at the back of the Caucii and Menapii, to the weſt of the Liffy and the Slane, in a part of Wicklow county, in all Kildare and in all Catherlogh, being bounded by the curving Boyne and the Barrow on the weſt, by the Eblani on the north, and by the Brigantes on the ſouth. Upon the ſouthern ſhore and along the verge of the Cantabrian ocean lay the Brigantes, the Vodiæ, and the Ibernii. The Brigantes owned the reſt of Wexford and all Waterford, extending to the Black Water, Aven-More, or Dabrona on the ſouth-weſt, having the great mouth of the Barrow within their territories, and Brigantia, Waterford, or ſome town near it, for their firſt city, giving the name of Brigas to the Swire, their limitary ſtream on the north, and leaving the appellation of Bergie to their own part of the county of Wexford. The Vodiæ poſſeſſed the county of Corke from the Black Water to the Ban, the river of Kinſale and the Dobona or Dubana [6] of the antients, and gave the name of Vodium Promontorium to the Point of Balycotton iſland [6]. And the Ibernii poſſeſſed the remainder of Corke and all that part of Kerry which lies to the ſouth-eaſt of Dingle Sound, having Rufina or Ibaune, for their capital, the Promontorium Auſtrinum or the Miſſen-Head about the middle of their dominions, and the river Ibernus or Dingle Sound for their northern barrier, and leaving their names to the three diviſions of Ibaune, Beare, and Iveragh [7]. Upon the weſtern ſhore of the iſland and along the Great Britannic or Atlantic ocean were the Lucanii or Lucenii [8], the Velaborii, the Cangani [9], the Auterii, the Nagnatæ, the Hardinii [10], and the Venicnii. The Lucenii inhabited

the

the peninſula of land that lies along the river Ibernus or Dingle Sound, and perhaps ſome adjoining parts of Kerry. The Velaborii ranged along the ſmall remainder of Kerry, and over the whole of Limerick to the Senus or Shannon, having the river Durius or the Caſheen flowing through their dominions [9], and owning Regia, Limerick, or ſome town near it [10], for their metropolis. The Gangani lived in the county of Clare, Macolicum near the Shannon [11], perhaps Feakle, being their principal town, a point in the Bay of Galway near Glaniny being denominated Beniſamnum Promontorium, and the adjoining iſles of Arran being called from them Inſulæ Canganæ [12]. The Auterii were ſettled in the county of Galway, winding along the deep recels of the Sinus Auſoba or Bay of Galway, ſtretching towards the north as far as the Libnius or the river that bounds the county of Galway in part, and poſſeſſing the ſmall portion of Mayo county which lies to the ſouth of that river; were ſubject to Auterium, Atterith, or Athenree; and have left their name to the diviſion of Athenree. The Nagnatæ occupied the reſt of the large county of Mayo, all Sligo and all Roſcommon, all Letrim as far as Logh Allin on the ſouth-eaſt, and all Fermanagh to Balyſhannon and Logh Erne; being bounded by the Rhebius or the river of Balyſhannon and the Lake Rhebius or Logh Erne, having a deep bay, called Magnus Sinus, curving along Mayo Sligo and Letrim counties, and acknowledging Nagnat, Necmaht, or Al-necmaht [13], the town of the Nagnatæ, for their capital. And the Hardinii and the Venicnii were two tribes confederated together under the title of the Venicnian nations, extending from Balyſhannon to the North-Cape, and poſſeſſing all Donegalle except the two whole diviſions of Raphoe and Enis-Owen and the eaſtern part of Killmacrenen diviſion; the Venicnii lying along the immediate margin of the ſhore, giving name to the Promontorium Venicnium or Cape Horn and to the Inſula Venicnia or North-Arran Iſland, and their metropolis Rheba being ſeated upon the Lake Rhebius and in the country of the Hardinii on the ſouth-eaſt [14]. Upon the northern ſhore and along the margin of the Deucaledonian ocean were only the Robogdii, inhabiting the reſt of

Donegalle,

Donegalle, all Derry, and all Antrim to the Promontory Fair-Head and the Damnii, giving their own name to the Fair-Head and to the diviſion of Raphoe, having the rivers Vidua or Ship-harbour, Argita or Logh Swilly, Darabouna or Logh Foile, and Banna or Ban in their territories, and acknowledging Robogdium, Robogh, or Raphoe for their chief city. And the central regions of the iſland, all Tyrone, the remainder of Fermanagh and Letrim, all Monaghan, the remainder of Ardmagh, all Cavan, all Longford, all Weſt-Meath, all the King's and all the Queen's County, all Kilkenny, and all Tipperary, were planted by the Scoti; the Shannon, Logh Allin, and Logh Erne being their great boundaries upon the weſt, the Barrow, the Boyne, and Logh Neagh upon the eaſt, the rivers Swire and Blackwater on the ſouth, and a chain of mountains on the north; the two greateſt of their towns being Rheba, a city ſeated, like the Rheba of the Venicnians, upon the lake and river Rhebius, but upon a different part of them and ſomewhere in the north of Cavan, and Iberniа, a town placed a little to the eaſt of the Shannon and ſomewhere in the county of Tipperary [13].

When the Belgæ firſt landed upon the ſouthern ſhore of Britain, about three hundred and fifty years before the Chriſtian æra, and took poſſeſſion of Kent Suſſex Hampſhire Dorſetſhire and Devonſhire, the native Britons, diſlodged from their antient ſettlements, tranſported themſelves into the neighbouring iſle of Ireland [14]. This fine iſland was then entirely unoccupied, and now firſt received a colony of inhabitants [15]. This fine iſland was then denominated Er-in, Ierne, Ierine, or Ivernia, Er, Ier, or Iver, ſignifying the Weſtern, and Inis, Ine, or In importing the Iſland [16]. And this colony was afterwards augmented by the addition of other Britons, equally diſlodged from their native regions by the Belgæ, and equally repairing to the wilds of Ireland. This ſecond colony of Britons was wafted over into Ireland about two hundred and fifty years after the firſt, when Divitiacus reduced the Bibroces of Surry, the Caſſii of Middleſex and Eſſex, the Segontiaci, the Hædui, the Cimbri, and the Carnabii [17]. And both the colonies, flying equally from

the dominion of the Belgæ, very naturally incorporated themſelves into one and the ſame ſociety, and were as naturally diſtinguiſhed among the Britons by one and the ſame denomination, the appoſite appellation of the Scuites, the Wanderers, or the Refugees of Britain [18].

The next colonies that were ſettled in Ireland were in all probability the Damnii and the Robogdii, the name of the former indubitably evincing its origin from the Damnii of Valentia, and both pretty certainly croſſing the narrow ſtrait from Galloway and Cantire. The Epidii and the Damnii lying the neareſt of any Britons to the iſle of Ireland, they muſt therefore be ſuppoſed, after the extraordinary embarkation of the Scuites, to have been the firſt of all the Britons that planted colonies within it. And the Damnii, who once owned all the ſea-coaſt from the borders of Galloway to the wall of Antoninus, and who had even ſubdued both the Horeſtii and the Albani beyond it, muſt once (I apprehend) have undoubtedly poſſeſſed the whole extent of Galloway, and muſt have willingly reſigned it up to the tribe of the Nou-ant-es or the New-comers. This appears from its appellation to have been a nation of foreigners, and from its ſituation muſt in all probability have been derived from the neighbouring ſhores of Ireland. And this was very probably a body of the Iriſh Damnii, that upon ſome rencounters betwixt the Robogdii or the Voluntii and them had retired from the iſland about the period of Agricola's entrance into Lancaſhire, had re-croſſed the ſea to the directly oppoſite coaſt of Galloway, and had been allowed to ſettle peaceably in the country. They were nearly related enough to the Damnii to be admitted into a participation of their territories, and they had been abſent long enough from the country to be denominated Nouantes or ſtrangers. And, what ſeems a ſtriking confirmation of the opinion, an Iriſh Regulus appears expreſsly from Tacitus to have been expelled from the iſland in ſome internal commotion of it, who was treated with a very artful friendlineſs by Agricola, who gave the Romans a very juſt and a very encouraging information concerning the weakneſs of the ſtate, and with whom Agricola had

had once reſolved to make a deſcent upon Ireland, and actually to land in the region of the Damnii [19].

Theſe two embarkations were moſt probably occaſioned by the mere populouſneſs of Britain, crowded as it now began to be with inhabitants, and by the mere vicinity of Ireland, very plain as it appeared to the eye from the ſhores of Cantire and Galloway. But the ſucceeding colonies were certainly occaſioned by the wars of the Britons among themſelves and of the Romans againſt the Belgæ and the Britons. And to theſe cauſes are the ſettlements of moſt of the colonies expreſsly attributed by Richard [20].

About half a century before Chriſt the Carnabii of Cheſhire, as I have formerly ſhewn, entered the country of the Ordovices and ſubdued the county of Shrewſbury. Upon this invaſion the Ordovices that lived in the north of Shropſhire and the neighbourhood of Mediolanum ſeem to have paſſed over into Ireland, and to have retained the memorial of their origin in the name of their capital, Eblana or Mediolanum [21]. The former name evidently affixed the new appellation of Eblani to the tribe; and the latter ſeems as evidently to point out the old appellation of its city. Thus the colony of the Cantii, which ſpread from Trinovantum or London over the reſt of Middleſex and the whole of Eſſex, carried the name of their original city in their appellation of Trinovantes. Thus the Rhemi of Gaul in the neighbourhood of Bibrac-te, coming over in a colony to Britain, and ſettling in the ſouth-eaſtern parts of Berkſhire, conſtructed the new city of Bibrac-te and formed the new tribe of the Bibroc-es. And thus we ſhall find the Menapii and others to have come over from particular towns in Britain, and to have retained the name of their original city in the preſent denomination of their tribe. And the Guetheling or Watling Street muſt have been conſtructed about fifty or ſixty years after the ſettlement of theſe Mediolanenſes upon the coaſt, and muſt have been carried from the Rhutupæ of the Cantii to the Segontium of the Ordovices in order to traffick with theſe the tranſplanted Ordovices of Ireland.

About the commencement of the Chriſtian æra, the Brigantes of Yorkſhire and Durham, as I have ſhewed before, invaded the counties of Cumberland, Weſtmoreland Lancaſter and Cheſter; and three new tribes ſeem to have ſettled in the iſland. Theſe are the Voluntii, the Caucii, and the Coriondii. The name of the Voluntii is a ſufficient indication of their origin. And the name of the Caucii ſeems equally to indicate theirs, and to evince their derivation from the Coccium of the Siſtuntii and the metropolis of Lancaſhire. When the names of any towns upon the weſtern coaſt of Britain are retained in the appellations of any tribes upon the eaſtern ſhore of Ireland, we muſt naturally conclude the one to have given denomination to the other. And that the nation of the Caucii and the tribe of the Menapii were not, as Richard aſſerts them to be, two colonies from the Cauchi and Menapii of Germany, we have poſitive reaſons to conclude. All the tribes of the iſland muſt undoubtedly have come originally from Britain [22]. All the tribes of its eaſtern ſhore in particular muſt undoubtedly have come originally from the oppoſite coaſt of Britain. And we find the names of places in the countries which both of the nations poſſeſſed clearly and invariably Gallic, as Modona, Slanus, Clone-gall and Scare-walch, Ballinacur, Ballinderry, Rathdurm, Kilkenny, Kilnemore, Ballifoyle, Kilruſh, Killenagh, and Balageene among the Menapii, and as Dunum the metropolis and Oboca the limitary ſtream, Rathmines, Rathgar, Rathfarnum, Dundrum, Killininy, Kellgobbin, Killternan, Rath-Downe, Killcooli, and Killtemen among the Caucii. The Caucii and Menapii therefore muſt be as little Teutonic in their origin as the Damnii and the Voluntii, muſt as well as they have deſcended from the oppoſite coaſt of Britain, and muſt as well as the Bibroces of Britain be derived from ſome town of a kindred appellation with themſelves. The Caucii in particular muſt be derived from the Coccium of the Siſtuntii, a town the only one upon the coaſt that bears a ſimilar appellation, a tribe the moſt likely of all others to have ſettled immediately to the ſouth of the Voluntii; and Lancaſhire

of Manchester approaches. The brief history of a town, the comprehensive history of a nation, the general history of man, are all of them the records of human calamities and the registers of human woes, of calamities which are generally provoked by vices, and of woes which are naturally productive of virtues, reinvigorating by the task of trials that tone of the human mind which was previously debilitated by inactivity, and by forceable appeals to the native thoughtfulness of the human soul asserting those powers of religion which were previously sinking in the sensualities of peace. The convulsions of nature and the enormities of man, the war of elements and the subversion of empires, are all finely directed by the controuling influence of Divinity to the great purposes of supporting the moral interests of the world, and of impressing the heart with the awful truths of religion.

THE END OF BOOK THE FIRST.

APPEN-

minate themſelves by the general title of Gael, Cael, or Gauls. But they alſo denominate themſelves, and the Welch equally denominate them both and originally denominated themſelves [29], by the general title of Guidhyl Guethel and Gathel. And this appellation is certainly the origin of the other. The intermediate *th* being left quieſcent in the pronunciation, Gathel is immediately formed into Gael. Such a quieſcence in general appears from the Iriſh language at preſent to have been once very frequent in the Britiſh. And this quieſcence in particular appears actually in uſe among the Britons. That the intermediate *th* in general was actually melted away in the pronunciation, is plain from the Britiſh appellation of a fortreſs, Kadair and Kathair, which is now reſolved into Kaer and Gaer, and from the names of Cathbait Cruthgall Sithfadda and the like, pronounced Cabait Crugall and Sifadda in the Highlands at preſent. And this Britiſh mode of pronunciation is even retained in the provincial Engliſh of the preſent day, Burthen being equally in Wales and in Lancaſhire contracted into Burn, the names of Rauthmell and Withnell being popularly pronounced Raumell and Winell in Lancaſhire, and Them Boatſwain Southwold-Bay Northwood and Southton being everywhere colloquially reduced into 'Em Boſon Sole-Bay Norwood and Sutton. That this intermediate *th* in particular was antiently melted away in the pronunciation, is more plain from the antient appellation of a diſtrict in Caledonia, which was antiently written Ar-Gathel, but is now written becauſe it has been always pronounced Ar-Gael or Ar-Gyle. And the *th* is actually loſt in the pronunciation both of the Iriſh and of the Highlanders to the preſent moment, and Gathel is actually ſounded by both to the preſent moment ſimilarly to the other appellation of Gael [30]. The Celtic name of Guidhyl Guethel or Gathel therefore was originally the ſame with the Celtic appellation of Cael Gael or Gaul, and the actual parent of it. But this is not all. The quieſcent letters are frequently transfer-

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red from the middle to the concluſion of the word, where the letters are no longer quieſcent; and as Needle is changed into Neeld in Lancaſhire, as Kathair is formed into Carth and Garth, ſo Gathel is changed into Galath. And we ſee the fact directly exemplified in the Gael of the continent being ſo frequently denominated Galatæ by the antients. Gathel Gael and Galath therefore are all one and the ſame flexible and varying appellation. And the appellation ſignifies merely the Woodlanders. Guedh and Goed import a wood among the Armoricans and the Welch, and Guylh-t and Guel-z ſignifies a man of the Guylh Guel or wood; all of them the evident remains of the antient Guidhil or Guethel a wood. Coil, the ſame with the Cuyllt of the Welch, and anſwering to Gael and Cael, is the cuſtomary term for a wood among the Iriſh and the Highlanders at preſent. And Gulad occurs in Gulad-ædh the Welch for a woodlander, and Kelyd appears in Kelydhon the Britiſh for woods, correſponding to Galath and Galat, and ſignifying with them a wood. The celebrated appellations therefore of Gathel-i Gall-i Galat-æ Calet-es An-Calit-es and Celt-æ ſignify merely a wood. And bearing the Celtic prefix before them which is uſed in the antient hiſtory of Ireland to the preſent period, as Fir-Bolg and Fir-Damnon, and which muſt have been previouſly uſed in more than half the national appellations of Britain, as Fir-Cant, Fir-Trinovant, Fir-Carnab, Fir-Volant, Fir-Siſtuntiu, and various others, all theſe appellations, Fir-Gathel, Fir-Gael, and Fir-Galat, muſt have imported merely the Man of the Wood. But in one national denomination of the very ſame origin the termination is a little different, becauſe the word is in the plural number, Kelyd or Caled lengthens into Kelydon or Caled-on woods. Thus Caledon became the antient appellation for all the extenſive foreſts of the Gatheli and the Galli in the provinces of Britain. Thus Fir-Caledon or Caledon-es became equally the antient appellation for the Gathel and the Gael of the Highlands. And thus Caledonius became occaſionally

ſionally among the Romans an appellation equivalent to Britannicus, and was applied equally with it to all the Gathel and Gael of all the iſland *.

But about forty-five years after the Chriſtian epoch, when Veſpaſian attacked the Proper Belgæ, the Durotriges, and the Damnonii, fought thirty battles with them and took more than twenty of their towns [31], many of the Belgæ would naturally put to ſea from the coaſts of Dorſetſhire Devonſhire Somerſet and Cornwall, and ſteer for the ſouthern coaſts of Ireland [32]. That the Belgæ or Fir-Bolg were ſettled in ſeveral colonies upon the ſouthern ſhore of the iſland, is ſufficiently evident upon the face of the Iriſh hiſtory. That the Belgæ or Fir-Bolg came generally from the coaſts of Devonſhire Cornwall and South-Somerſetſhire, or the extended dominions of the Damnonii, is equally evident from their other appellation of Fir-Damnon among the Iriſh.

The firſt body of the Belgæ that landed in Ireland was a ſmall embarkation from Inis-huna or the green-iſland [33]. This is ſuppoſed by Macpherſon to be ſome part of the great iſland of Britain and ſomewhere upon the ſouth-weſtern coaſt of it. But as the name demonſtrates it to have been an iſland, ſo the circumſtances mentioned concerning it evince it to have been a conſiderable iſland at the point of Cornwall. It is plainly implied to have been an iſland eminent for its arts of navigation, and is expreſsly declared to be ſeparated from another land by a narrow tempeſtuous frith and to ſtand at the meeting of two ſeas [34]. It muſt therefore have been one of the Silley iſlands,

* Many inſtances might be given. But one will be ſufficient. In an addreſs of Valerius Flaccus to Veſpaſian, he ſays thus,

Tuque o Pelagi cui major aperti
Fama, *Caledonius* poſtquam tua Carbaſa vexit
Oceanus, Phrygios prius indignatus Iulos.

Here we ſee the word Caledonius applied even to the Britiſh or ſouthern channel, to the ſea which is ſaid to have diſdained the yoke of Julius Cæſar. And even at the death of Veſpaſian the Romans had not yet entered into the real Caledonia at all.

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the Caſſiterîs of the Phœnicians, and the Silura of Solinus. the iſland that I have ſhewn to have once exiſted near the weſtern point of Cornwall, to have been divided from it by a dangerous ſtrait, and to have been ſince broken into a variety of ſhoals iſlets and rocks [35]. The embarkation was made under the conduct of Larthon, the ſovereign of the Damnonii or the ſubject Caſſiterides [36]. And the Vodiæ, as we ſhall directly perceive, muſt have been the firſt colony of the Belgæ in Ireland.

Theſe muſt have been immediately followed by the Velaborii, the Lucenii, and the Ibernii, all equally Belgic as the Vodiæ, and with them the only Belgic colonies that appear to have landed upon the iſland. The Velaborii, Velaberi, or Veliberi [37], muſt have been the Damnonian inhabitants of Voliba or Voluba in Cornwall [38], Volub-er-ii ſignifying the men of Voluba. The Lucenii muſt have been the Damnonian inhabitants of Cenia in Cornwall [39], Luced Cenia importing the people of Cenia, and the D (as I have ſhewn) being quieſcent among the Iriſh. The Ibernii muſt have been derived from the Ibernio of Ravennas and the preſent Beare in Dorſetſhire, and appear accordingly to have had a town denominated Ibernio or Beare in Ireland. And the Vodiæ muſt therefore have been the Belgæ that came from the Silley iſland.

Within five or ſix years after theſe ſettlements of the Belgæ in the ſouth, upon the invaſion of the Brigantian territories in the year 51 by Oſtorius, a body of the Brigantes took ſhipping upon our weſtern coaſt, and puſhed over to the coaſt of Ireland [40]. With the Brigantes embarked a body of Cangi or Cangani [41], the Cangii of our Siſtuntians, as appears plainly from their other appellation of Concangii [42], a name appropriate to the capital town of the Siſtuntian Cangii in Britain, and retained by ſome of the inhabitants of it on their removal into Ireland. And thus the Siſtuntii, who had already planted a colony upon the eaſtern ſhore of the iſland, now planted another upon the weſtern. The eaſtern coaſt was now nearly occupied from end to end, and the Brigantes entered upon the only vacant portion of it. In this ſituation, the Concangii were forced to croſs the central

parts of the iſland and the dominions of the Scoti, and to ſettle upon the weſtern ſhore. And with both or about the ſame period perhaps came the Auterii.

About the year 76 probably, when Julius Frontinus ſubdued the Silures and their ſubject Dimetæ, the Menapii came into Ireland; the Dimetæ in the neighbourhood of Menapia or St. David's paſſing over to the oppoſite coaſt of Ireland, and erecting another Menapia in the county of Waterford. The Coriondii were in all probability poſſeſſed of the coaſt before, as the Concangii in 51 found the eaſtern ſhore already occupied. And the Menapii muſt have attacked the inhabitants, have diſlodged them from the coaſt, and have driven them beyond the Slane. There, confined too much by the Barrow on the weſt, they extended themſelves to the north, and ſtretched along the back of the Liffy to the Boyne.

And about the year 140 probably, certainly before the period of Ptolemy's geography, upon the expedition of Lollius into Caledonia and his great ſucceſſes in Veſpaſiana, the Venicnii and the Hardinii came into Ireland, and ſettled upon the north-weſtern coaſt. The latter were certainly derived, as their name evinces, from Arden, Harden, or Caledonia. And both were evidently of the ſame kindred, being called together the two Venicnian tribes, and being together ſubject to their one metropolis in the country of the Hardinii.

In this ſtate of the iſland, the Belgæ being confined by the Brigantes on the north-eaſt the Scoti on the north and the Cangani and Auterii on the north-weſt, and the only unoccupied part of the coaſt lying directly beyond both the laſt, in Mayo Sligo Letrim Roſcommon and Fermanagh, their colonies, more populous than the others (as the ſequel of the hiſtory demonſtrates), ſoon began to raiſe commotions in the iſland, and ſeized the large vacant extent of the weſtern coaſt[41]. They muſt therefore have croſſed the Shannon, have entered the country of the Cangani and Auterii, and have ſubdued them both. If they had not ſubdued them, they could not have proceeded to the north, and have ſettled under the abovementioned appel-

lation

lation of Nagnatæ in the long extent of the abovementioned counties. And if the other tribes of the Britons had not ſeen ſome particular inſtances of the old encroaching ſpirit of the Belgæ in Ireland, ſlow as the Britons ever were to unite in one common cauſe, they would not have combined ſo readily and ſo heartily as we ſhall ſoon ſee them combine againſt the Belgæ.

In this new ſtate of the iſland, the Belgæ poſſeſſed the whole counties of Cork Kerry and Limerick in Munſter, the counties of Clare Galway Mayo Sligo Roſcommon, and the greateſt part of Letrim, in Connaught, and a part of Fermanagh county in Ulſter; and the Britons occupied the reſt of Ulſter, all Leinſter, and a part of Munſter: the barriers betwixt them being the river of Blackwater, the mountains of Tipperary, the courſe of the Shannon, and the length of Logh Erne. The two nations were now pretty equally oppoſed, the Britons poſſeſſing moſt land, and the Belgæ being the moſt populous. And a general war immediately enſued. The ſame chief who had conducted the new colony acroſs the Shannon was ſtill the active ſovereign of them [42]. The war muſt have commenced therefore within a few years after that expedition; and as Trathal the ſon of Trenmor was then upon the throne of the Creones [43], it muſt have begun about the year 160 or 170. And it laſted with many intermiſſions and various ſucceſs for more than an hundred years.

The Belgæ were much better fitted for a general war than the Britons. They were ſubject to one governor, a deſcendant from the original conductor of the Belgæ into Ireland, the hereditary monarch of the Nagnatæ, and the hereditary Pendragon of the tribes [44]. "The chiefs of the ſouth gathered round the "echoing ſhield of Crothar, the king of Alneema, and the firſt "of the race of Bolga [45]." And Alneema or Nagnata is therefore in the Geography of the cotemporary Ptolemy diſtinguiſhed above all the cities of Ireland by the peculiar and appropriate character of πολις επισημος or illuſtrious city. The Britons (the Hardinii, the Venicnii, and the Robogdii, pretty certainly) were defeated by the Belgæ, and the country was overrun [46]. In di-

ſtreſs they applied for aſſiſtance to Caledonia, the land "of the race of their fathers [47]." Aſſiſtance came. Conar, the ſecond ſon of Trenmor, headed the troops [48]. And the invaders were repelled [49].

The advantages of the Belgic form of government had now been experimentally perceived, and an immediate union appeared neceſſary among the diſperſed tribes of the Britons. "The nations gathered in Ullin" or Ulſter [50], and reſolved to appoint a pendragon. And they unanimouſly nominated Conar to the office, a chief nearly allied, as he muſt have been [51], to the Venicnian and Robogdian monarchs, an hero full of glory for his former as well as his late ſucceſſes in war [52], and the only dictator by whom they might be ſure to derive ſuccours from Caledonia upon any future emergency. Conar was inveſted with a military authority over all the tribes of the Britons; and the office was deſcendible to his heirs. The Britons, like the Caledonians before them, were embodied together under the one Celtic appellation of all the Britons. The Britons, like the Caledonians before them, were incorporated into one monarchy under the more diſtinguiſhing denomination of their principal tribe. By the former they were denominated Gathel Cael or Gauls, as I have already ſhewn. By the latter they were entitled Scuite or Scoti, as the progreſs of the hiſtory and the accounts of Bede inform us. Temora, a town in the country of the Eblani, and the preſent Terah in the county of Eaſt-Meath, was made the capital of the confederated tribes. And this is expreſsly denominated by Bede the metropolis of the Scots [53].

Thus united, they were ſoon attacked by the Belgæ. Succeſs attended the attack. The Britons were reduced to great diſtreſs. Conar was obliged to ſolicit aſſiſtance from Caledonia. Aſſiſtance came. The tide of ſucceſs was turned. The Belgæ were defeated. And the country was recovered [54].

Unlucky as theſe expeditions had hitherto been, the Belgæ were actuated with too encroaching a ſpirit to be long at peace. Conar died ſoon after the laſt expedition. Cormac his ſon ſucceeded him: and he was now aged [55]. The Belgæ marched with a large

large army into the country of the Britons, conducted by their king Colculla. Cormac in vain reſiſted his efforts. He was greatly diſtreſt. He applied to his ſecond couſin Fingal, the young ſovereign of Morven and pendragon of Caledonia. Fingal ſent him a body of auxiliaries. The auxiliaries and the principals were both defeated by the Belgæ. The young monarch came over in perſon. His army conſiſted only of three hundred men. He was joined by a new army of the Britons. At the head of both he attacked the victorious Belgæ. They were not able to withſtand him. Colculla was ſlain by the hand of Fingal. And all his army was diſperſed [56].

This blow was a ſevere one to the Belgæ. It damped their enterprizing ſpirit for many years. And the Britons, content to repel the invaders, and the infant weakneſs of many of their tribes requiring the repoſe of peace, carried not the war after them, and invaded not the Belgic regions. And the peace appears to have laſted for the remainder of the reign of Cormac, through the whole reigns of Cairbre and Artho his ſucceſſors [57], and for ſome time during the minority of Cormac the ſecond the ſon of Artho. Recovered by ſo long a peace and actuated by their former ſpirit, the Belgæ made another effort about the year 260... It was their laſt. It was a bloody one. It decided the fate of the iſland.

The Belgæ under the conduct of Torlath advanced into the Britiſh territories. Cuchullin met them with the Britons. They fought. Torlath and Cuchullin were killed. But the Belgæ were routed [58]. The Belgæ advanced with another army. It was ſurprized by the Britons in the night and defeated [59]. But the enemy, making a forced march with a third army to Temora in Eaſt-Meath, ſurprized the capital, ſeized the young monarch, and put him to death [60]. The army of the Britons marched with great expedition to prevent it. It came too late. It was overwhelmed with aſtoniſhment at the event. And it immediately diſperſed [61]. The Belgæ everywhere recovered themſelves, took advantage of the confuſion, and under the command of their

king

king Cairbar and his brother Cathmor made themſelves maſters of the whole country [62].

In this exigence, the Caledonian monarch, now advanced in years, came over again. And with him came again ſucceſs. Cairbar lay with his army upon the coaſt to prevent his landing. The army was routed and Cairbar killed. Cathmor marched up and attacked the victorious troops. And Cathmor and all his army fell [63].

In this defeat the royal line of Larthon ſeems to have been deſtroyed. The Belgæ would naturally fall into confuſion. And the Britons would as naturally take advantage of it. The Belgæ, weakened by many defeats, and moſt probably without a monarch, would be now attacked by the Britons, flushed with victory, united under one head, Ferad-artho [64], and taught by ſad experience to proſecute an offenſive war. And in theſe circumſtances the Belgæ would certainly be reduced by the Britons. So reduced they pretty certainly were at this period. So reduced they undoubtedly were within fifty or ſixty years after it. In the year 320 the Britons, no longer requiring aſſiſtance from the Caledonians, ſent a body of the iſlanders into Caledonia, and even fixed a conſiderable colony within it [65].

This great revolution in the internal condition of Ireland muſt have given the iſland a new name and a new figure in Europe. It naturally aſſumed a new importance, being now for the firſt time united under one head. And it naturally adopted the appellation which the confederated Britons had previouſly borne, and which the victors muſt have neceſſarily communicated to the vanquiſhed. Thus, together with the Britiſh tribes and among ſome barbarous nations upon the ocean, we find the Scoticæ gentes or the tribes of the Scots enumerated by Porphyry about the year 270 [66]. Thus we ſee the Scoti or the Iriſh fixing a ſettlement upon the weſtern coaſt of Caledonia in the year 320 [67], and ravaging the Roman provinces about 360 [68]. And thus we find abſolutely the whole number of the Iriſh tribes denoted by the appellation of Scoti before the concluſion of the fourth century [69].

The

The firſt entrance of the Scots into Britain was in the year 320; and a conſiderable body of them then ſettled in Caledonia [70], in the country of the Deucaledones, and in the dominions of the Creones [71]. They came not upon any hoſtile expedition. This the great connexion that had ſubſiſted betwixt the Scots and the Creones, this the frequent reinforcements that had been ſent by the latter to the former, this the near alliance of the Scottiſh and the Creonian monarchs, muſt have effectually forbidden. They came not merely upon an invitation from the Caledonians and only with a deſign to engage in the wars with them. Had they come only with this deſign, they would have regularly left their aſſiſtance, and they would never have received any ſettlements. They muſt therefore have croſſed the ſea from Ireland upon another deſign. And it was in all probability this. The kings of Ireland being equally with the monarchs of the Creones deſcended from Trenmor, and the elder line of Trenmor undoubtedly failing in Oſſian, "the laſt of the "race of Fingal [72]," the crown of the Creones muſt have devolved to the younger line, the family of Conar, and the monarchs of Ireland. Oſſian lived long after the reſt of the family, long after Fingal had "fallen aſleep with his race of battle," as he had ſeen a new race ariſe that "marked no years with their "deeds [73]." He muſt have died therefore in an advanced old age, and about the year 320. The monarch of Ireland would immediately take poſſeſſion of the kingdom, and would naturally give it as an appenage to one of his ſons. The monarch of Ireland accordingly ſent Fergus with a body of troops and the authority of a ſovereign [74]. And he landed, took poſſeſſion of the crown, and ſettled his Scots in the country [74].

Thus fixed in Caledonia agreeably to the laws of the country and with the full conſent of the natives, the Scots readily joined the Picts in their incurſions into the Roman provinces. In 368 the Picts in general, the Attacotti in particular, and the Scots confederated with both, harraſſed Valentia with perpetual inroads [75]. And thus they continued to act ever afterwards, jointly croſſing the Cluyd in their curroghs, jointly overrunning Valentia

and

and penetrating into Maxima, and jointly beginning the great æra of calamities which appears ſo ſadly conſpicuous in the ſucceeding hiſtory of Romap Britain of Lancaſhire and of Mancheſter.

[1] Richard p. 43. and Ptolemy.—[2] Richard's Map.—[3] Richard's Map. This ſhews the Iſamnum Promontorium and the Vinderius flu. to have been tranſpoſed in Ptolemy. Laberus derived its name aſſuredly, not, as Baxter has wildly deduced it, from Lhavar Sermo vel Concio, but from Labhar the characteriſtick of a river, ſignifying Noiſy, and importing its ſituation on a river.—[4] Eblana muſt have been alſo ſpoken D-Eblana, as we have Avon and D-Avon for the ſame appellation; and Eb-lan or Deb-lan ſignifies the Fortreſs on the Water.—[5] Richard and Ptolemy for Modona and Menapia, and the biographers of Saint Patrick for Slanus.—[6] Richard's Map.—[7] Richard's Map.—[8] Ptolemy.—[9] Ptolemy and Richard's Map.—[10] Richard's Map.—Ptolemy calls them Erdinii.—[11] Richard's Map and Ptolemy.—[12] Oſſian vol. ii. p. 36.—[13] Richard's Map of Ireland has ſome inaccuracies in it. And Dr. Stukeley's Copy has more. The river Buvinda, which is given in Richard's deſcription to the Voluntii and muſt have been their ſouthern boundary, is given in Richard's Map to the Eblani, and theſe are planted to the north as well as to the ſouth of it. The ſouthern border of the Eblani, which muſt aſſuredly have run along the Liffy, is carried below it. The ſouthern border of the Caucii, which was certainly along the Oboca, is alſo carried below it. The Coriondii are placed too far to the weſt. The Menapii are carried to the Barrow. The Brigantes are puſhed beyond it. And the Scoti, who ſhould be all to the eaſt of the Shannon, are all placed to the weſt of it. Dr. Stukeley has copied moſt of theſe miſtakes, and added others. He has ſuffered moſt of the names to be diſfigured by the negligence of the engraver, Vodiæ being changed into Vocliæ, Sena into Lena, Argita into Argela, Darabona into Danæbona, &c. He has omitted ſeveral names and

places; the names of the river Libnius and of the towns Nagnata and Robogdium; and the Vodium Promontorium, the Benisamnium Promontorium, and the Insula Venicnia. And the Voluntii are brought down only to the river Deva, the Eblani are fixed in all the country betwixt the Deva and the Buvinda, and the Rhebius Lacus is carried too far to the north of the Magnus Sinus.—[14] Richard p. 50. A. M. 3650.—[15] P. 42. Richard: Certissimum est Damnios, Voluntios, Brigantes, Cangos, aliasque nationes, origine fuisse Britannicâ, quæ eò postea [post Scotos] trajecerunt.—[16] Iwerddon is the name of Ireland among the Welch at present, Iuer Ton or Tan, the Western country.—[17] Richard p. 42. Quæ eò—trajecerunt, postquam Divitiacus—vel duces alii victores illis domi tumultum fecerant: And p. 50, Circa hæc tempora.—[18] Richard p. 50.; In Hiberniam commigrarunt ejecti a Belgis Britones, ibique sedes posuerunt, ex illo tempore Scotti appellati: And Macpherson in Ossian vol. i. p. 130. and vol. ii. Preface p. v.—[19] Agric. Vit. c. 24. A legion and a tolerable number of auxiliaries were then justly deemed sufficient to reduce the island, so thinly was the country inhabited, so much were most of the colonies in their infancy, and so little were they united together.—[20] P. 42. Certissimum est Damnios, Voluntios, Brigantes, Cangos, aliasque nationes origine fuisse Britannicâ, quæ eò postea [post Scotos] trajecerunt, postquam vel Divitiacus, vel Claudius, vel Ostorius, vel duces alii victores illis domi tumultum fecerant: And p. 45. Non possum non in hoc loco monere, Damnios, Voluntios, Brigantes, & Cangianos, omnes fuisse Britannicæ originis nationes, quæ cùm vel ab hoste finitimo non daretur quies, vel tot tantaque exigerentur tributa quibus solvendis se impares intelligerent,—in hanc terram trajecerunt.—[21] Richard p. 44. Mediolanum.—[22] Diodorus p. 355. And see Camden c. 1314.—[23] So Charaticus is called by the Welch Caradoc and Caradauc, so Cadwallon or Cadwallaun, so a river in Somersetshire Thone and Taun, and Maur or Mor, Great, and an hundred others. Thus also in Lancashire particularly one river is popularly called, and written Laun or Lon, and our own Tame is called by the natives

and written in records both Taum and Tom. —[24] The Carnabii are more ſtrangely denominated Cornini by Ravennas.—[25] Oſſian vol. i. p. 5. An iſlet in the lake of Killarney is ſtill called Iniſe-Fallin.—[26] Mona p. 305.—[27] P. 302. ibid.—[28] P. 14.—[29] Camden c. 808. and Mona p. 27.—[30] Oſſian vol. i. p. 3, 7, 148, vol. ii. p. 72, and Crit. Diſſ. p. 97.—[31] Suetonius p. 240. Oxon. He ſpeaks of them only as two ſtates. And Richard does the ſame, calling all the ſouthern tribes from Kent or Suſſex (p. 18.) to the Land's End by the two appellations of the Belgæ and the Damnonii (p. 17.)—[32] Richard p. 42. Claudius.—[33] Oſſian vol. ii. p. 129 and 131.—[34] Oſſian vol. ii. p. 143 and 145.—[35] Ch. xi. ſ. 2. —[36] Oſſian p. 131. vol. ii.—[37] Richard and Ptolemy.—[38] Richard Iter 16.—[39] Richard p. 51. A. M. 4050. Circa hæc tempora, relictâ Britanniâ, Cangi & Brigantes in Hiberniam commigrarunt, ſedeſque ibi poſuerunt: And p. 42. Oſtorius.—[40] Richard p. 43.—[41] Oſſian vol. ii. p. 36.—[42] Ibid.—[43] P. 30.—[44] P. 130 and 36.—[45] P. 36 and 37.—[46] P. 37 and 38.—[47] P. 38 and 31.—[48] Ibid.—[49] P. 38.—[50] P. 31.—[51] Ibid. "The king of "the race of their fathers."—[52] P. 30.—[53] Themoria, civitas ubi etiam *tunc* Regni Scotorum erat caput, S. Patricii Vita, p. 316. tom. iii. in Bedæ Opera omnia, Baſil. 1563; and Waræi Ant. Hib. London 1654. c. 22. p. 95.—[54] Oſſian vol. i. P. 31 and 32.—[55] Vol. ii. p. 58 and 66.—[56] Vol. ii. p. 58, 59, 66, 67, and 68.—[57] Vol. ii. P. 18 and 141.—[58] Vol. i. p. 151, &c.—[59] P. 166. —[60] Vol. ii. p. 21 and 22, and Themoria civitas ubi etiam *tunc* regni Scotorum erat caput (Bede's Patricii Vita p. 316).—[61] Vol. i. p. 166.—[62] P. 166. vol. i. &c.—[63] Vol. ii. p. 6—15 and p. 23 and 149.—[64] Vol. ii. p. 155. He was the ſecond ſon of Cairbar (p. 141. vol. ii.), and uncle to the lately murdered Cormac.—[65] Richard p. 53. A. M. 4320. Ductu Regis Ferguſſii in Britanniam tranſeunt Scotti, ibique ſedem figunt.—[66] Jerom in Epiſt. ad Cteſiphontem.—[67] Richard p. 53.—[68] A. Marcellinus lib. xxvii. c. 8.—[69] Ware's Patricii Opuſcula (London 1656) p. 16, Claudian de laud. Stil. l. ii. p. 140. Elzevir 1677. Totam cum movit Iernem Scotus, and Bede's Patricii Vita p. 316.

And

And in Bede's Hiſt. lib. iii. c. 3. we find the Belgæ of the ſouth expreſſly denominated Scots.—[70] Richard p. 53, and Bede's Eccl. Hiſt. lib. i. c. 1.—[71] Gildas c. 11, Scoti a Circio, and c. 15. Trans Tithicam Vallem vecti—Scotorum Pictorumque greges, and Bede lib. i. c. 1.—[72] Oſſian vol. i. p. 236. See alſo p. 48 and 59.—[73] P. 48 and 71, 59, 81, 236, 260 and 267, vol. i; and p. 203. vol. ii.—Fingal, by the tradition of Ireland, died in 283.—[74] Richard p. 53. And as the ready paſſage of the Scots afterwards acroſs the Cluyd into Valentia ſufficiently evinces, and the expreſs aſſertion of Bede lib. i. c. 1. confirms, he ſettled the Scots on the ſouth-eaſtern ſide of his dominions and in the preſent ſhire of Argyle. And the Scots have always conſidered Argyleſhire as the ſeat of their firſt ſettlement in Britain.—[75] Amm̃ianus lib. xxvii. c. 8.

V.

THE provinces being thus vigorouſly aſſailed upon the north and eaſt, and the tenth the ſeventh and the twentieth legions being probably tranſported out of the iſland at the ſame period, as I have already ſhewn the laſt of them to have been certainly reſident among us nearly to the middle of the fourth century [1], the remaining troops of the iſland were only the ſixth Victorious and the ſecond Auguſtan legions and a body of auxiliaries. This body however was more than the regular auxiliaries belonging to two legions. This body was nearly the whole number belonging to four. As the auxiliary cavalry was double in number to the legionary, as the latter was ſomewhat more than ſeven hundred men to each legion, and as the former was thrown into alæ or independent troops of four or five hundred men [2], ſix alæ muſt have been the complement of auxiliary horſe for a couple of legions. But the Notitia expreſſly mentions eleven bodies of cavalry in the iſland, five of them ſpecified as alæ, and the other

ſix forming, like the alæ, as many diſtinct garriſons, and being therefore in all probability nearly equal to them in number. And though, as I have formerly ſhewn [3], ſixteen cohorts made up the complement of auxiliary foot for a couple of legions, the Notitia enumerates ſeventeen, and mentions beſides ſixteen auxiliary numeri or bodies that, like the cohorts, formed as many diſtinct garriſons, and were therefore in all probability nearly equal to them in number. The number of auxiliary horſe coincides pretty nearly with the number of auxiliary foot; and both together compoſe pretty nearly the regular complement of auxiliaries for four legions. And the total amount of the forces in Britain at this period in all probability muſt have been about twelve thouſand legionary and twenty-four thouſand auxiliary foot, and about one thouſand four hundred legionary and five thouſand auxiliary horſe, or thirty-ſix thouſand infantry and ſix or ſeven thouſand cavalry. Theſe, as I have previouſly evinced [4], were totally inſufficient of themſelves to garriſon the various ſtations of the country. This muſt have been never intended. A conſiderable change muſt have been deſigned in the diſpoſition of the forces, and a new appearance was actually given to the military aſpect of the country. The troops were no longer diſpoſed in long lines of ſtationary ſorts, and no longer ranged acroſs the iſland in every direction. The Romans prudently broke up the lines of their encampments, and quartered almoſt all their troops upon the northern and eaſtern frontiers [5]. The interior regions of the country no longer required any ſtationary garriſons, ſecured from the fear of inſurrections by the legionary citizens in the colonies and by the Romanized diſpoſition of the Britons. And this change in the arrangement of the Roman forces appears to have happened in the year 394. The Scottiſh invaſion of Roman Britain which ſhall be deſcribed hereafter muſt certainly have been occaſioned by it; that invaſion was made in the year 395, as I ſhall ſoon endeavour to ſhew; and one winter was ſufficient, and one winter was requiſite, to raiſe the large army which the Scots collected for the expedition. In the year 394 therefore the Romans everywhere broke up the

5 regular

regular ſeries of their encampments, deſerted nearly all the ſtationary forts in the center of the iſland and upon the weſtern coaſt, and filed off to the eaſtern ſhore and the northern wall. In the year 394 therefore the Romans broke up their long-continued encampment in the Caſtle-field and upon the ſite of the collegiate church and collegiate houſe at Mancheſter, the firſt cohort of the Friſini, Friſiaci, or Frixagi marching away into the north [6], and finally leaving us juſt three hundred and fifteen years from the original ſettlement of the Romans in the Caſtle-field and the original erection of Mancunium in the field of Aldport, about four hundred and fifty from the original conſtruction of Mancenion, and about nine hundred from the original inhabitation of the pariſh and the county.

As the Romans previouſly carried their arms into the mediterranean parts of the iſland, they ſecured their conqueſts by a line of forts upon their northern border, to cut off the communication betwixt the conquered and the unconquered Britons, and to prevent any invaſion of the country by the latter. Thus Oſtorius fortified the iſthmus betwixt the Sabriana or the Severne and the Antona or the Nen, the Auſona of Richard, and the river of North-ampton or North-anton, as South-ampton is denominated Clauſ-entum by Richard and Antoninus, and the greater river at Southampton is denominated Triſ-anton by Ptolemy; carrying a long chain of forts directly from the one to the other [7]. Thus a ſecond ſeries was drawn from the Eden to the Tyne, certainly before the reign of Hadrian, and probably in the days of Agricola [8]. And thus a third was conſtructed certainly by Agricola betwixt the friths of Forth and Cluyd [9]. Theſe lines of fortreſſes the Romans laid out at their firſt conqueſt of the country. And theſe lines they regularly continued afterwards upon their peaceable ſettlement in the provinces. But as the Caledonians in the reigns of Trajan and of Hadrian had overrun Valentia and penetrated into Maxima [10], pretty certainly avoiding the frequent forts in the narrow iſthmus betwixt the friths by croſſing the Cluyd in their curroghs, and afterwards

paſſing

paſſing betwixt the fewer forts on the wider iſthmus of Cumberland and Northumberland; Hadrian connected the latter by a regular wall of turf [11]. And as the Brigantes or Britons afterwards paſſed the forts betwixt the friths [12], and invaded Genounia, Ge-Nouania, the land of the Nouanei or Novantes [13], Lollius united the former by another wall of turf [14]. Hadrian meant not by the one erection to reſign up the province of Valentia to the power of the Caledonians, any more than Severus meant it by rebuilding the wall of ſtone [15], when he was juſt returning from or was juſt advancing to the intended ſubjection of all Caledonia. Hadrian meant not by the one erection to reſign up the province of Valentia to the enemy, any more than Lollius meant by the other to reſign up the conqueſts of Agricola in the country of the Horeſtii, when he was actually preparing to reduce all the Caledonians. The walls were erected to continue the chain unbroken from fort to fort, and to preclude the Caledonians from ſlipping by the forts and ravaging the country. They could no longer paſs by the forts upon the friths and the rivers. And if they croſſed the friths in their veſſels, they were liable to be attacked by the troops from the ſtations, and they were effectually reſtrained in their progreſs by the wall betwixt the rivers. Valentia was conſtantly retained in the power of the Romans, Genounia being ſubject to them at the period of the invaſion and betwixt the conſtruction of the wall of Hadrian and the erection of the vallum of Antoninus [16]. And the whole province remained under the dominion of the Romans to the days of Severus [17], to the reign of Conſtantine [18], and to the final receſſion of the Romans from the iſland [19].

But now when the Romans collected their forces to the northern and eaſtern border, and even many years before this period, in the time of Antonine's Itinerary, they appear not to have made the wall of Antoninus the principal barrier of the country, and to have lined it particularly with troops. The ready paſſage and the cuſtomary conveyance of the Picts and

Scots

Scots acroſs the frith of Cluyd into the province [20] rendered any conſiderable garriſon at the northern wall ſuperfluous and uſeleſs. One however was retained beyond the middle of the third century, and was attacked by Oſcar the grandſon of Fingal, when "Caros King of ſhips," Carus the admiral of the Roman navy, which was regularly ſtationed at Rutupæ [21], and which ſeems then to have been accidentally in one of the friths, landed perhaps a reinforcement of men, and certainly took the command of the garriſon [22]. And in the period of Antonine's Itinerary, in the period of the imperial Notitia, the Romans muſt certainly have ſtill retained a garriſon at the wall, as they ſtill retained the province of Valentia. And in both periods the Caledonians appear to have not ſeized at all, as they certainly would have ſeized if there had been no garriſon at the wall, even the northern and more neighbouring parts of the province. They appear only to have infeſted the provinces with their former inroads, croſſing the Cluyd, and ravaging the country [23]. And they firſt took poſſeſſion even of the more northerly regions of it only at the final departure of the Romans from the iſland [24].

And if we examine the Itinerary of Antoninus and the accounts of the Notitia unbiaſſed by the determinations of our preſent antiquarians and attentive only to the obvious import of the notices, we ſhall find this reaſoning confirmed by the one and illuſtrated by the other. The firſt Iter of Antoninus bears this title prefixed to it, *A Limite i. e. A vallo.* Prætorium uſque, and afterwards enumerates the towns

A Bremenio
Corſtopitum.—

This Iter therefore undoubtedly commences from one of the walls: and the early nomination of Bremenium in the Iter at once evinces it to begin from the wall of Antoninus, the one Limes or boundary of Roman Britain. Bremenium is demonſtrated by a particular inſcription [25] to be the preſent Riechester in Northumberland, and about eighteen miles to the north

of

of the wall of Severus. And the ſecond Iter of Antoninus exhibits this title and theſe names,

A Vallo ad Portum Ritupas,
A Blato Bulgio
Caſtra Exploratorum m. p. 12
Luguvallio m. p. 12.

This Iter therefore commences equally from one of the walls, and, as the mention afterwards of Luguvallium demonſtrates, commences equally from the wall of Antoninus. Luguvallium was certainly at the wall of Severus, and is in the fifth Iter actually denominated Luguvallium Ad Vallum. Thus plainly are two Itinera of Antonine evinced to begin from the more northerly vallum, and to traverſe the whole province of Valentia. And thus plainly are the Romans evinced to have garriſoned the walls betwixt the friths even as late as the reign of Conſtantine and in a part of the fourth century. And the Notitia is ſtill more particular. It not only points out the continuance of the Roman ſoldiers at the northern vallum. It ſpecifies the number of forts that were garriſoned at it, and it gives us a liſt of the forces that were quartered in them. Twenty-three ſtations are placed by the Notitia *per lineam Valli*. And the firſt eighteen of theſe are demonſtrated by Horſeley to range along the line of the ſouthern wall [26]. Theſe eighteen compoſe the whole length of that extended chain of forts which ſecured the Vallum of Severus [27]. Where then ſhall we ſettle the other five? We act in full contradiction to the declaration of the Notitia, if we transfer them from the line of the wall and plant them at a diſtance from it. They are declared as expreſsly as the others to be per lineam Valli. Demonſtration ſhews them not to have been placed along the range of the ſouthern Vallum. Prejudice therefore muſt acknowledge them to have been certainly conſtructed along the line of the northern.

But there is one very remarkable circumſtance in the two abovementioned Itinera of Antoninus, which has never been obſerved by the critics. The one Iter begins thus,

A Limite

A Limite i. e. A Vallo Prætorium uſq;

A BRAMENIO

Corſtopitum m. p. 20; and the other begins thus,

A Vallo ad Portum Ritupas,

A BLATO BULGIO

Caſtra Exploratorum m. p. 12.

Theſe, and only theſe, Itinera begin in this extraordinary manner. And this alone pretty evidently points out, that ſome ſtation or ſtations have been omitted in the copies before A Bramenio in the one and before A Blato Bulgio in the other. One or more ſtations have undoubtedly been loſt betwixt the Limes and Bremenium in the firſt, and betwixt the Vallum and Blatum Bulgium in the ſecond. Had not one or more been omitted in the liſt, the commencing point muſt have been the Vallum in both, and Bremenium and Blatum Bulgium could have been only two intermediate ſtations in either. And this is proved to be true by the Itinerary of Richard. We have the very ſame route deſcribed by the fifth Iter of Richard as is traced by the firſt Iter of Antonine. And we have the ſtations that are forgotten in the latter particularly enumerated in the former.

Antonine's 1ſt Iter. A Limite i. e. A Vallo Prætorium uſq;—m. p. 156.			Richard's 5th Iter. A Limite Præturiam uſq; ſic,	
A Bremenio.			Curia m. p.	
			Ad Fines m. p. ...	
			Bremenio m. p. ...	
Corſtopitum m. p.	20		Corſtoplio	20
Vindomora m. p.	9		Vindomora	9
Vinovia m. p.	19		Vindovio	19
Catarractoni m. p.	22		Catarractoni	22
Iſurium m. p.	24	41	Eboraco	40
Eburacum m. p.	17			
Derventione m. p.	7		Derventione	7
Delgovitia m. p.	13		Delgovicia	13
Prætorio m. p.	25		Præturio	25.

Thus plainly was a Roman garriſon continued at the wall of Antoninus to the final departure of the Romans from the iſland. The number of troops however which was ſtationed at this Vallum was very inconſiderable for the reaſons which I have already ſuggeſted. The only forts that were garriſoned at all were five in number, Glannibanta, Alione, Bremetenracum, Olenacum, and Viroſidum [28]. And the only forces that were lodged in them were four cohorts and a body of cuirafſiers [29]. The ſtations were pretty certainly the five forts which ſtill appear more conſiderable than the reſt betwixt the friths, New Kirkpatrick, Bemulie, Barhill, Caſtlecary, and Rough-caſtle. The firſt is deſcribed as a very large fort, the ſecond as a prodigious one, the third as very large and well preſerved, the fourth as magnificent and beſt preſerved of any, and the fifth as vaſt magnificent and entire [30]. And as the eighteen ſtations along the line of Severus's wall are certainly enumerated from eaſt to weſt [31], the remaining five along the line of Antoninus's in all probability are equally enumerated in the ſame direction, and Glannibanta is Rough-caſtle, Alione Caſtlecary, Bremetenracum Barhill, Olenacum Bemulie, and Viroſidum New Kirkpatrick [32].

But the main body of the troops was now ſtationed along the line of Severus's wall and the range of the eaſtern coaſt. The latter was guarded by ten ſtations or caſtles, reaching from Yorkſhire into Suſſex [33]. The former was raiſed twelve Roman feet in height and eight Roman feet in thickneſs, was ſtrengthened with various turrets, and was ſecured by eighteen forts [34]. And in one of theſe forts, Vindobala or Rutcheſter, the old garriſon of our Caſtle-field, the firſt cohort of the Frieſlanders, was now ſettled by the Romans [35].

This grand alteration in the number and in the diſpoſition of the Roman troops within the iſland muſt certainly have been the occaſion of the great invaſion which was made at this period from Ireland. The firſt naval invaſion of the provinces that had been attempted from Ireland, it muſt have reſulted from ſome particular circumſtances in the interior condition of Britain, and from ſome very inviting change in the ſtate of the

weſtern

weſtern coaſt. And nothing leſs could have been the cauſe of ſo remarkable an invaſion than the equally remarkable revolution in the interior hiſtory of Britain, the general deſertion of the ſtationary lines, and the general retirement of the troops from the weſtern counties. By the new arrangement of the forces, the whole weſtern extent of the iſland from the ſouth of Weſtmoreland to the ſhore of Cornwall was left expoſed and defenceleſs [10]. Had the Iriſh inſulted the weſtern coaſt with any armament before, the Romans would certainly have left ſome forces encamped upon it at preſent. And therefore, if the Romans had not withdrawn all the ſtationary garriſons from the coaſt, the Iriſh would certainly not have inſulted it now. But, apprized of the new military arrangements, willing to make a diverſion for their brethren of Caledonia, and ſtimulated with the inviting proſpect of plunder and conqueſt [11], they reſolved upon an invaſion of the whole weſtern ſhore of England.

This invaſion was certainly made in the year 395. It was made and repelled after the death of Theodoſius in the January of 395, and during the minority of Honorius and the regency of Stilicho [12]. It was made and repelled one hundred and forty-ſix years before Maelgun Guinedh began to reign over the Ordovices [13]; and the commencement of his reign was certainly before the death of Arthur and the year 542 [14]. The former date reduces the fact to the year 395 or ſome immediately ſucceeding one. And the latter date carries it back to the year 395 in particular, the commencement of Maelgun's reign being to be reckoned from 541 at the loweſt, and the deduction of one hundred and forty-ſix from five hundred and forty-one leaving us preciſely three-hundred and ninety-five.

Neil Na-Gaillac was now monarch of the Iriſh [15], the Neal or chief of the Gaelick or Gauls [16]. He raiſed the whole united power of the iſland, and embarked them upon his ſmall craft [17]. The Britiſh ſea-boats were furniſhed with maſts and ſails. But they were frequently worked with oars, the rowers ſinging to the chime of their oars and the muſic of the harp [18]. And

the admiral's ſhip carried a ſhield faſtened high upon the maſt, which was a ſufficient mark of itſelf in the day, and which was frequently beat upon as a ſignal in the night; the whole fleet ſteering by the ſtars, and the boats being drawn upon the beach at landing [45]. Thus equipped, the Iriſh ranged with their numerous navy along the whole coaſt of Lancaſhire, landed in the Iſle of Man, and reduced it [46]. They made a deſcent upon North-Wales, and ſubdued a conſiderable extent of the country. They diſembarked a body of their troops in the regions of the Dimetæ, and conquered the greateſt part of their dominions [47]. And they afterwards extended their ravages to the ſouthern channel [48]. This unexpected invaſion however was ſoon afterwards repelled. As in ſo critical a period the troops in the eaſt and north could not be ordered away to the weſtern ſhore, other forces were ſent over by Stilicho [49], and were joined by a conſiderable body of the provincials, legionary citizens and original Britons without doubt, under the command of Cunedag the monarch of the Otadini [50]. The Scots were attacked, were defeated, and were driven to their ſhips, with ſo great a carnage, that they never afterwards attempted any deſcents of conqueſt upon our weſtern coaſt [51].

But the period was now not very remote, in which the Roman empire, having done the great work for which it was erected by Providence, having long connected the central nations of the globe with a chain of amity, was abſolutely to be demoliſhed for ever. The period was now haſtily approaching, in which the Divinity, who had already converted to Chriſtianity all the nations that lay within the pale of the Roman empire, deſigned to bring the uncivilized nations of Europe into the one in order to convert them to the other. The period was now actually arrived, in which the miſeries that had been ſo wantonly ſcattered over half the globe by the Romans were now to be ſeverely retorted upon them. God ſummoned the ſavage nations of the North to come and eraſe the mighty ſtructure of their empire, and to avenge the injuries of the oppreſſed nations around them. The

Roman

Roman legionaries, once the invincible of the earth, now retired upon every ſide towards the heart of the empire. Rome, once the tyrant of the world, daily ſhrunk into herſelf, contracting the dimenſions of her territories, and loſing the formidableneſs of her name. And in this awful criſis the Roman ſoldiers finally deſerted the iſle of Britain, in the year of the Chriſtian æra 446 [52], five hundred and one years after their firſt deſcent upon the iſland, four hundred and three after their firſt ſettlement in the country, and three hundred and ſixty-ſeven after their firſt entrance into Lancaſhire [53].

[1] S. 1.—[2] See b. I. ch. ii. ſ. 2. and ch. vi. ſ. 4.—[3] Ch. ii. ſ. 2.—[4] Chap. vi. ſ. 4.—[5] Notitia.—[6] Ibid. So the Saxons were called Saſenach and Saxenach by the Iriſh, the Siſſuntii were called Siſſuntiaci, the Britanni Britannici, Pœni Punici, and Morini Aremorici.— Tacitus Ann. lib. xii. c. 31, Richard p. 26, Baxter in Antona, Camden c. 515, Gale's Eſſay in Leland's Itin. vol. vi. p. 143. edit. 1769, and Itin. Cur. p. 35.—[8] Horſeley p. 98, compared with p. 158.—[9] Agric. Vit. c. 23.—[10] Tacitus Hiſt. lib. i. c. 2. Perdomita *Britannia & ſtatim* amiſſa; Spartian c. 5. of Hadrian, Britanni teneri ſub Romanâ ditione non poterant &c.; and Richard p. 59. Sub quo [Trebellio] duce provinciæ, Veſpaſiana ſcilicet & Mæata [or Valentia p. 28], fractæ ſunt,—*Circa idem tempus* inſulam hancce viſitans Hadrianus &c.—[11] The forts betwixt the Friths have been twice as cloſe as the ſtations along the wall of Severus (Horſeley p. 173); and Spartian c. 11. Primus.—[12] Απέλειπετο δε και των εν Βριτανναις Βριτανων ΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΛΗΝ, ὁτι ΕΠΕΣΒΑΙΝΕΝ και ὁτι συν τοις οπλοις ηρξαν την Γενβνιαν μοιραν, υπηκοους Ρωμαιων (Pauſanias Arcad. lib. viii. p. 689. Lipſiæ 1696) Theſe words have been applied to the Brigantes of Maxima (Horſeley, Camden, &c.), and to the Selgovæ and others of Valentia (Carte); but can ſuit neither of them. The Brigantes of Maxima had had all their land conquered or taken from them before. The Brigantes of Valentia had either had

all theirs taken from them before or had it all taken now. The Brigantes of Caledonia, they, and they alone, ſuffered a diminution of their territories at this period. And they loſt την πολλην, the whole of Veſpaſiana. And accordingly Lollius is declared by Richard to have recovered Valentia from the Britons (p. 59). [13] See Carte p. 130, the only perſon that ſettled Genounia right. So on one of Cunobeline's Coins claſs 4. N° 2. we have Novanei for Novantes, and in Ptolemy Tri-noantes for Trinovantes. Nou, a New-comer, makes Nou-en, Nou-an, or Nou-ant in the plural.—[14] Capitolinus c. 5. of Antoninus Pius.—[15] Spartian in Severus c. 22.—[16] So alſo Netherby in Valentia was certainly a Roman ſtation during the reign of Hadrian (Horſeley p. 27).—[17] Herodian lib. iii. c. 48. Χαμαι. —[18] Antonini Iter 1, and Richard p. 53, 29.—[19] Notitia reckons Valentia as one of the five provinces that were then ſubject to the Vicar of Britain; and Gildas c. 15. Murotenus.—[20] Gildas c. 13 and 15.—[21] Richard p. 17.—[22] Oſſian vol. i. p. 95. This Caros king of ſhips is idly ſuppoſed by Macpherſon to be the famous Carauſius. But how could Oſcar attack Carauſius in 287, or rather in 290, and Fingal, who oppoſed Caracalla in 211, be afterwards able to fight Cathmor (vol. ii. p. 8, &c.)? Fingal muſt have been then near an hundred years of age. As Oſcar died young, he was probably about twenty at the period of this attack; and if we allow his father to be twenty at the birth of him, we come to the year 260 or thereabouts.—[23] Gildas c. 11, 13, and 15. Gildas begins theſe ravages from 383 or the paſſage of Maximus into Gaul.—[24] Gildas c. 15.—[25] Horſeley N°. 95, of Northumberland.—[26] B. I. ch. vii and ix.—[27] Ch. vii.—[28] Notitia.—[29] Ibid.—[30] Gordon's Iter Septen. p. 53, 54, 57, and 59, and Horſeley p. 169 and 198 and 170.—[31] Horſeley p. 110.—[32] If the Glannoventa of Antoninus (Iter 10.) be not different from the Glannibanta of the Notitia, as the Alone of the one (Iter 10.) is certainly evinced by its diſtance of thirty itinerary miles from Glannoventa to be very different from the Alione of the other, the tenth Iter of Antoninus muſt iſſue from the eaſtern end of the Wall, as the firſt

of

of Antoninus and the fifth of Richard commence from the weſtern, and muſt probably be as much maimed at the beginning as the firſt. This route would carry the road in a ſtraight direction from north-eaſt to ſouth-weſt, and not in ſo ſtrange a courſe as Mr. Horſeley has given it, firſt tending to the north-weſt to Old Town, then turning nearly weſt to Whitley Caſtle, and then, and not before, proceeding to the ſouth-weſt. And this would carry it (I apprehend) nearly by Peebles to Appleby, leaving Whitley-Caſtle a little diſtant on the left, and pointing directly into Lancaſhire and Cheſhire. — [31] Notitia. — [31] Richard p. 28, and Notitia.—See Bede Eccl. Hiſt. lib. i. c. 12. — [35] Notitia, and Horſeley p. 105. Some of the thirteen interior ſtations were moſt probably in Valentia.—[36] Notitia.— [37] Nennius p. 142 (Bertram), Ad habitandum.—[38] Claudian de Laud. Stil. l. ii.—Me— me juvit Stilicho.— [39] Nennius p. 142.—See a miſtake therefore in Carte p. 213, a Note.— [40] The Triades in Carte p. 213; and Vaughan's Chron. in Carte p. 202.—[41] Carte p. 175.—[42] See Nobilis in Llhyud. And ſo Scor-na-Fina, Scor-na-Kerri, &c.—[43] Claudian de L. Stil. l. ii. — Totam cùm movit Iernem Scotus, & infeſto ſpumavit remige Thetys.— [44] Claudian ibid.; and Oſſian p. 84. vol. i.—[45] P. 162 and 66. vol. ii. and p. 75. vol. i.— [46] Nennius p. 102 and 142, Eubonia; and ſee c. ii. Nennius.— [47] Nennius ibid.—[48] Carte p. 169, from the Lives of the Iriſh Saints. —[49] Claudian ibid. — [50] Nennius p. 102 and 142, regione Manau Guotadin.—[51] Nennius p. 142, ab omnibus regionibus Britannicis.—[52] See b. II. c. i. ſ. 2.—[53] Having now deduced the hiſtory to the final departure of the Romans, and now loſing the uſeful aſſiſtance of Richard, it may be proper to note ſome little miſtakes into which this well-informed antiquarian has fallen, and which I have not mentioned before. Thus p. 28 he places the Maeatæ in Valentia, whom I have ſhewn to have inhabited Veſpaſiana. Thus p. 50 he calls Divitiacus the King of the Ædui, when he was King of the Sueſſones. Thus p. 52 he calls London a colony in the days of Boadicia, when Tacitus expreſsly declares it not to have been a colony. And thus p. 52

he

he makes Agricola to have ſubdued the Orcades, which were not then inhabited (Solinus c. 22.).

It may be proper at this the cloſe of the Roman account to point out ſuch variations from any part of the preceding hiſtory as appear in our two beſt hiſtorians, the faithful heavy and accurate Mr. Carte, and the more ſuperficial more agreeable and ever ſentimental Mr. Hume. To point out the miſtakes, is a juſtice due to hiſtory and myſelf. To point them out with friendlineſs and candor, is a juſtice due to humanity and to literature. And to have mentioned them before would have embarraſſed the page, already loaded ſufficiently for the ſake of authenticity, with an additional number of references and notes.

HUME, vol. I. quarto.

P. 2. — Cæſar ſays that the Maritima Pars of all the ſouthern coaſt of the iſland, oppoſed to the Pars Interior or the more northerly and inland regions, was acquainted with tillage: Mr. Hume has unjuſtly confined this knowledge "to the "ſouth-eaſt parts of the iſland." And Interiores plerique; ſays Cæſar, not all, but moſt of them; "the other inhabitants," ſays Mr. Hume without any reſtriction; maintained themſelves by paſturage.

—Cæſar ſpeaks of the iſland at large, Hominum infinita multitudo. Mr. Hume confines the words "to the ſouth-eaſt parts" again.

—"The Britiſh governments, though monarchical, were free," and Diodorus lib. iv, Mela lib. iii. c. 6, and Strabo lib. iv. are quoted to prove it. "And the common people ſeem to have "enjoyed more liberty among them than among the nations of "Gaul," and Dio l. 75. is cited as authority for it. The monarchical nature of the government is all that is aſſerted by the three firſt-cited writers. And the δημοκρατία of Dio, which is ſpoken particularly of the Caledonians, I have already ſhewn to have been a miſtake, and may be further ſhewn by Martial's two lines,

Turpes,

Turpes, humiles, ſupplicesque;
Pictorum ſola baſiate Regum. Lib. x. Ep. 72.

And if Dio's expreſſion could prove any thing, it muſt prove, not the freedom of the monarchical government, but the exiſtence of a popular. But indeed ſuch ſtrokes as theſe muſt be ever expected in the preſent period, the well-meaning though impertinent language of the times, in which antient hiſtory is dreſſed up *à l'Angleterre*, and Truth is ſacrificed at the ſhrine of Liberty.

P. 5.—The Attrebates, whom I have ſhewn to have reſided in the north of Berkſhire and to have been native Briſons, are planted by Mr. Hume "in the ſouth-eaſt" of the iſland, and are reckoned amoſg the Belgæ or cultivated inhabitants.

—The Silures, who inhabited Hereford Radnor and Monmouth counties, are ſaid by Mr. Hume merely to inhabit the banks of the Severne.

P. 6.—"London" (in the days of Boadicia) "already a flou-"riſhing Roman colony." It was at this period no colony at all.

—The ſeventy thouſand men whom Boadicia maſſacred in Camalodunum Verulamium and Londinium are all butchered by Mr. Hume "in London." Theſe conſiſted of Romans and Socii, the Belgæ in alliance with them. But Mr. Hume calls them the Romans and "Strangers."

P. 7.—"Agricola drew a rampart between the friths of Forth "and Cluyd." He only carried a line of forts acroſs the iſthmus.

—"Caledonia was defended by its *barren* mountains and "by the contempt which the Romans entertained of it." Be witneſs the attempts of Agricola of Lollius and of Severus to ſubdue it.

—"Lollius *repaired* the *rampart* of Agricola." He united the old forts by a new rampart.

—"Severus added new fortifications to the wall of Hadrian." Hadrian's wall was of earth, Severus's of ſtone. They were

therefore very different conſtructions, though nearly in the ſame line.

—"The natives were diſarmed." See the falſity of this before.

P. 8.—"The Picts ſeem to have been a tribe of the native Britiſh "race, who, having been chaced into the northern parts by the "conqueſts of Agricola, had there intermingled with the an-"tient inhabitants." What a medley of miſtakes! The Picts were certainly of the native Britiſh race. They had not been chaced into the north by the conqueſts of Agricola. They were themſelves the antient inhabitants.

Mr. Hume gliding over theſe parts of his hiſtory in an haſty ſuperficial manner, ſo as ſcarcely to give us any real information concerning the interior ſtate of the iſland during the whole Roman period, he could not poſſibly fall into ſo many miſtakes as muſt unavoidably attend a minute and particular detail of them. Such is Mr. Carte's.

CARTE vol. I.

P. 15—22.—Britain is ſuppoſed by Mr. Carte to be firſt planted in the reign of Pluto or of Mercury and about two thouſand years before Chriſt. But the ſeries of his own Hiſtory pretty plainly oppoſes it, which fixes the firſt migrations of the Celtæ of which we can ſettle the period, migrations occaſioned by populouſneſs, not till nearly fifteen hundred years after the ſuppoſed population of Britain (p. 22). And indeed the hiſtory of the population of England, and particularly of Ireland, evinces the iſland not to have been inhabited till about a thouſand years before Chriſt.

P. 22.—The Belgæ came into Gaul (ſays Mr. Carte) about one hundred and thirty years before Chriſt.—They came even into Britain about three hundred and fifty before Chriſt.

P. 24.—"The Britons in all probability received the Belgæ "friendlily." See Richard for the contrary, and indeed Cæſar.

—"Devonſhire and Cornwalle were all in a manner a wild foreſt "at the coming of the Belgæ, as they continued to be in a great "degree till one hundred and fifty years after the Conqueſt.

"Somerſet-

" Somerſetſhire was the ſame for the moſt part. And Dorſet-
" ſhire too was full of the like foreſts. And in theſe counties
" ſeem to have been the parts where the Belgæ firſt ſettled."—
All this is certainly falſe. The ſouthern coaſt of the iſland muſt naturally have been the beſt-inhabited of any. And the iſlands of Cornwall actually carried on a commerce with the Phœnicians before the Belgæ arrived. Devonſhire Cornwall Dorſetſhire and Somerſetſhire were inhabited by no leſs than five tribes, and were planted with many towns, of the Britons before the Romans came, and had all a conſiderable number of modern towns after they came. And if theſe counties were full of foreſts before the Belgæ came, and even remained ſo afterwards, the ſettlements of the Belgæ muſt have very little affected the condition of the country. But as the Belgæ ſettled, not merely in theſe counties, but all along the ſouthern coaſt (ſee Cæſar), ſo they carried on a great trade from Hampſhire and the Iſle of Wight.

P. 25.—" The Belgæ had been uſed to live, not, like the
" Brigantes [or native Britons], in woods, but—in towns and
" villages; and—cities and towns now began to be built by the
" Belgæ."——But ſee Cæſar's and Dio's account of the Britiſh town which Cæſar ſtormed among the Belgæ of Kent, and compare them with Cæſar's account of Caſſivelaun's town among the old Britons and his general deſcription of the Britiſh towns, and they will all be found to be the ſame.

—" The Belgæ of Kent, not mixing with the Britons, as the
" others ſeem to have done, formed a diſtinct people—and were
" called Nouantæ or new inhabitants."——The Nouantæ are the inhabitants, not of Kent, but of Eſſex, in Ptolemy, and of Eſſex and Middleſex in Richard.

—Theſe Nouantæ were " called alſo Nou-cantæ, and the Fore-
" land of Kent was called from them Noucantium by Ptolemy."
——The people are nowhere called Nou-cantæ; and the promontory is called by Ptolemy, not Noucantium, but Acantion or Cantion, Promontory or The Promontory.

P. 26.—The true [or continental] Belgæ are ſaid by Mr. Carte to have had no manner of taſte for trade. But p. 25. *commerce* and huſbandry are ſaid to have been the chief employment of the [Britiſh] Belgæ in Gaul.——How unguarded and contradictory!

—"Divitiacus brought with him the Bibroci and the Attre-" bates." Theſe were tribes of old Britons.——"He reduced " chiefly Berkſhire and Oxfordſhire." He reduced neither.—— "He planted the Bibroci and Attrebates in Berks and Oxford-" ſhire." Theſe never had any connection with Oxfordſhire. "The ſcene of his conqueſts lay in the ſouth-eaſt of Somerſet " and in the weſt of Suſſex, whence he expelled the Regni, and " where he ſettled his Belgæ." His conqueſts in Somerſetſhire muſt have been over the Hædui in the north; and the Regni, not merely of the weſt of Suſſex, but of all of it, were actually Belgæ.

P. 27.—"It is probable, that Divitiacus ſubdued a good part " of the Iceni."——He certainly did not. See ch. v. ſect. 3. before.

—"In the war of the Britons upon the Belgæ the Attrebates " ſuffered much from the former." Impoſſible, as the Attrebates were Britons.

P. 43.—"Gildas informs us, that the Britons *in his time* had " very ill-favoured ſtatues, and paid divine honours to moun-" tains, hills, and rivers."——Gildas ſpeaks not of his own times, but of the period preceding the introduction of Chriſtianity, and only ſays that theſe monuments remained in ſome places to his own age. See c. 2.

—P. 77.—"Colonies, from a corruption of which word that " of Clan is derived."——How is this poſſible! How could the Britiſh appellation of Clan, an appellation retained only by the unconquered regions of Caledonia and Ireland, be derived to them from the Romans! Clan indeed is a word abſolutely Britiſh in its origin. It has no relation to the word Colony either in its origin or in its import. It ſignifies only a progeny or family.

P. 91. — "Cingetorix and Taximagulus, two Kentiſh potentates, Carvilius chief of the Carvilii in Wilts, and Segonax "prince of the Segontiaci in Hampſhire." —— The making Carvilius chief of the Carvilii, a tribe exiſting only in fancy, and Segonax prince of the Segontiaci, a tribe much too remote to be concerned in an attack upon Cæſar's naval camp, is borrowed from the very fanciful frequently ingenious but generally miſtaken Baxter. And Stukeley in his Stonehenge has adopted the ſame wild fancy. But Cæſar expreſsly declares them all to have been of Kent,—Cantium—quibus regionibus iv reges præerant (p. 92).

P. 91, 98, 100, 104, 114, and 119.—Great miſtakes concerning the poſition of the Britiſh tribes.

P. 103 — "In all the territories of the Damnonii no Roman "ſtations."——There were Iſca Damnoniorum, Cenia, Voluba, Durius Amnis, and Tamara, which Ptolemy and the Itineraries mention, beſides various others without queſtion of which we have no account.

P. 128.—"Hadrian withdrew the garriſons from the north of "his own wall."——How unjuſt this aſſertion is, the preſent chapter ſufficiently ſhews.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

P. 18. at the end of Note [15] add this remark.—Theſe ſtone-inſtruments have been ſometimes ſuppoſed by the learned to be merely domeſtic or ſacrificial implements. Domeſtic implements, but not ſacrificial, were undoubtedly repoſited in the Britiſh ſepulchers, as in the barrows upon Saliſbury Plain have been found beads and other perſonal decorations of the deceaſed (ſee b. I. ch. x. ſ. 5). The favourite implements of the dead were interred with them (ibid.). And therefore in all unlettered uncommercial ages, when the wild unengaged activity of man ever carries a keen and military edge with it, and when the great employ of man muſt neceſſarily be war and the chace, the weapons of war muſt have been almoſt univerſally repoſited with the dead. And we have a ſtriking paſſage of ſcripture to this purpoſe, which has never been noticed by the critics, and which ſhews the cuſtom to have been as general as the ſpirit of ambition or the profeſſion of arms. Ezekiel, prophetically exulting over the fallen armies of the Egyptians the Perſians and other neighbouring nations, cries out "They ſhall not lie with the mighty, that are fallen "of the uncircumciſed, *which are gone down to hell with their* "*weapons of war*, and they *have laid their ſwords under their* "*heads.*" Ch. xxxii. ver. 27.

P. 18. at the cloſe of note [17] ſubjoin this remark.—The great weight of theſe inſtruments has been a familiar objection againſt the military application of them. But the objection proceeds upon a falſe eſtimate concerning the powers of the human body. It takes not in thoſe additional powers of vigour and agility which the body naturally acquires in the habitual uſe of the heavieſt armour. And the objector may only be remitted for a ſufficient anſwer to the ponderous mails of our anceſtors in the Tower of London. He may there reflect at his leiſure, whether he could poſſibly march and countermarch with ſuch an heavy incum-

brance about him, as our fathers are well known to have done even within theſe two hundred years and even in the deep and founderous roads of our iſland at that period. With an original vigour of body no greater than what they have tranſmitted to their ſons, our anceſtors obtained from practice what nothing but practice could confer, and what an equal practice would equally confer upon their deſcendants.

P. 28. line 10. for, b. I. ch. x. *p.* 3, read, b. I. ch. x. *f.* 3.

P. 38. at the end of Note [6] add this — And even the great wall of Severus in the North appears to have been conſtructed upon the ſame principles, in a part of the wall that has been opened upon Wall-fell near St. Oſwald's the lower courſes being diſcovered to be laid in clay, and the upper appearing to be cemented with mortar (ſee the Map prefixed to Warburton's Vallum Romanum).

P. 53. line 25. for, a *copy* of the handwriting, read, a *ſpecimen* of the handwriting.

P. 92. l. 30. for, Itin. Cur. p. 108, read, Itin. Cur. p. 105.

P. 93. at the end of Note [10] add —The name of Camulus then is a Celtic appellation for Mars. And ſuch alſo is Belatucadr us. The late learned Biſhop Lyttelton indeed, in an Eſſay publiſhed this winter by the Antiquarian Society, has endeavoured to ſhew Belatucader to be either a local deity in general or another name for Belenus, Apollo, in particular (Archæologia vol. i. p. 308--311). And an inſcription in Horſeley, which is expreſsly Deo Marti Belatucadro, directly confronting the courſe of his Lordſhip's argument, he is obliged to ſuppoſe with Dr. Ward, that ſomething has been loſt in the inſcription, and that it originally ran Deo Marti ET Belatucado. But ſuch ſuppoſitions are ſurely very frivolous in their nature, the poor refuge of ſyſtematic prejudices, and an involuntary acknowledgment of the point oppoſed. Belatucadr is plainly from its natural import, Bel At Y Cadr or the King of the Fortreſs, the Britiſh appellation for the God of Battles. And the actual addition of Marti to Belatucadro in the Roman-Britiſh inſcription demonſtratively proves it: His Lordſhip and the Doctor however affirm, that the epithet

epithet of Sanctus, which is given to Belatucader in another inſcription, is nowhere attributed to Mars (p. 310 and 311). This, if the aſſertion was true, would be of no conſequence at all in the argument. The epithet might be attributed upon one monument, and yet might not appear upon others. But the aſſertion is not true. And the fact is as much againſt them in this point as the reaſon was in the other. We have actually in Gruter an inſcription to Mars, under the title of Camulus, with the character of ſanctity expreſsly attributed to him, Camulo Sanct. Fortiſſimo (p. 56. and ſee alſo Camden in Camulodunum). And the attributes of the Gods among the heathens appear from their inſcriptions to have been aſſigned to them by their votaries with a moſt promiſcuous and indiſcriminate liberality.

P. 180. note [s]. for, ſee b. *I.* ch. i. ſ. 3. Note, read, b. *II.* &c.

P. 237. l. 39. for, The Siſtuntian, read, The Siſtuntians.

P. 359. l. 25. for, The houſes *of* many of the towns of Italy, read, The houſes *in* many &c.

P. 398. l. 1. for, Divinity at the head of the creation, eternal in duration, read, Divinity at the head of the creation, *a nature* eternal &c.

P. 399. l. 9. for, adminiſter *real* comfort, read, adminiſter *rational* comfort.

P. 407. l. 35. for, the Romans being *denominated* as, read, the Romans being *enumerated* as.

P. 442. l. 14. for, ſtretched along the back, read, ſtretched along the back.

THE CONCLUSION.

WE have now purſued the Hiſtory of Mancheſter to that great important epocha in the annals of the iſland, the conſolidation of its five provinces into one empire, and the deſcent of the Saxons on the whole. We have ſeen the extenſive circuit of the pariſh of Mancheſter one wild unfrequented range of woodland, inhabited only by the boar the bull and the wolf, the hereditary proprietors of this ſylvan domain, and traverſed only by the hunters of the neighbouring country in their occaſional purſuits after them. We have ſeen the ſhades of this Arden ſelected by the monarch of Lancaſhire for the ſeat of a ſtation in the woods, and a ſtation actually planted in the center of it. This was the firſt early period of the population of the pariſh. This was the firſt early commencement of a town within it. The rude outlines of a town began, the faint principle of population commenced, about fifty years before the Chriſtian æra, and within the compaſs of the Caſtle-field. And the Foreſt of Arden aſſumed a new life and colouring from it. The death-like ſilence and the dread ſolitude that had regularly prevailed before were now greatly interrupted by the occaſional reſort of ſoldiers to the fortreſs of Mancenion, by the occaſional excurſions of hunters from the Caſtle-field, and by the hollow hum and the dying murmurs of the garriſon regularly converſing at the center on the banks of the Medlock. But that warlike tribe of Latium which from a little aſſemblage of outlaws on the heights of the Tiber had amazingly become the lords of Italy, the maſters of Gaul, and the conquerors of half the globe, now land

upon

upon the iſland, reduce the reluctant tribes of the Britons, and advance into Lancaſhire. They penetrate into the woods of our Arden. They firſt introduce the hoſtilities of war into the pariſh. They take Mancenion. A new ſpirit and an additional vigour now actuates the woodland. A regular fortreſs is conſtructed upon the Caſtle-field. A regular fortreſs is conſtructed equally about a mile to the north of it. And the ſite of the preſent town is now firſt cleared in part of its primitive oaks, and now firſt receives a colony of inhabitants upon it, a colony only tranſitory in its nature and exiſting only during the continuance of the ſummer. The moſt north-weſterly part of the foreſt is appropriated to the feeding of the Roman cattle, and four little fortreſſes are planted for their protection within it. The whole foreſt is interſected with large broad roads on every ſide, all ranging in right lines through the thickets, and all converging to one common point at the Caſtle-field. And what compleats the great change in the general aſpect of the pariſh, a regular town is now laid out in the boſom of the foreſt, a regular town is now actually conſtructed near the Caſtle-field, and a neighbouring baron and his clan are now actually ſettled within it. This is the firſt immediate commencement of a town within the circuit of the pariſh, in the ever-memorable autumn of 79. And the fortreſs in the Caſtle-field becomes the citadel of the adjoining borough. Beneath the happy auſpices of the Roman genius in Britain, that living principle of population which had faintly quickened before at the center of the foreſt now becomes active and vigorous, and diffuſes its influence on every ſide. The beaſts are diſlodged to a greater diſtance from Mancunium. The receding foreſt curves in an ample amphitheater of woods around it. And all the mechanical arts are ſucceſsfully tranſplanted into the wilds of our Arden. Civility literature and politeneſs follow. And Chriſtianity cloſes the rear.

But a new ſcene of ſorrow ariſes. A new invaſion is meditated from the continent. A tribe of idolatrous ſavages is haſtening from the ſhores of Germany. Ruin marks their advance. Ignorance incivility and barbariſm attend upon them. And the fall

of

P. 326.

L. 8—14 thus—And Symmachus, the cotemporary of Claudian, mentions ſeven Iriſh bull-dogs, Septem Scotici canes, as then firſt produced in the Circus at Rome to the great admiration of the people; who were ſo ſtruck with their ferocity and boldneſs, the two characteriſtick qualities of this ſpecies, that they univerſally imagined them to have been brought over in cages of iron. James I. is alſo known to have ſingled out one of his fierceſt lions in the Tower, and to have turned him looſe upon a couple of our bull-dogs; curious to obſerve how far their ſpirit and activity extended. And, to the aſtoniſhment of the whole court, the dogs ſhewed no ſigns of apprehenſion, did not decline the combat, and even provoked it; ſprung upon the lion, engaged him cloſely with an equal courage, and at laſt, in ſpite of all his efforts, maſtered him, and threw him on his back.

P. 330.

L. 9—19 thus—Southern hound. At Manchester it was noted by the obſerving eye of our poetical chorographer, Drayton, ſo early as the beginning of the laſt cent[illegible] and in his rough and dancing numbers is thus ſtrongly char[illegible] as one of the illuſtrious [illegible]:

And for the third, [illegible] aires exceed,
Be thoſe great race [illegible], the [illegible]-mouth'd of all
The others of this k[illegible] we our hunters call;
Which from their bellowing throats [illegible] ſent ſo roare,
That you would ſurely [illegible] earthe they tote
With their wide [illegible] clouds in ſunder,
As though [illegible] mocke the
thunder[7].

And being lately carried from us into many of the neighbouring diſtricts, and even into ſome of the ſouthern counties, it there

[7] Polyolbion p. 134, part 2d.

retains

CHAP. I.

MANCHESTER ORIGINALLY A BRITISH TOWN, ITS FIRST NAME AND SITE, AND TO WHAT KINGDOM IT BELONGED—THE EXTENT OF THE LATTER, AND THE ARMS OF ITS SUBJECTS—WHEN THE FORMER WAS FIRST LAID OUT PROBABLY, ITS NATURE AND REMAINS—AND THE REDUCTION OF BOTH BY THE ROMANS.

AMID the various doubts and uncertainties with which ignorance and inattention have clouded the Roman geography of our iſland, no uncertainty has ever ariſen, and no doubt been ſtarted, concerning the well-known claim of Mancheſter to the character of a Roman town. A ſtation is acknowledged by all the antiquarians to have been ſettled in the neighbourhood of Mancheſter, and within the compaſs of the Caſtle-field. And it is allowed to be the Mancunium of the Roman Itineraries. But the origin of it is not, I think, as all the antiquarians have equally agreed to ſuppoſe, derived entirely from the Romans.

The appellation, by which it is denoted in the Itineraries, is confeſſedly borrowed from the Britiſh language. And this one circumſtance plainly ſhews the name to have been impoſed by the Britons. They only could communicate a Britiſh appellation to a Roman fortreſs.—And, if the Romans had been the original conſtructors of the fort, they would have given it a Roman name. If the ſite had lain totally undiſcriminated from the

P. 9.

L. 27—29 thus—The uſual appellation of the iſlanders, Britanni, in the preſent denomination of the Armorican Britons and their language, Brez and Brezonec, and in the name of the Brigantes. Brit is enlarged into Brit-on or Brit-an in the plural, and Brit-an-ec in the relative adjective, &c.

P. 10.

L. 1 thus—And, as we find the laſt applied once by a native two or three tribes of the ſouthern, and by a Greek writer to the whole body of the northern Britons [27], ſo we ſee the firſt actually uſed by Ravennas for the country of the Brigantes, and our own Siſtuntii expreſsly declared to poſſeſs a third part of this Britain [28].

P. 11.

This memorandum is ſubjoined to the notes.

MEM.

The etymology of the names Albion, Britain, and Brigantes, the period of the firſt population of the iſland, and the derivation of the original coloniſts, have, ſince the firſt edition of this work, been more fully opened and aſcertained in The Genuine Hiſtory of the Britons aſſerted againſt Mr. Macpherſon, p. 29—32, 71—74, 91—93, and 95—103.

P. 12.

L. 1—8 thus—The riches of the Britons conſiſted chiefly in their cattle [1]. And it appears to have been a practice among three of their tribes, at leaſt, to keep large herds of them upon the uninhabited grounds that ſkirted the confines of their country. Retaining under their own care as many as they could conveniently furniſh with paſtures, they detached the reſt into the woods on the borders under the inſpection of their ſervants. And

theſe

theſe they ſometimes called Ceangon or foreſters from their place of reſidence &c.[1]

P. 13.

L. 10—12 thus—To a mind that has derived all its ideas of the Britons from the modern and popular accounts of them, it muſt ſeem ridiculous to talk of the Britiſh armouries. But in this, as in a thouſand other particulars, modern hiſtory has grown wanton in prejudice and confident in errour. And it is one principal deſign of the preſent work, to ſtrip the Britons of the ſtrange diſguiſes in which ſhe has hitherto dreſt them up, and exhibit them in their natural and genuine appearance.—The armouries of the Britons were furniſhed with &c.

P. 15.

L. 8—28 thus—And it is a Britiſh one. Axes were a principal part of the offenſive armour of the Celtæ. At the ſiege of the Roman Capitol by the Gauls under Brennus, we find one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed of their warriours armed with a battle-axe. And Ammianus Marcellinus, many centuries afterwards deſcribing a body of Gauls, furniſhes them all with battle-axes and ſwords. Some of theſe weapons have been found in the ſepulchers of the Britons, on the downs of Wiltſhire and in the north of Scotland. Within theſe four or five centuries the Iriſh went conſtantly armed with an axe. And the axe of Lochaber hath remained a formidable implement of deſtruction

[1] For Paruis ſee Mr. Baxter. But Ceang he violently derives from the Welſh Kaing, a bough, metaphorically meaning a young man. And Mr. Carte, miſtaking his words in another place, and reading his changon into changon, would deduce it from that word, and even call the Ceangi free men,—in order to mark their dependency (p. 108, a note). The word is thus derived probably. Cean or Can, a hill, ſignifies alſo a wood; as in the next ſection I ſhall ſhew Ven, the ſame word, to mean equally in Gallick and Britiſh. And Can would in the relative adjective make Can-ac. Fir-Canac, or in the rapidity of pronunciation Fir-Canc, as Cannock, the name of a foreſt in Staffordſhire, is commonly called Cank at preſent, would ſignify the woodlanders. And Canc or Cang makes Cang-on, Cang-an, or Cang-ian in the plural.

in the hands of our Highlanders, even nearly to the preſent period [b].

Other inſtruments have alſo been diſcovered in Wiltſhire, Warwickſhire, Staffordſhire, Cheſhire, and Scotland; which were ſhaped in the ſame manner, and therefore deſigned for the ſame uſes; which however were not compoſed of braſs, but formed of ſtone. And the rude ſimplicity of theſe axes, their correſpondence with the arrow-heads of flint which have been ſo often diſcovered in Scotland and Derbyſhire [c], and the frequent appearance of them in the ſepulchers equally of the Gauls and Britons, ſhew the latter to have been the original proprietors of all. Nor are they, as they have been ſometimes ſuppoſed by the learned, merely ſacrificial or domeſtick implements. Domeſtick, but not ſacrificial, were repoſited in the graves of the Celtæ; as in the barrows upon Saliſbury-plain have been found beads, and other perſonal decorations of the deceaſed. And the favourite inſtruments of the dead were interred with them. In all unlettered and uncommercial ages therefore, when the diſengaged activity of man ever carries a keen and military edge with it, and his great employ is neceſſarily war and the chace; the weapons of both would be univerſally repoſited with the dead. And we have a ſtriking paſſage of Scripture to this purpoſe, which ſhews the cuſtom to have been as general as the ſpirit of ambition or the profeſſion of arms. Ezekiel, prophetically exulting over the fallen armies of the Egyptians, Perſians, and other nations, cries out: "They ſhall not "lie with the mighty, that are fallen of the uncircumciſed, "*which are gone down to hell with their weapons of war*, and "*they have laid their ſwords under their heads* [d]."

Such a ſtone-formed head of a Britiſh battle-axe I have now in my own poſſeſſion, which was thrown up by the harrow in

[b] See Plutarch v. I. p. 315, Bryan, for the Gaul at Rome, and alſo v. II. p. 514; A. Marcellinus l. xix. c. 6, Galli—ſecunibus gladiiſque ſuccincti; and Topog. Hib. p. 793, for the Iriſh.

[c] See Thoreſby's Leeds p. 493—494, for flint arrow-heads being frequently ploughed up near Buxton, and there called Britiſh arrows.

[d] See b. I. ch. x. ſ. 5, and Ezekiel ch. xxxii. ver. 27.

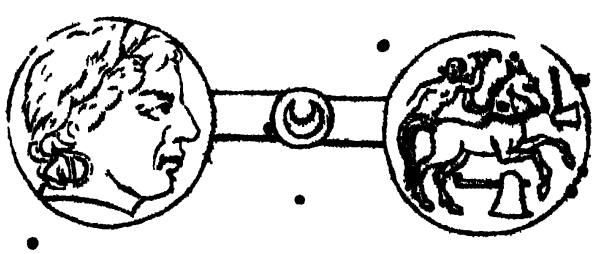
an

an incloſure a little diſtant from the Caſtle-field. It is a ſtrong and heavy Celt, molded with great regularity, and ground neatly to an edge, &c.

P. 16.

L. 4—7 thus—And the whole is not leſs than eight pounds and four ounces in weight. This great heavineſs of the inſtruments, indeed, has been a familiar objection againſt the military application of them. But the argument proceeds upon a falſe eſtimate concerning the powers of the human frame. It takes not in that additional vigour and agility, which the body acquires in the habitual uſe of the heavieſt armour. And the objector may be remitted for a ſufficient anſwer, to the ponderous mails of our anceſtors in the Tower of London. He may there reflect, whether he could march and countermarch with ſuch a heavy incumbrance about him, as our fathers are well known to have done even within theſe 200 years, and in the deep and founderous roads of our iſland at that period. With an original vigour of body no greater than what they have tranſmitted to their ſons, our anceſtors obtained from practice what nothing but that could confer, and what an equal practice would equally confer on their deſcendants.

Two ſuch battle-axes as this are delineated upon an antient coin of the iſland, which the horſe on one ſide, and the pearls round the head on the other, ſhew to be Britiſh. Here is a view of it.



And here we ſee a ſmaller and a larger Celt exhibited together on the coin, and having the handle inſerted into the body of each [e].

This, and the military chariot, were derived &c.

P. 17.

L. 20—21 thus—Such are ſometimes the little eſcapes of real learning and judgment.

P. 20.

L. 2—4 thus—The whole reflected warmth of our ſun. And this is the caſe with numbers of the Britiſh fortreſſes &c.

P. 24.

L. 4 thus—They were, as we have every reaſon to ſuppoſe, what the general houſes of the Gauls and Britons were, great round cabins &c.

L. 29 thus—Aſſiſtance of lime. The houſes in the weſtern iſles of Scotland, to this day, are built of ſtone and cemented with earth [f]. And the ſame &c.

P. 25.

L. 31—For ſouth-weſt, read ſouth-eaſt.

P. 26—27.

The paragraph now runs thus—During this application of that remarkable ſpot, the country around it was one large wood, which began immediately without the barriers, and diffuſed itſelf on every ſide. And the popular denomination of it among the Britons will hereafter appear to have been Arden. This was the common name of foreſts among the Celtæ in general, from the wildly extenſive one which ranged for 500 miles in length acroſs the country of Gaul, overed more than half the county of Warwick in Britain, and the ſites of which ſtill retain the appellation of Arden,

[e] This Coin was publiſhed ſince the firſt edition of this work, and is N° III. plate 16. of Dr. Stukeley's Britiſh Coins.

[f] See Martin's W. Iſles, p. 291, ſecond edit.

to the much ſmaller one that ſurrounded Mancenion. Written Arduen by Cæſar and Tacitus in ſpeaking of the foreſt in Gaul, and Ardven by Oſſian in mentioning the woods of Caledonia, it cannot be compounded of Ar the præpoſitive article in Celtick and the ſubſtantive Den, as the oracular interpreter of the Roman-Britiſh apellations aſſerts it to be [1]; but is formed of Ard an adjective, and Ven the ſame as Den. The meaning of the name therefore is not, as Mr. Baxter renders it, ſimply the hills, or, even as the ingenious tranſlator of Oſſian interprets it, the high hill. Ard ſignifies either high or great, and Ven or Den either a hill or wood. Arduen, Ardven, or Arden, then, means a conſiderable wood. Hence, only, the name became applicable to ſuch very different ſites, as the plains of Warwickſhire and the hills of Scotland. And it was given, not only to the moſt extenſive foreſts, to that which was the greateſt in Gaul or ſo conſiderable in Britain, but to many that were important only within their own contracted diſtricts, to the wood of Mancenion, and others. That, particularly, covered the whole ſite of the preſent Mancheſter. And all along the ſtreets, which now reſound with the voice of induſtry, and are now crouded with the retainers of commerce, then exiſted the gloom of a foreſt and the ſilence of ſolitude. And a mind tolerably romantick might long amuſe itſelf with the reflexion, that this gloom was never invaded or this ſilence interrupted, but by the reſort of ſoldiers to the fortreſs in war, the viſits of hunters in peace, or the diſtant ſounds of the garriſon converſing in the Caſtle-field; and that the boar and wolf, then (as will hereafter appear) the inhabitants of this woodland, were for the moſt part the only poſſeſſors of it, ſlumbering perhaps in ſecurity by day on the bank of the preſent church-yard, and roaming in companies by night over the area of the preſent market-place [s].

[s] —— Paſſimque armenta videbant
Romanoque Foro, et lautis mugire Carinis.

P. 28.

L. 25—26 thus—Now ſkirted on the ſouth and eaſt by the Romans. And weakened as perhaps they ſtill were by their ſtruggle with the warlike tribe of the Brigantes, &c.

P. 29.

L. 17—20 thus—The main body appears to have advanced by the way of Warrington, and defeated the Carnabii of north-weſtern Cheſhire. And a conſiderable party &c.

P. 31.

CHAP. II.

WHAT MANCHESTER WAS IMMEDIATELY MADE BY THE ROMANS, AND WHAT CALLED — THE NATURE OF THEIR WORKS AT IT — THEIR STATIONARY OECONOMY LAID OPEN — AND ALL THEIR STATIONARY REMAINS AT MANCHESTER POINTED OUT.

I.

THE Britons of Lançaſhire being ſubdued in the ſummer of 79, Agricola reſolved to eſtabliſh forts and ſettle garriſons in ſeveral parts of their country. And he accordingly fixed the ſtations Ad Alaunam and Bremetónacæ in the north, Portus Siſtuntiorum in the weſt, Rerigonium and Coccium about the center, Colania on the eaſt, and Veratinum and Mancunium on the ſouth. Some were neceſſary to the maintenance of his conqueſts in the county, and muſt always have been erected by the Romans as they extended their empire. Six of theſe are mentioned by the earlieſt accounts which we have of Lancaſhire, and five by one that was drawn up about ſixty years only after the reduction of it. Having been five of them originally Britiſh fortreſſes, they were now changed into Roman camps. And ſmall garriſons, conſiſting principally (we may ſuppoſe) of the infirm and raw ſoldiers, were lodged in them, while Agricola with the reſt attacked the more northerly Britons in the following ſummer.

P. 32.

L. 15—17 thus—The ſoldiers allotted to the buſineſs we may image to ourſelves, according to the deſcription given us by Vegetius,

Vegetius, leaving their ſhields and knapſacks in the center of the area and in circles about their reſpective ſtandards, and repairing &c.

P. 34.

At the end of the paragraph is this addition.—In conſtructing the walls of it, the Romans purſued the method that has been equally noticed in thoſe of Lemanis, Verulam, and Old Sarum [a], and left holes at certain diſtances in the ramparts. The deſign of theſe openings, however, has not yet been aſcertained. And, for want of a better reaſon, they have been ſuppoſed to be made for the free admiſſion of the air into the thick ſubſtance of the walls, in order to dry them. This cannot have been their original intention, as at Saliſbury they appear to have been cloſed with ſtone at the ends, and have been found below the natural ſurface of the ground at Mancheſter. And they were calculated, I apprehend, to anſwer a more important purpoſe. The former have been repreſented, as extending quite through the breadth of the wall [a]. But this is a miſtake. I was there in 1772, and noted them attentively. They are five or ſix in number; and the facing of one ſide ſtill remains over two of them. And one, that was accidentally laid open from end to end, diſcloſed the deſign of all. As the Romans carried their rampart upwards, they took off the preſſure from the parts below, and gave a greater ſtrength to the whole, by turning little arches in their work, and fixing the reſt of the wall upon them. The holes at Sarum were all regular arches, at the diſtance of five or ſix feet from each other. And as late as the year 1769 there was an arch appearing in the rampart of the Caſtle-field, a little to the weſt of the ſouth-eaſtern angle; and the crown of it juſt roſe above the ground.

P. 36.

L. 9—12 thus—And all this ſide of the wall, which was from the beginning probably not much higher than it is at preſent,

[a] Itin. Curioſ. p. 105, &c.

as

as it was ſufficiently ſecured by the river and its banks before it, appears creſted at firſt with a hedge of thorns, a young oak riſing from the ridge, and rearing its head conſiderably over the reſt; &c.

P. 37.

L. 5—9 thus—And the white and brown patches of morter and ſtone, on a general view of the wall, ſtand ſtrikingly contraſted with the green turf that entirely conceals the level line, and with the green moſs that half reveals the projecting points, of the rampart.

L. 23—26 thus—And, as the ſoldiers proceeded in the work, we may fancy the centurions appointed to ſuperintend it, employed as Vegetius deſcribes them upon the like occaſions, regularly examining the line of the ditch, and carefully meaſuring the depth of the channel, with their ten-feet rods.

P. 40.

L. 21—22 thus—And, according to the practice of the Romans in their camps, eight men out of every century, thirty-two in all, continued upon guard in the Caſtle-field &c.

P. 42.

L. 8—11, this ſentence is left out, as the ſubject is more fully diſcuſſed in another place.

P. 44.

L. 1—7 thus—To the brown china of Staffordſhire, but more brightly coloured, and of a ſtrong coral hue. And, ornamented with various figures and devices, it has the name of the maker embоſſed upon it thus in ſmall Roman capitals, ADVOCISI. Other &c.

P. 45.

To the laſt paragraph are added the following.

But that large projection of the bank of the Medlock, which commences near the ſouth-eaſtern and ſouth-weſtern point of the ſtation, appears to have been applied to the moſt capital uſes. Lying within the two angles of the camp, and forming an agreeable addition to it, it was naturally the ſite of all the offices. And in 1771 were here found ſome remains of buildings, which the nature of the conſtruction and the diſcovery of coins equally marked to be Roman.

A little to the weſt of the ſouth-eaſtern angle, and directly oppoſite to the ſmall bridge on the other ſide of the river, as the workmen were levelling the bank for a wharf, and proceeding to the eaſt, they came to a large ſtone, like the pedeſtal of a pillar, but all plane on the ſurface. It was about two feet nine inches acroſs at the baſe, and gradually decreaſed upwards by four ſtages, as it were, of eight inches, three and a half, one and three quarters, and one and a half, in length, to two feet and three inches, two feet, and one foot nine. It was placed on a flooring ſeven or eight inches thick, which was made with pieces of ſoft red rock, and bedded in clay. And it was nearly twenty-five yards diſtant from the preſent edge of the water.

Eight feet immediately to the eaſt of this was a building, equally with the ſtone about two below the ſurface of the ground, and floored with a Roman cement of morter and pounded brick. This was nine inches in thickneſs, and reſted on a body of marle about as many in depth. And the whole building was about twenty feet long and ten broad. — Nine to the eaſt of this was another flooring, two or three lower in the ground, and a cake of the ſame cement and thickneſs. It lay upon looſe earth, but was covered with flags. And the whole was about ten feet broad and thirty long. — The exteriour wall of both buildings was diſcovered on the northern ſide, running parallel with the river. That of the former was about two feet

three

three inches in thickneſs, and that of the latter about four. This roſe about three high, and was formed of ſtones regularly dreſt, the upper ſhallow and the lower deep. And, having extended neatly in a right line about thirty feet, it then turned in a fair angle, and pointed towards the river. In the former building was dug up only one flooring; but in the latter three. Below the pavement deſcribed above, and in the looſe earth on which it lay, were found, as the pillars of it, large blocks of a mill-ſtone grit and ſquare tubes of ſtrong tile. And the firſt flooring lay on all theſe; the intervals between the tubes and blocks being entirely filled up with earth. The latter were ſuch as we have noticed before in the Britiſh foundation at another end of the field, and like them, I ſuppoſe, brought down by the floods of the Medlock. And the former were about ſixteen inches in height and five in diameter, and filled up with morter that had once been fluid. Three of theſe were found together, ſtanding erect, and two of them ſo formed with projections as to make a third by their union. And theſe and the earth all reſted upon a ſecond flooring, another cake of the ſame cement, near two feet in thickneſs, and lying upon a ſecond bed of rubbiſh about three in depth. In the body of this earth, which was covered with the ſecond flooring, all unbroken and entire, were diſcovered three or four regular pillars of flag and tile. The firſt was placed about ſix feet to the ſouth of the northerly wall, and the ſecond about ſeventeen inches to the ſouth of that. Six feet eaſtward was another; and about ſeventeen inches north of this were ſome remains of a fourth. They were compoſed of a ſquare flag, then two layers of tile, each tile being about two inches thick and eight ſquare, and afterwards of flag and tile in four layers alternately, all laid in morter and pounded brick. And they roſe from twenty-two to thirty-two inches in height, cloſely ſurrounded on every ſide with the looſe earth; and lay, as it lay, upon a third flooring, made of pure and unmixed morter, three inches in thickneſs, and having a layer of red ſand below on the natural ground.

About a yard to the caſt of the more eaſterly building, was diſcovered a third, but all a mere maſs of confuſion. And in the broken ruins of it were dug up a couple of Roman coins, and three round tubes of tile. Theſe were found in the ground, with their morter adhering to the outſide of them, and each about ſixteen inches in length. They had plainly been formed in molds, were hooped as it were with circles on the outſide, and narrowed from a diameter about four inches at one end to two at the other. And by this means they were calculated to be, as they were found, each inſerted into each, and forming one long pipe.

What, then, was the deſign of theſe three buildings and the ſtone? Clearly Roman, they were as clearly ſome of the appendages belonging to the ſtation. And the buildings, particularly, ſeem to have been the cowſtall, the ſlaughterhouſe, and the larder of the garriſon. In enquiries of this circumſtantial and private nature, however, we muſt not expect demonſtration. And a probable conjecture is the higheſt point of certainty to which we can aſpire.

It was the ſecond building probably, that was the ſlaughterhouſe of the ſtation. Such a ſtructure the Romans would neceſſarily have in the Caſtle-field. And they would naturally place it about the ſite of this, within the irregularly ſemicircular projection of the river-bank, below the level of the fortreſs, and on the edge of the water. But, what ſeems to amount nearly to a poſitive proof, cloſe to it, near the ſouth-weſtern angle and along the north-eaſtern ſide of it, were found great quantities of bones heaped together, and chiefly of oxen, ſheep, and cows.—What the particular deſign of the two inferiour floorings was, covered as they were with a maſs of earth, perhaps we muſt not pretend to explain. And indeed they ſeem not, in any view of the building, able to ſerve a ſingle purpoſe whatſoever, except only to prevent the burrowing of rats from the river.—Many tiles alſo were found in the ruins, that had round holes in them, ſome larger and ſome ſmaller; and others, that were made with a bend for channels. The former were probably

bably the vent-holes, and the latter the ducts, by which the blood on the floor diſcharged itſelf into the ſoughs, and was conveyed into the river. And one ſough, I am informed, was actually obſerved in the building.

This, then, was in all probability the ſlaughterhouſe of Mancunium. And the accompanying ſtructures on the weſt and eaſt would naturally bear an affinity to it, and be the larder and cowſtall.—In the moſt eaſterly of them, the three long tubes of tile, inſerted into one another, and laid in the ground with morter, were evidently placed as a channel. And there were alſo found, as in the ſecond building, ſeveral fragments of coarſe tiles formed into hollows, and calculated for the ſame purpoſe. Theſe were the drains probably for all the fluid filth of the cowſtall. And the cattle, that were ſlaughtered for the uſe of the garriſon, were probably kept here after they were taken from the paſture, and properly prepared for the knife. In the ruins of the ſecond edifice was found a large knife of iron, with a handle of ſtag's horn. And in thoſe of the more weſterly one was picked up the beam of a balance, and fitted with a hook at one end. That perhaps was the carving knife of the butcher, and this the balance of the larderer, with which he meaſured every ſoldier his portion; the beam being very ſlight, and capable of weighing about half a pound. The ſecond and third buildings, as the ſlaughterhouſe and cowſtall, would conſiſt only of one large room each; and no partitions were found in either. But they were in the firſt; and, as a larder, they would be wanted in it. As a larder alſo, it needed only what it had, a ſingle flooring of Roman cement; becauſe the drainings of the ſlaughterhouſe would effectually divert the rats of the river from it. It had nothing therefore but the dampneſs of its poſition, to guard againſt. And, placed as it was ſo much higher than the ſlaughterhouſe, one flooring would be fully ſufficient for this purpoſe.

In this view of the buildings, the eaſtern being the cowſtall, the middle the ſlaughterhouſe, and the weſtern the larder, of the Roman garriſon; the ſtone, which was placed about two yards to the weſt of the laſt, will have its proper uſe and place. It

was evidently found in its original ſite, being fixed (as I have ſhewn) on a regular baſis of red rock and clay. And it is ſo much in miniature what our market-ſtones are upon a larger ſcale at preſent, that I cannot but think it intended for a ſimilar purpoſe; as the ſtated point, to which the ſoldiers repaired every day for their portions of meat, which were cut and weighed at the larder, and afterwards diſtributed at the ſtone. Nor has Vegetius, that curious detailer of the military œconomy of the Romans, neglected to give us a hint concerning theſe minuter parts of it. Speaking of the preparation requiſite in a camp for ſupporting a ſiege, he particularly directs all the live ſtock of the garriſon, except a few fowls for the ſick, to be killed, and carried to the larder; omne animalium genus, quod incluſum ſervari non poteſt, deputari oportet ad lardum. And it ſhould afterwards, he ſays, be diſtributed among the ſoldiers by officers appointed for that purpoſe, ut adminiculo carnis frumenta ſufficiant [b].

Thus was the ſouth-eaſtern part of the projection taken up probably by the cowſtall, ſlaughterhouſe, and larder of the garriſon. In the ruins of them was found a Roman chiſſel of iron, ſhaped like our preſent chiſſels, and fitted for the reception of a wooden handle. And the ſouth-weſtern, which has never yet been dug into, was equally occupied in all probability by the ſtables of the officers, rooſting-ſheds for the fowls, and other conſtructions of a ſimilar nature [c]. Only, at one point of this, was found a few years ago what ſeemed to have been a part of the Roman proviſion for a ſiege. Againſt ſuch an occaſion Vegetius ſhews his countrymen to have carefully collected the round ſtones of the rivers; and to have lined the walls of their ſtations with them: ſaxa rotunda de fluviis, quia pro ſoliditate graviora ſunt, et aptiora mittentibus, diligentiſſimè colliguntur, ex quibus muri replentur. The ſmaller were ſent againſt the enemy either from the hand or ſlings. And the larger were launched

[b] Vegetius l. iv. c. 7.

[c] I have the chiſſel in my own poſſeſſion, and alſo the ſtag's-horn handle of the Roman carving-knife. The blade of the latter being looſe, it was ſtolen at the firſt diſcovery.

from

from their engines. The former have been frequently found in the Roman camp of Camalet, and ſometimes by half a peck at a time; though there are none ſuch in all the parts of Somerſetſhire about it. And a great quantity of the latter, was found all together at Mancheſter, when the Duke of Bridgewater began his works in the Caſtle-field; gathered from the bed of the Medlock, and repoſited on the bank of it, lying in a large heap immediately under the Britiſh rampart, and fairly turfed over by time [c].

P. 46.

L. 10—16, From *among many fragments* to *Horſeley p.* 328 is left out, and thrown into another part of the work.

At the beginning of ſect. IV. this paragraph is added.

One of the moſt diſtinguiſhing and permanent parts of the Roman character, though it has been little attended to, was a regular religiouſneſs of ſpirit. This is that accompliſhment of the mind, which reflects the higheſt honour upon it; as it is the full reſult and united power of all the virtues blended together. For this, probably, did the great Father and object of all religion ſelect the Romans from the common maſs of mankind, and give them the empire of the globe. And ſo livelily did the principle operate within them, and ſo actively was it diffuſed even through the camps of their ſoldiery, that nine tenths of their ſtationary relicks in Britain are only monuments of their piety and memorials of their devotion.

The Roman garriſon of Mancunium, therefore, muſt naturally have had ſome particular building for the periodical ſervices of religion. &c.

P. 48.

L. 5—10, This whole ſentence is left out, becauſe the fact alledged is not true and the allegation is unneceſſary.

L. 33—35, This alſo is left out for the ſame reaſon.

[c] Vegetius l. iv. c. 8. and 22, and Itin. Cur. p. 142.

P. 50.

P. 50.

L. 21 thus—[7] Horſeley, Cumberland Fig. 46, and perhaps Suſſex Fig. 1, Trajan's; Northumberland Fig. 77, and probably 59 (ſee preſ. p. xiv), Hadrian's; and Scotland Fig. 1, 3, 16, 25, and 26, Antoninus's —.

P. 52.

After both the paragraphs of ſect. V. theſe remarks are thrown in.

But in the month of May 1772, cloſe to the ſecond lock of the Irwell, and about two miles from Caſtle-field, was found a Roman Bulla of gold. It was diſcovered in deepening the channel for the paſſage of the boats, buried about a foot deep in a ridge of gravel. And it is repoſited with the ſword in the elegant and magnificent Muſæum of my friend, Aſhton Lever Eſq. of Alkrington.

This well-known ornament of the Roman boys was made originally of leather among all ranks of people, I apprehend; as ſo it continued among the inferiour to the laſt. And, though it has never been ſuſpected, it was plainly, I think, intended at firſt for an amulet rather an ornament. That lively ſpirit of religiouſneſs, which I have noticed before in the genius of the Romans, was greatly tinctured with ſuperſtition. And they hung amulets about the necks of their children, repreſenting different parts of the human body, and even thoſe which are characteriſtick of man. Upon the ſame principle, aſſuredly, bullas were originally made in the form of hearts[d]. And, what ſeems a full evidence that they were amulets, they were frequently impreſſed with the figure of the ſexual parts beſides[e].

But they did not always retain the form of a heart, any more than they were always compoſed of leather. As the wealth of the ſtate and the riches of individuals increaſed, the young patrician diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a bulla of gold, while the common people wore the amulet of their anceſtors[f]. And the figure of a heart was laid aſide for that of a circle. The bullas then be-

[d] Montfaucon L' Antiq. Exp. tom. III. part I. p. 69.

[e] See two in Montfaucon's plate, ibid.

[f] Signum de paupere loro, as Juvenal calls it.

came

came ſo generally round, and ſome even bearing the impreſſion of a heart upon them, that there are not many of the original form, I believe, to be found in the cabinets of the curious [g]. But many are preſerved of the other; and one, particularly, was diſcovered about 40 years ago in Lancaſhire, being accidentally picked up by a lady in the ſtation of Overborough [h]. And, when once the form had varied from a heart to a circle, the gradation was eaſy from a circle to a ſegment of it. There was ſome fantaſtical reaſon, no doubt, the ſuggeſtion of the original ſuperſtition, for uſing the former. And as good an one would eaſily be found in the reveries of religious folly, for adopting the latter. Our Mancunian bulla is of this figure, and the only one that I know of in the kingdom. Very few indeed have been found within it. I recollect none at preſent, but our own and the Overborough bulla. And many cannot be expected. The leathern, that were loſt, muſt long ſince have periſhed. And what can we hope for of the golden, when they were thrown off at the age of puberty, and a patrician's ſon was not likely to come over and ſerve in the armies before? They can be expected only from the ſons of patricians ſettled in the iſland, and employed in the civil or military offices of the country. And the number of theſe was in all probability ſmall.

But it is very remarkable, that the only two, which are known to be diſcovered in Britain, ſhould both have been found in Lancaſhire. And ours at Mancheſter is much more curious than the other. Many have been collected on the continent in the round or Overborough figure; but none, I believe, in that of a ſegment. And it enables us to correct a prevailing miſtake concerning theſe little implements. It is univerſally aſſerted by the criticks, that the bulla was hollow for the reception of an amulet [i]. But, as I have already obſerved, the amulet was the bulla itſelf. And our own ſerves to confirm the notion. When it was

[g] Four in Montfaucon; and two have a heart upon them.

[h] Kauthmell's Overborough, p. 98—100.

[i] See Montfaucon, reſting on the authority of Macrobius.

firſt found, it was nearly entire; and, if it had ever had any relick or taliſman incloſed, would ſtill have retained it. But, on examining the cavity within, nothing could be found except a few particles of ſand, that had inſinuated themſelves at the only breach in the whole, a ſmall puncture at the bottom of it. And the whole is ſomething more than three and twenty ſhillings in intrinſick value. The two flat ſides are decorated a little differently. Both have ſegments of concentrick circles engraved upon them. One, however, is embelliſhed only with plain ſtrokes of the graver betwixt the ſegments. And the other has ſtars radiating between them, executed in an elegant taſte, and interchangeably pointing upwards and downwards.' This therefore was the front of the bulla, the ſide which lay uppermoſt as it reſted on the breaſt. And I give this view of it here.

P. 53.

CHAP. III.

A DISCOVERY MADE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE KNOWLEDGE OF ROMAN-BRITISH ANTIQUITIES — THE GEOGRAPHY OF ROMAN BRITAIN ASCERTAINED — THE GREATER ROADS ACROSS IT, BRITISH OR ROMAN — AND THE GENERAL ROADS OF THE ROMANS IN LANCASHIRE.

I.

THE only accounts that had deſcended to us concerning the Roman ſtations and roads within the iſland, in the year 1757, were the Geography of Ptolemy, the Itinerary of Antoninus, the Imperial Notitia, and the Anonymous Chorography &c.

P. 55.

L. 13—14 thus—Who advanced the Roman empire very little beyond the Tay &c.

P. 60.

L. 19—20 thus—And transferred the imperial ſeat to Noviomagus, a town in Surry &c.

P. 61.

L. 28—30 thus—Denbigh, and Flint (except a ſmall part of the laſt, adjoining to Banchor and belonging to the Carnabii), and thoſe parts of Shropſhire which are to the ſouth and weſt of the Severn; &c.

P. 63.

L. 23—24 thus—A chain of mountains, formerly denominated Montes Uxelli, running &c.

P. 68.

L. 10 thus—From the ſouth-eaſt into Caernarvonſhire on the other &c.

P. 75.

L. 34—35 thus—Such a coincidence ſhould always be allowed as a deciſive argument, unleſs there be demonſtration to the contrary. And, only with this exception, it muſt always be ſuppoſed to &c.

P. 80.

CHAP. IV.

THE ROMAN ROADS TRACED FROM MANCHESTER TO OTHER STATIONS, CAMBODUNUM, CONDATE, AND COCCIUM — THE SITES FIXED, AND THE REMAINS DESCRIBED — AND SOME CURIOUS PARTICULARS LAID OPEN IN THE HISTORY OF THE BRITONS OF WEST-CHESHIRE.

I.

IT has been queſtioned by the antiquarians, whether the ſtations or roads of the Romans were prior in time. And no determination has been given to the queſtion. But the deciſion, I think, is eaſy. The ſtations were prior, as I have previouſly intimated; and the roads were only the channels of communication between them. Many of the former neceſſarily commenced, as I have mentioned before, during the very conqueſt of the country; and all of them at the concluſion of it. And the latter could not be conſtructed till the firſt or ſecond ſummer after both.

P. 86.

L. 25—33 thus—And going through Mr: Kerſhaw's kitchen-croft and fold, and over Mr. Bent's gatefield, it proceeds to Glodwick, where it has been found by the plough in one part, and is viſible to the eye for a great number of yards together in another. It is again ſeen at the deſcent of the hill, and in the grounds of Wellihole. It leaves Haigh Chapel a little on the ſouth, goes up the hill to the village of Oſterlands, and enters York-

Yorkſhire; keeps in the incloſures along the ſouthern edge of the High-moor, and comes cloſe to Knot-hill in Saddleworth. Croſſing the Mancheſter and Huthersfield road at Delf, and paſſing along the fields to Caſtleſhaw, it appears in one long green ſeam upon Clowze-moſs, and is popularly denominated the Old Gate. And it appears again in a green track upon the hill which is called the Reaps, leaves March-hill a little to the north, and Marſden about a mile and a half to the ſouth, and runs over the middle of Holm-moor, up Cupwith-moor, and by Pole-moor-ſtone, to the northern ſide of Gowkerhill, and the groundplot of Cambodunum.

P. 94.

L. 9—11 thus—Unjuſt. And, as they claſh with the opinions that I have advanced in the text, I feel myſelf compelled in my own defence to notice them. Thus Mr. Percival in p. 63, on ſuppoſitions frivolous in themſelves, and Mr. Watſon in p. 218—220, on reaſonings confeſſedly contrary to authority, &c.

Laſt line thus—In A. D. 633. The Campodonum of Bede, therefore, cannot be Doncaſter. It can only be the Cambodunum of the Itineraries. And we have exactly a parallel inſtance among the Brigantes of the Alpine regions, the Cambodunum of Ptolemy (p. 62) being denominated Campodunum by Strabo (p. 316).

P. 102.

L. 20—21 thus—All Cheſhire, all Staffordſhire, thoſe parts of Shropſhire which lie to the north and eaſt of the Severn, almoſt all Warwickſhire, and the adjoining lands of &c.

P. 103.

L. 9—10 thus—The whole of Staffordſhire and Cheſhire, and ſeveral parts of Shropſhire, Warwickſhire, &c.

L. 29—30 thus—The whole of Staffordſhire, and the neighbouring parts of Shropſhire, Warwickſhire, &c.

P. 104.

L. 2—3 thus—County, Staffordſhire, and the neighbouring parts of Shropſhire, Warwickſhire, &c.

P. 110.

L. 17—22 thus—Winter's tale. And, in this ſtate &c.

L. 30—36 thus—There, only, are thoſe particularities of ſite, which the Romans generally ſecured in the poſition of a camp, the convenience of a ſtream and the advantage of a bank, the concurrence of a brook with a river, and a commodious point of ground betwixt both. The one would afford &c.

P. 114.

L. 2—21 thus—The latter, which from the Roman termination of the word appears to have been Caer Cocci, imports literally the city of the high one. And the former, which may be either Rigo or Rigod dunum, ſignifies the fortreſs of the king or kings. Thus Ragæ, the Roman name of the preſent Leiceſter, and the Britiſh appellation of the Coritanian capital; and Reg-num, or Regen-ti-um, the capital of the Regni, and the preſent Chicheſter in Suſſex; are exactly the ſame with Rig-od and Rig-od-dunum: being all of them the Britiſh plurals of the ſame word, and equally with Cocci the deſignation of a metropolis. And a duplicate of names appears to have been not uncommon among the Britons in general for their ſtations in the woods; Camulodunum and Cambodunum being two denominations for the ſame fortreſs, Regnum and Regentium being equally the title of Chicheſter, and the Bovium of Antoninus only a different appellation for the Banchorium of Richard.

P. 115.

P. 115.

L. 31 thus—Among the primitive Britons and weſtern Highlanders. The beſieged &c.

L. 25 thus—And there are to this day ſeveral carnes, or heaps of ſtones, upon the heights along the coaſt of the Harries, on which the inhabitants uſed to burn heath, as the ſignal of an aproaching enemy *.

P. 116.

Note 6. thus—Baxter in Cogidumnus and Lhuyd in p. 215.

* Martin's W. Iſles, p. 35.

P. 118.

CHAP. V.

OTHER ROADS TRACED FROM MANCHESTER TO OTHER STATIONS — THE SITES AND REMAINS FIXED AND DESCRIBED — A NEW ACCOUNT OF THE BRITONS IN EAST-CHESHIRE AND DERBYSHIRE — AND SOME ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS NEAR WARRINGTON APPLIED TO HISTORY.

I.

THESE are all the ſtations with which the two Itineraries repreſent Mancheſter to be connected, and theſe are the roads which ran between them. But there were alſo others. And one proceeded &c.

P. 127.

L. 23—25 thus—Was originally the dock-yard of the town. And here were conſtructed and refitted the many flats and barges, &c.

P. 130.

L. 14 thus—The channel of the river. This was once aſſuredly the capacious baſon of the Roman harbour, a beautiful creſcent formed by theſe two headlands, and about four miles over at the mouth. But of theſe the weſtern has no Neb &c.

P. 139.

L. 29—34 thus—Eminence on which it is erected; being denominated Verb, Guerſ, or Wherf &c.

P. 143.

L. 21—30 thus—In theſe the wildeſt parts of the wildeſt region in England, the neighbourhood of a garriſon only could have cauſed the medicinal virtues of theſe little ſprings to be even known to tho Romans. And nothing but the vicinity of a ſtation could have occaſioned the waters, after they were known, &c.

P. 146.

L. 3—22 thus—The Romans, on their ſettlement in Britain, immediately marked and collected the mineral ſprings of the iſland, which had rilled on for ages either utterly unnoticed by the natives, or waſting their waters upon the ſolitary wilds of the country. And accordingly we find the warm baths of Britain, in general, mentioned as early as the year 61, within 18 years only after the firſt wintering of the Romans in the kingdom. And we ſee thoſe of Somerſetſhire, in particular, noticed within a century afterwards. They are ſpoken of by the title of ὑδατα θερμα in Ptolemy, Thermæ in Richard, and Aquæ Solis both in Richard and Antoninus. And, as we meet with Aquæ &c.

P. 147.

L. 4—17 thus—The Roman bagnio at this place was plainly diſcernible by its ruins within the preſent century. The dimenſions were then traceable by the eye. And the wall of it was brick, ſtill riſing about a yard in height upon three ſides, and covered with a red coat of Roman cement, hard as brick and reſembling tile [a]. The baſon was floored with ſtone; and ſupplied, not by any of the ſprings which feed the preſent bath immediately above, but by that finer ſource of water which is now denominated St. Anne's well, and was then incloſed within it. And this continued the very curious and only remains of the

[a] Short's Hiſtory of Mineral Waters, 1734, p. 23 and 44.

Roman baths in the kingdom, ſo late as the year 1709; when Sir Thomas Delves with a gothick generoſity of ſpirit deſtroyed the whole, in order to cover the ſpring with the ſtone-alcove that is over it at preſent. But about fifty yards to the eaſt of this, on driving a level from the preſent bath to the river in 1697, was found an appendage probably to the Roman bagnio, a baſon about four yards ſquare, but made with ſheets of lead, that were ſpread upon large beams of timber, and had broken ledges all along the borders. This additional bath was repleniſhed from another ſpring, which is about fourteen yards to the ſouth of it, and called Bingham well. And both the ſprings, and all the others of Buxton, are only of a blood-warm heat; and muſt therefore have been more congenial to the ſtate and more friendly to the health of the human frame, in the conſtant uſe of them among the Romans, than the boiling waters of the ſun at Bath [b].

But let us turn from theſe notices, to ſurvey the general condition of this part of the country in the days of the Britons.

There appear &c.

L. 30—36 thus—Worceſter ſeems to have been their capital. The name is compounded of the two words, Bran or Bren, and Genion or Cenion. The latter, as I have already ſhewn in our own Mancenion, ſignifies ſimply a fortreſs or town. And the former, importing a head or king, ſeems ſtrongly to mark it for the principal city.

P. 149.

L. 2—4 thus—Reduced all Staffordſhire, nearly all Warwickſhire, the north and eaſt of Shropſhire, the eaſt of Cheſhire, and the little detached diſtrict of Flintſhire. And &c.

L. 16—19 thus—The genuine and proper name therefore was Gen-i, Y-cen-i, or Cen-om-es, the head ones; and the appellation of Cenimagni, Cenimanni, or Cenomanni ſignify

[b] Short, ibid.

only the head men, Man being equally a Britiſh and Saxon word, and retained to this day in the Erſe.

P. 150.

L. 1—11 thus—Were equally aborigines with all; as the Belgæ had never penetrated ſo far into the iſland, and as the Caſſii, the great enemies of the Belgæ and the conquerors of the Belgick Trinovantes, lay immediately to the ſouth of them.

The other nation &c.

P. 151.

L. 1—5 thus—Geography, and Ragæ, only, in Richard's Roman deſcription of Britain. The real name, therefore, was originally both; the former implying only the town or fortreſs, and the latter importing it to be the metropolis of the kingdom.

P. 152.

L. 22—28 thus—Rath ſignifies a fortreſs in Iriſh at preſent, and is the Iriſh appellation of Charleville and (with the addition of Cuirc) of Caſhel at preſent, and the Iriſh and Engliſh name for Rathdowne &c. And perhaps the Britiſh name of Leiceſter was compounded of both, and was Rageu-Rath originally, as Riogh-Rath is uſed in Iriſh to this day for a King's Seat; and was afterwards broken into two, as Cocci is uſed without the prefix Caer, and Rigod-dunum will appear hereafter (b. II. cn. 2. ſ. 4.) abbreviated into Reged.

P. 153.

L. 30—32 thus—To the borders. And it was found again a few years ago at Warrington, and immediately from its appearance adjudged to be Roman. In 1756, on digging into the ground in Sankey-lane, where all the neighbouring fields had been a heath within theſe thirty or forty years, in order to form the ciſtern of Mr. Robert Patten's great ſugar-houſe there; the workmen, at the depth of a yard, found a regular pave-

ment

ment of three feet in breadth, coming from Dallam, and pointing towards the angle of the lane and the Horſe-market. And it was equally diſcovered at the angle in 1752, on opening the ground to lay the foundation of Mr. Patten's houſe; being at the ſame depth and of the ſame breadth, pointing obliquely acroſs the ſtreet, and having a direction towards the old ford over the Merſey.

There all theſe roads muſt have met. There &c.

P. 155.

L. 8—15 thus—And the ground of it was about eighteen ſtatute-acres in compaſs. The iſthmus in its narroweſt point was only about four or five yards in width at the height of the tide, and about ten at its receſs; and would eaſily be ſecured by a rampart and ditch. And a rampart of only three or four feet in height, entered as that at Mancheſter appears to have been, not by openings in the line of the wall, but by aſcents to the creſt of it, would effectually prevent &c.

P. 159.

L. 12—21 thus—Northern woods of their country, that ſkirted the marſhy grounds which ſtill extend for many miles by Norton, Runchorne, and Frodſham along the ſhore of the Merſey. Here the pieces were dug up, and here was the victory obtained. And the Ceangi, over whom it was gained, were very diſtinct from the three bodies of herdſmen with whom they have been often confounded. They were different from the Cangi, who bordered immediately on the country of the Iceni, and therefore inhabited in all probability the wild extent of Cannock foreſt in Staffordſhire; it then running aſſuredly up to Needwood foreſt and the banks of the Dove, and its Cangi being as well as theſe the ſervants of the Carnabii. And they were equally different from the Cangani &c.

P. 165.

P. 165.

CHAP. VI.

GENERAL REMARKS ON THE ROADS OF THE ROMANS—THREE NEW SORTS OF THEIR STATIONS DISCOVERED ABOUT MANCHESTER—THEIR SUMMER-CAMP THERE—AND THEIR FORCES THERE AND IN THE ISLAND.

I.

THESE are the Roman ways, that went from Manchester to the neighbouring ſtations. And, ſuch as they are, they muſt ſhare in the high commendation and praiſe, which the antiquarians have beſtowed on the roads of the Romans in general. But ſurely theſe gentlemen have been too laviſh in their eulogiums upon them. Antiquarianiſm is merely the younger ſiſter of Hiſtory, leſs ſedate and more fanciful, and apt to become enamoured of the face of Time by looking ſo frequently upon it. Let not this, however, be the conduct of her ſoberer diſciples. Let not the hiſtorical critick diſgrace himſelf and his profeſſion, by admiring greatly what is merely antient, and applauding fondly what is only Roman. The pencil of Age may juſtly be allowed to throw a ſhade of reſpectableneſs, and to diffuſe even a venerable air, over the productions of very antient Art. And we may appeal to the feelings of every ſenſible beholder, for the truth of the obſervation. But this is all that can be allowed to the influence of Time. And the writer, that overſteps this reaſonable limit, ſacrifices ſentiment to conceits, and gives up the realities of Hiſtory for the dreams of Imagination.

P. 169.

P. 169.

L. 25—31 thus—There are three ſorts of little camps conſtructed by the Romans in Britain, none of which have been noticed by our hiſtorical writers. The inveſtigation of them will open to us a new field of notices, and compleat our view of the ſtationary œconomy of the Romans. And Mancheſter appears to have had nine of them, three of one ſpecies, two of another, and four of another.

P. 176.

L. 3—7 thus—And the cattle, which they kept within it, were in all probability their hogs. Theſe generally compoſed the camp-proviſion of the Romans [a]. Two or three fields, that &c.

P. 181.

L. 7—22 thus—The ſtations in Britain being generally fixed upon the ſoutherly ſlope of a hill or bank, they were well calculated for our winters, and as ill for our ſummers. The Romans, therefore, naturally conſtructed another camp for their reſidence in the latter. And their caſtra æſtiva are an addition to the regular fortreſſes, which has been long noticed in general, though it has been ſeldom pointed out in particular. For this they neceſſarily ſelected ſome advantageous ſite, that was in the neighbourhood of the ſtation, and fully open to the north. And every fortreſs in the kingdom which has a ſoutherly aſpect in itſelf, and any convenient ground near it with a northerly one, muſt have regularly enjoyed the pleaſing appendage of a ſummer-camp.

[a] For preparation againſt a ſiege, ſays Vegetius, non ſolum *porcum*, ſed et omne animalium genus, ſhould be killed, and kept in the larder; l. iv. c. 7.

P. 201.

P. 261.

CHAP. VII.

A REGULAR TOWN BUILT AT MANCHESTER, AND WHERE—THE MODE OF LIVING BEFORE—AGRICULTURE INTRODUCED—THE BRITISH NAMES GIVEN TO OBJECTS ABOUT MANCHESTER—THE DRESS OF THE BRITONS—AND A VIEW OF THE COUNTRY AROUND MANCHESTER AT THIS PERIOD.

I.

REGULARLY as the Romans extended their ſettlements in the iſland, they appear to have equally erected ſtations for themſelves and cities for the Britons. Thus the towns of Glouceſter, Colcheſter, London, and Verulam were conſtructed by Claudius, and immediately after the firſt permanent conqueſt which the Romans had made amongſt us. And, as many inferiour cities would be equally laid out at the ſame period, ſo remains demonſtrate Chicheſter and tradition aſſerts Cirenceſter, in particular; to have been both erected at it. Such was the practice of the Romans, on their firſt reduction of the Britons. And ſuch therefore was equally their conduct afterwards. By this means, the ſucceſs of their arms was diſtinctly marked by the progreſs of cultivation, and the face of the iſland gradually brightened up as the line of their conqueſts was advanced. And, when Agricola invaded Lancaſhire, the country upon one ſide of the line, under the refining government of the Romans,

mans, exhibited a pleaſing picture of cities and corn-fields in the boſoms of woods, and that on the other one uniformly dreary ſcene of moſſes, thickets, and marſhes, brown heaths, and ſolitary manſions.

P. 205.

L. 20—21 thus—Such as I have previouſly noticed in the Britiſh and Roman foundations of Caſtle-field, and had, I ſuppoſe, been brought down with them by the floods &c.

P. 207.

L. 3—6 thus—To this period the Siſtuntii of the neighbouring region had lived, as the Britons of the ſouthern counties lived before, and as thoſe of Ireland and the Highlands have continued to theſe modern times. They were divided into clans or &c.

L. 24—25 thus—The houſes of the Britons, as I have formerly obſerved, were roomy buildings of a round form, and covered with a convex roof. And two edifices exactly of this ſhape were preſerved as monuments of antiquity, in the ſhire of Roſs, within theſe two centuries and a half; being, as the cotemporary relater of the fact expreſſes himſelf, rotundâ figurâ, in formam campanæ facta *. The lord's manſion was, as our ſuperiour houſes generally remained to the laſt century, all conſtructed of wood on a foundation of ſtone; was one ground-ſtory; and compoſed a large, oblong, and ſquariſh court.

P. 211—212.

The paragraph now runs thus.

Among the various manures with which the Roman farmers enriched their lands, they were totally unacquainted with the uſe of marle. The Celtæ of Britain and Gaul were the firſt that had marked this fertilizing clay in the earth, and applied it to the purpoſes of agriculture. And they found it the moſt forcible and laſting of all manures, and therefore gave it the

* See ch. i. ſ. 3. and Boetius Scot. Reg. Deſcrip. fol. 4.

honourable appellation of marrow, Murg, Margil, or Marle. They had even the credit of recommending it to the Greeks, who had a communication with both through the coloniſts of Marſeilles, reſiding in the country of the one and trading to that of the other. And it was diſtinguiſhed into two ſorts, the rough and the rich; which were eaſily diſcriminated in the handling, and very uſeful either for corn-fields or graſs-lands. And many others were claſſed under both: the white ſand-ſtone, and the red, under the former; and the white, the pidgeon, and the ſandy, under the latter.—The firſt of theſe was reckoned infinitely fruitful upon corn-fields, if gathered from a ſpringy ſoil; and was thought to burn the ground, if laid upon it in a large quantity. And this is the ſame probably with the marle of Derbyſhire; which has a great quantity of ſand in its compoſition, and is of a hotter nature than the generality of our marles are [b]. The red was mingled with gravel-ſtones, and thought to be impregnated with ſalt; but was not half ſo heavy in the carriage as the others, and was ſpread in a thin coat upon the ground. This is perhaps the red marle of Suſſex, which has frequently a mixture of gravel in it [c]. And both retained their influence for fifty years together upon corn-fields, meadows, or paſtures.—The white was the principal of the rich marles, and ſubdivided into ſeveral ſorts, the very biting, the ſilvery, and the fat. The ſilvery was the favourite of the Britons, and the ſoft chalk of our Kentiſh farmers at preſent; and laſted eighty years upon the ground. And the fat was particularly uſed for graſs-lands; often producing a good crop of graſs upon corn-fields betwixt the end of harveſt and commencement of ſeed-time, and laſting thirty years. The pidgeon marle was collected at firſt in hard and ſtone-like maſſes, but was diſſolved by the force of the ſun and froſt, and became equally uſeful as the other. And this is plainly the ſtone-marle of Cheſhire and Bamfshire, which is a kind of ſoft ſlate, bluiſh in the former county, and blue, pale-brown, and reddiſh in the latter; and is ſtill laid in large maſſes on the ground, diſſolves ſlowly with the froſt, ſun, and

[b] Mortimer's Huſbandry, 1736, v. I. p. 88. [c] Mortimer p. 89.

rains,

rains, and is reckoned a very durable marle [d]. The ſandy was uſed only for ſwampy ground, if any other could be got, and was preferred to all the reſt for that; and ſand is uſed both in Cheſhire and Ireland for the improvement of their moſſes and bogs at preſent, and it or gravel are eſteemed the moſt effectual manure for the latter [e].—And, as the dry was laid upon moiſt lands, the fat upon dry, and either the ſilvery or pidgeon on thoſe of a proper temperature; ſo was every ſpecies ploughed into the ground, and mingled with a little dung.

P. 213.

L. 1—4 thus—This curious account of the Celtick manure clearly ſhews us the minute reſearches and accurate knowledge of the Celtick farmers. And the Britiſh, particularly, appear to have had conſiderable ſkill in their profeſſion, as they chiefly had &c.

P. 216.

L. 18—21 thus—Originally the peculiar produce of Gaul, and continues to this day the only wheat of Lancaſhire. It was denominated by the Gauls Brace, Brac, or red-coloured. And Brace is a word yet in uſe among the Bretoons for a ſpecies of grain, and Breach-tan among the Iriſh to ſignify wheat particularly.

L. 28 thus—Into the pariſh of Mancheſter; as a wild part of Argyleſhire is ſaid, even lately, to have been equally unacquainted with bread [f]. And the Brace was &c.

P. 219.

L. 8—35 thus—That which riſes in the hills of Oldham, divides Droylſden and Failſworth, Clayton and Newton, and at laſt winds along the foot of the Caſtlefield, was called Medlock or the River by the Britons. Med or Mat and Lug or Loc equally

[d] Mortimer p. 87, and Pennant's Tour in Scotland p. 126.
Mortimer v. II. p. 16—18.
[e] Birt's Letters v. II. p. 278—279, 1754.

ſignify water; and in compoſition imply a quantity of it, either a river or a lake. The former conſtitutes half the name in the famous Med-way or the Roman Mad-us; the Roman Met-aris or Boſton-deep in Lincolnſhire; the Met-aurus of Gallia Togata, and alſo of Brutium, in antient Italy; the Med-uacus of the Veneti in Gallia Tranſalpina; and the Mode-wy, Mothe-way, or Methe-wie of Caermarthenſhire. And the latter forms the whole of it in the Loxa of Scotland and the Logia of Ireland, the Lug of Herefordſhire, the Luc-us of Liguria in antient Italy, the Loche of Somerſetſhire, and the great variety of Lochs in Ireland and Scotland.

There is alſo a little brook, that is now nearly loſt in its own inſignificance and fortune, but was once important enough to claim the notice of the Britons, and give name to a ſtreet of the preſent town. From the Britons it received a [illegible]nination, which no lapſe of time and no revolutions of hiſtory have been able to take away. And it retains to the preſent moment its primitive appellation of the Tib. Oozing from a ſmall collection of water, which ſtagnates in Newton-lane and is fed by the drainings of the neighbouring fields, and having almoſt all its ſtream diverted into the great reſervoir on Shude-hill; it ſcarcely continues its current along the borders of the town, but croſſes the upper end of Market-ſtreet and Tib lanes, and communicates its name to the latter. And a little below Calley-banks it terminates its ſhort courſe in the Medlock. The Britiſh denominations &c.

P. 220.

L. 9—19 thus—Of Mar; and into Deen, the popular appellation of Ptolemy's Devaſa at Aberdeen. And the latter is reduced into Tayne, the name of a frith in Scotland; into Taune or Tone, that of a river in Somerſetſhire; and into Teyne, that of a current in Staffordſhire. The name of Tib actually occurs &c.

P. 221—222.

P. 221—222.

L. 1 of 221 to L. 2 thus—Thus did a petty rill receive the ſame appellation from the Britons as the mighty Tay. And a ſhort mountain-torrent ſhares the title of the majeſtick Thames.

Theſe are all of them general and uncharacteriſtick names. And ſuch are alſo the following; the Britons naturally marking their rivers by the ſimple denomination of Water, and only diſtinguiſhing one from the other by a different appellative. Thus the current which riſes in the townſhip of Gorton, croſſes the roads to Stockport and Stretford, and then loſes itſelf in the Irwell, was denominated Corin, Corne, or Waters. And the ſame title was originally given to the rivulet that named the antient Corin-ium, Duro-cornov-ium, or Ciren-ceſter; as it is ſtill continued in the preſent half-ſoftened appellation of the Ciren or Churn. Thus alſo the briſk ſtream, that ſprings at the foot of a hill in the chapelry of Shaw, puſhes its haſty current by Ryton, Chatherton, and Blakeley, and falls into the Irwell at Huntſbank, was denominated the Irke. And the greater one, that riſes from a double fountain in Roſſendale, and wheels nearly in one large circle about the townſhip of Salford, aſſumed the ſimilar appellation of the Irwill or Irwell. The latter is like the Yr-wis or Ere-waſh of Nottinghamſhire, and the Irewer that falls into the Tay; the Wyles of Nottinghamſhire, Yorkſhire, and Derbyſhire; and the Char-well of Oxfordſhire: as the former is like the Arecha of Brutium in antient Italy, the Arche of France, the Arke of Yorkſhire and the Weſt-highlands, the Herke of Flanders, the Girch of Caernavonſhire, and the Earke or Irke of the ſame county. And both equally with Corne ſignify only Waters.

But ſome of our rivers would receive their names before or during the exiſtence of the Britiſh fortreſs, and long before the conſtruction of the Roman-Britiſh town. And the large important current of the Merſey, which ranges along the confines of the pariſh for many miles together, muſt have had one as early as the firſt population of Lancaſhire. Iſſuing from the waſtes

of Woodhead and the moors of Mottram, and ſucceſſively receiving the Goit, the Tame, and the Irwell; it becomes equally rapid and deep, ſuperiour to all the neighbouring rivers, and the natural boundary of kingdoms and provinces in every period; and yet was diſtinguiſhed by a name of the ſame import only with the Irwell, and called Beli-ſama or the Current of Waters. Thus we have the Beale and the Bewl in Kent, the Beile in Lancaſhire, the Below in Yorkſhire; the Bellow in Weſtmoreland, and the Bily in Suſſex; the Somer-gill in Shropſhire, the Somegill in Radnorſhire, the Seamer in Yorkſhire, the Sambre in Flanders, and the Somme in France. And in a later age, while the Siſtuntii reſided in the Caſtle-field, they could not but have given an appellation to the river, which led its ſtream directly againſt the ſite of their woodland fortreſs, and is made to ſweep round the front of it in a large curve. They muſt likewiſe have given names to moſt of the more remarkable objects around them, the current of Cornebrook and the eminence of Huntsbank, the valley of Broughton, the Irke, the Irwell, and the High Knolls [g].

P. 227.

L. 1—36 thus—And a ſpirit was excited by Agricola, which of itſelf ſoon executed all his political deſigns. The new citizens quickly paſſed from the conveniences of a rural life, to the refinements and luxuries of a town one. And when once the old aſſociations of ideas are broken, and the ſullen adherence to revered cuſtoms is overcome, the natural impotence of the mind generally tranſports it into the rage of innovation and the violences of exceſs.

g In this ſection I have interpreted ſome of the names of our Mancheſter rivulets, a little differently from what I had in the firſt edition. I have, ſince that, had occaſion to take a more comprehenſive ſurvey of the general appellations of our rivers. And I hope, in ſome future work, to enter fully into this ſubject, to bring all the coincident names in the iſland and on the continent into one view, and make them reciprocally illuſtrate and explain each other.

The

The dreſs of the Lancaſhire chiefs, to this period, muſt have been the ſame with that of the Britiſh in general, and of the Celtick in France and Spain. And this is the curious delineation of it.

Tacitus, with two ſtrokes of his lively pencil, ſeems to have given us a compleat head of a Lancaſhire Briton. His words are theſe: and they have never yet been noticed, becauſe they have not been underſtood. Rutilæ Caledoniam habitantium comæ —; Silurum colorati vultus et torti plerumque crines [h], The red hair generally prevailed among the more northerly Britons; as, I think, it does to this day. And the Britons of Wales were diſtinguiſhed, as the mountaineers of it and of Lancaſhire are at preſent, by their curled hair, which is generally black, and their freſh-coloured countenances.—This hair, equally in the lord and client, was turned back upon the crown of the head; and fell down, as it did among the Iriſh within theſe two centuries, in long buſhy curls behind. And the beard of both was ſuffered to grow to a conſiderable length, but, as equally among the Iriſh, was confined to the upper lip [i]. Both of them appeared naked in battle: and the Highlanders retained the practice in part to the preſent times; as late as the battle of Killicrankie throwing off their plaids and ſhort coats, and fighting in their ſhirts. And this rude cuſtom was attended with two others, the painting of their bodies for the fight, and the wearing of a ring round their middles. On all other occaſions, the common people (as I ſhall ſhew hereafter) were cloathed with ſkins; and their lords appeared in this, the one fanciful uniform of the chiefs through all the Celtick regions of Europe.

The trunk of the body was covered with a jacket, which the Britons called a Cota and we denominate a Waiſt-coat. It was plaided, and open before, had long ſleeves extending to the hands, and reached itſelf to the middle. And below this began the trowſers, which were called Braccæ, Brages, or Breeches by

[h] Agric. Vit. 11.

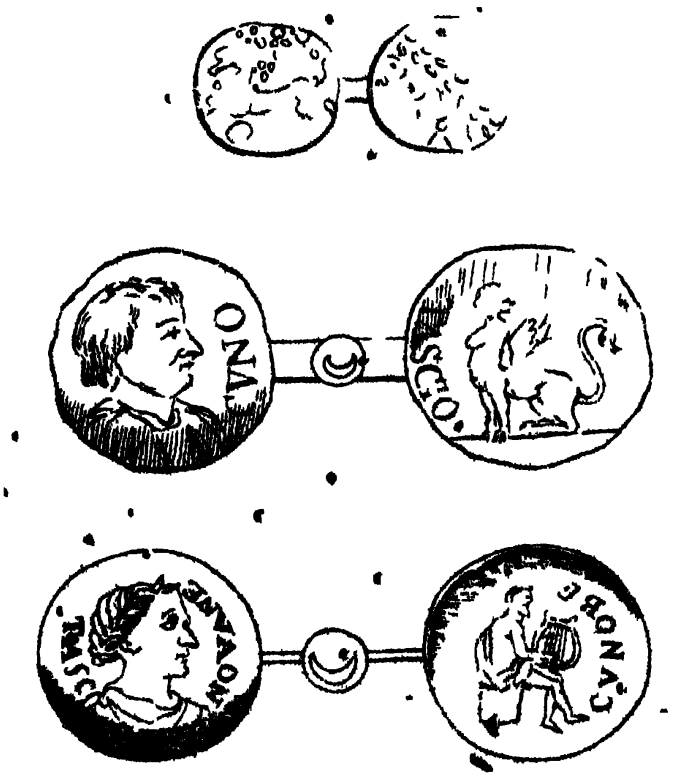
[i] Harris's Ware p. 60 and 176, Davies p. 185, and Camden p. 792, for the modern Iriſh, and Camden p. 707 for the Highlanders.

the

the Britons, wrapped looſely round the thighs and legs, and terminated at the ancles. Theſe alſo were plaided, as their name intimates; Brac ſignifying a party-coloured object, and the upper garment of the Highlanders being denominated Breac and Breacan to this day. And trowſers were equally worne by the Batavi of Holland and the Vangiones of Germany, the Sarmatæ, and the Perſians.

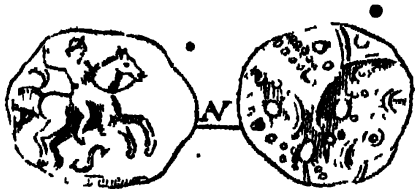
P. 228.

L. 1—14 thus—Over theſe was a looſer garment, denominated formerly by the Gauls a ſack, and by the Iriſh lately a mantle. This was equally plaided, and of a thick ſtrong contexture. And it was faſtened upon the body with buttons, and bound round the belly with a girdle. The former appear to have been placed one upon either ſhoulder, where the Highlanders uſe a ſort of pins at preſent; and are ſeen diſtinctly on theſe three coins of ſome Britiſh monarchs.



And

And the latter, which is frequently uſed to this day by the Highlanders and conſtantly by all the inhabitants of St. Kilda, and alſo appears upon the following coin,



ſeems to have been particularly ornamented; as ſome of the Gauls bound their garments with belts that were decorated with gold and ſilver, and in the Roman triumph over Caractacus his phaleræ made a part of the ſplendid ſhow [k].

Round the naked neck was a large chain, which hung down upon the naked breaſt; and on the middle or ſecond finger of both hands was a ring. The ornamental chains of Caractacus were exhibited with his phaleræ in the proceſſion at Rome [k]. And both were made of gold among the chiefs, and of iron among their followers. They had ſhoes upon their feet, which were the ſame aſſuredly with the buſkins that were uſed within theſe five centuries in Wales, and with the light flat brogues that are worne to this day by ſome of the Iriſh and Highlanders; and, like them, were made of a raw cow-hide that had the hair turned outwards [l]. And they wore round bonnets on their heads.

P. 229.

L. 2 —15 thus—And they were retained by the gentlemen of the country, and by the commonalty both in country and city. That this was the caſe, appears evident from the correſpondent conduct of the Gauls and Britons; who kept their Virgata Sa-

[k] Camden p. 793 for the modern Iriſh.—Theſe coins are Borlaſe 14, Stukeley 21—7 and 6—4, and Pegge 5—3: ſee ch ix. ſ. 1.—See alſo Diodorus p. 353 for the Gallick belts, and Tacitus Ann. lib. xii. c. 36. for the Britiſh.—See alſo the latter for the B. chains.

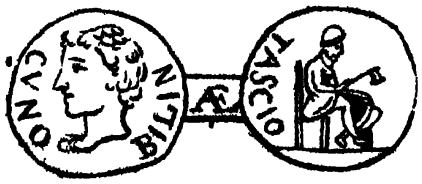
[l] See Ware's Ireland, Harris, p. 178, and Dirt's Let. from Scot. v. II. p. 115, 185, and 186; and Giraldus's Cambriæ Deſc. p. 887. Camden.

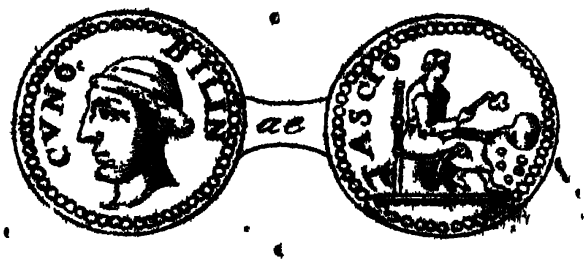
gula to the laſt, and communicated them to the Franks and Saxons. The plaided drapery of the Britons ſtill appeared general in the ſtreets of Mancheſter; and muſt have formed a ſtriking contraſt to the gown of the chief, the dark mantle of Italy. And it, and the ornamented buttons on the ſhoulder, are preſerved among us even to the preſent moment, in the particoloured cloathing and the taſſelled ſhoulder-knots of our footmen.

The Romans, therefore, appear &c.

P. 229—230.

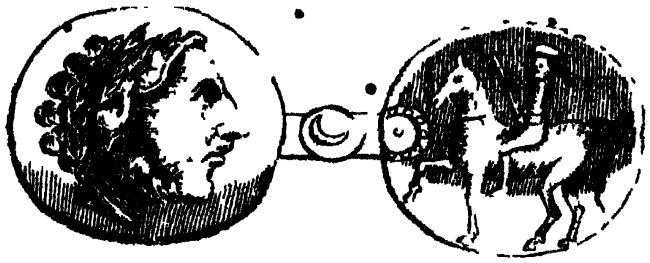
L. 22 to L. 4 p. 230 thus—Chains. And the Britons in general did not adopt the Roman Pileus or Petaſus as a covering for the head; but continued their own Kappan, Hata, or Boined in uſe, as they have tranſmitted them and their appellations to us. We have a variety of caps delineated upon their antient coins, as,



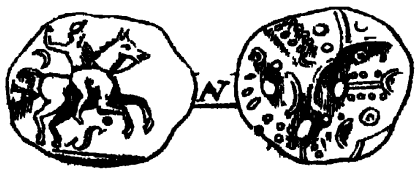


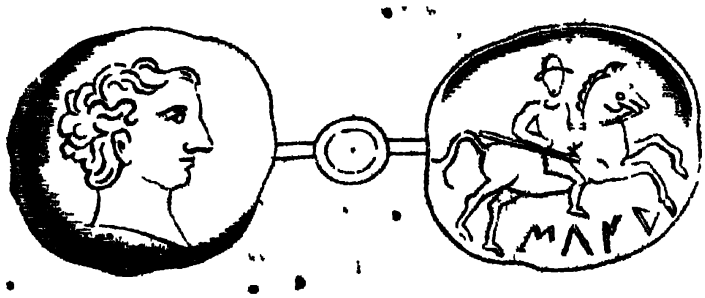
And

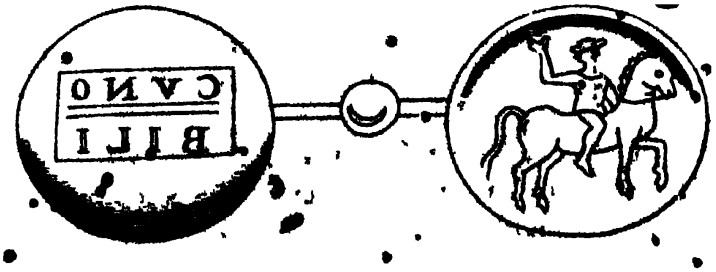
And theſe are apparently the ſame, that are uſed by our meaner Mancunians at preſent. We have alſo a Highland bonnet on another piece, and ſuch as is ſtill worne in our Bluecoat-Hoſpital at Mancheſter, and by ſome of the Lowland peaſants in Scotland.



And the following hats were engraved about 1700 years ago, and yet correſpond pretty well to the form and appearance of the modern [m].







[m] Theſe coins are Pegge 3—9, 4—3, and Camden 1—2; Stukeley 1—10; and Pegge 5—3, Stukeley 4—8 and 14—6: and ſee ch. ix. ſ. 1.

The Britons ſeem to have equally retained the tunick of their anceſtors; the long-ſleeved waiſt-coat having remained among us nearly to the preſent period as the general undreſs of the nation, and continuing the ordinary habit of our Mancunian ruſticks at preſent. They ſeem alſo, like the Gauls, to have preferred the ſtructure of their own ſhoes to that of the Roman; ſtill making them of hides, and in the form of our preſent half-boots and preſent pumps; ſtill denominating them, as the Bretoons and Iriſh ſtill call their ſhoes, Butais or Boots and Buimpis or Pumps; and leaving the names and the ſhoes to their brethren of Armorica and Wales, and to their conquerors the Saxons of England[n]. And they plainly kept their antient trowſers; as they afterwards communicated to the Saxons their own appellation of Breeches for them, and as our ſailors, and the boys in ſome of our older hoſpitals, continue to wear them at preſent.

P. 230.

L. 13 thus—More northerly parts of England, and of moſt of the common people in Wales. But, as &c.

P. 231.

L. 1—4 thus—Were not ordinarily worne by the commonalty of the provinces; as may plainly be collected from the mode ſubſiſting four or five centuries ago among the Welſh, and kept up by the lower ranks of them within theſe two; ſtill retained among the populace of the Scotch Lowlands, and even occaſionally followed by the peaſants of Mancheſter at preſent[o].

And ſome of the Britiſh ladies probably dreſſed their heads, as ſeveral of the Roman in Britain did, exactly in the high ſtyle of the preſent faſhion. This is the curious repreſentation of a

[n] So the Welſh near the cloſe of the 12th century were pedibus—corio crudo conſutis, barbaris pro calciamentô *peronibus* utentes, Giraldus's Cambriæ Deſ. p. 887. And ſee Howel Dha l. 1. c. 39. A. 5. and Birt. v. 1. p. 86.

[o] See Howel l. i. c. 39. A. 5.—In Giraldus's Cambriæ Deſcr. p. 887, the lower ranks of the Welſh *nudibus pedibus* ambulant vel &c., even when going to war. And within theſe two centuries they uſed commonly to travel bare-legged, carrying their ſtockens "on "their neck, to ſave their feet from wearing, becauſe they had no change" (D. of B. in Hollingſhead, 1586, p. 181).

Roman

Roman lady's head, which was found ſome years ago at Bath; the hair dreſt in flat open buckles, and mounting upwards from the cheek in a large halfmoon.

The faſhion commenced about the middle of the firſt century in Italy; and, what ſeems very ſurpriſing to a ſpeculatiſt on the quick revolutions in our modern faſhions, it continued to the cloſe of it, gradually growing all the time. It then fell into diſcredit, and diſappears on the coins of the Romans. But its diſappearance was only temporary. And this part of its hiſtory is pretty ſimilar among the Romans and ourſelves. Like the high commodes of King William's days, revived with variations in the preſent head-dreſs; it returned at Rome about the ſame diſtance of time from its baniſhment, and once more aſſerted its empire over the caps of the ladies [p]. And it ſeems from the buſt above to have even returned with that ſmall appendage to the head-dreſs of the preſent times, the ſide or ear lock. One appears in the plate; a little different in the form, but the ſame in reality and deſign.

[p] Muſgrave's Belgium Britannicum vol. I. p. 213—220, Itin. Curioſ. p. 149, and Horſeley p. 329. and Somerſetſhire Fig. 11. This plate is taken from Muſgrave, and is one fourth of his.

L. 31—36 thus—Now repaired to the ſprings of Buxton or Bath, and ſtewed in the relaxing waters. And that frivolous ſpirit of gallantry and indolence, which annually crouds both thoſe places at preſent, had its commencement at this period. He, whoſe blood had been purified by a healthful ſimplicity of diet, now imitated the elegance of the Roman tables. And he, whoſe range was the foreſt and the mountain, conſtructed porticos on pillars &c.

P. 237.

L. 18—19 thus—The rabbet was not yet an inhabitant of the iſland; and therefore there is not any to this day in all the north of Scotland [q]. But the hare &c.

P. 238.

L. 6—24 thus—On every ſide about the town, and ſpreading from it to the ſkirt of the neighbouring woods, would be the meadows, cornfields, and paſtures; the firſt enriched with the foreign trefoil, the only artificial graſs of the Romans at this period; and all three enlivened with the ſweepings of the town and marle of the Daubholes. The paſtures would be repleniſhed with ſheep and kine; and here and there probably have little hovels among them, in which ſome of the peaſants watched with their maſtiffs, for the nightly protection of both againſt the inroads of wild beaſts from Arden. And we may eaſily repreſent to ourſelves the general ſtate and ſcenery of things at this period, the flocks and herds ranging over the ſite of the preſent town, grazing in the Market-ſtreet-lane, and paſturing along the Smithy-door; and the bleatings of the one and lowings of the other returned in eddying echos from the woods around them.

[q] Birt's Let. V. I. p. 315.

P. 239.

P. 239.

L. 18 and Note 20 thus—Wiſe's Nummi Bodleiani, 1750, p. 95 and 227, for a ſow and pigs deſcribed upon a Britiſh coin. And ſee Strabo p. 301, in whoſe time the Gallick ſows ranged abroad in the fields, very large, ſtrong, and as dangerous to be approached by a ſtranger even as a wolf. And there is to this day a ſmall mountain-kind of ſwine, called Purs, in the iſle of Man, which are admirable meat; Sacheverel's Iſle of Man, London, 1702, p. 4. And in Cathneſs, Scotland, are reared great numbers of ſwine, which are ſhort, high-backed, and long-briſtled, ſharp, ſlender, and long-noſed, and have long erect ears and moſt ſavage looks; Pennant's Tour p. 156.

P. 240.

P. 249.

CHAP. VIII.

THE NUMBER OF REGULAR TOWNS IN ROMAN BRITAIN, AND THEIR POLITY—THE MODE OF GOVERNMENT IN THE BRITISH KINGDOMS—THE ESTATES IN EACH—THE ORIGIN OF HUNDREDS, TOWNSHIPS, AND BARONIES—AND THE BRITISH COURTS OF LAW, AND ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

I.

WHEN the Romans had ſeen their little village of hurdles and clay become the magnificent metropolis of Italy, and began to extend her dominions into thoſe of the neighbouring powers; they did not model their new conqueſts, as they had previouſly modelled their old. They inſtituted a new platform of polity for them, and diſtinguiſhed them by a new denomination. They now divided them into diſtricts, gave them the appellation of provinces, and ſubjected them to prætors and quæſtors. The iſland of Sicily was the earlieſt conqueſt of the Romans beyond the limits of Italy, was therefore the firſt of all their provinces, and received the firſt model of their provincial regimen. And this and every other was governed by its own prætor and quæſtor. The former officer was charged with &c.

P. 241.

L. 2—3 thus—Canterbury, Exeter and Leiceſter, in particular.

P. 244.

P. 244.

L. 26—29 thus—Together without any great intermixture of the natives; allowing few probably to reſide with them, but the uſeful traders and neceſſary ſervants.

P. 246.

L. 21 thus—The Roman citizenſhip was extended to every Briton &c.

P. 247.

L. 2—3 thus—Appellata,—and Strabo p. 1197.

L. 19 thus—Horſeley b. I. ch. vi. So a number of the legionaries at Camulodunum had been draughted out for ſervice, juſt before the inſurrection of Boadicia: Inerat modica militum manus, tutelâ templi freti, ſays Tacitus Ann. lib. xiv. c. 32.

L. 25 thus—" Agricolæ Vit. c. v, Incenſis &c.

P. 249.

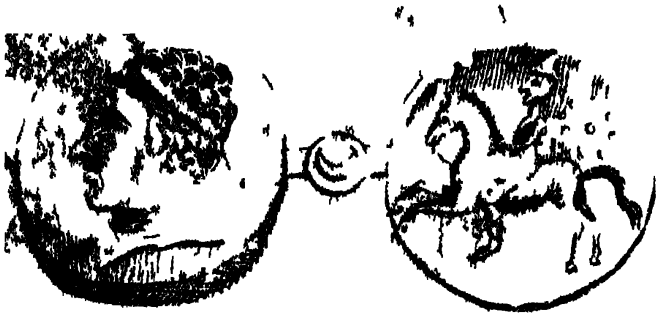
L. 9—13 thus—The intervening tribes of the Proper Belgæ (and their ſubjects the Hædui and Segontiaci), the Attrebates, and the Bibroces. And this extended empire over a part of Warwickſhire, a conſiderable portion of Buckinghamſhire and Somerſetſhire, nearly all Wiltſhire, and actually all Berkſhire, Worceſterſhire, Oxfordſhire, Glouceſterſhire, Hampſhire, Surry, and Suſſex, &c.

P. 254.

L. 30 thus—And bedding; and to this day receives at a coronation the furniture of the chamber, the bed, and the bed-dreſs, in which the ſovereign ſlept the night before. But, in the palaces &c.

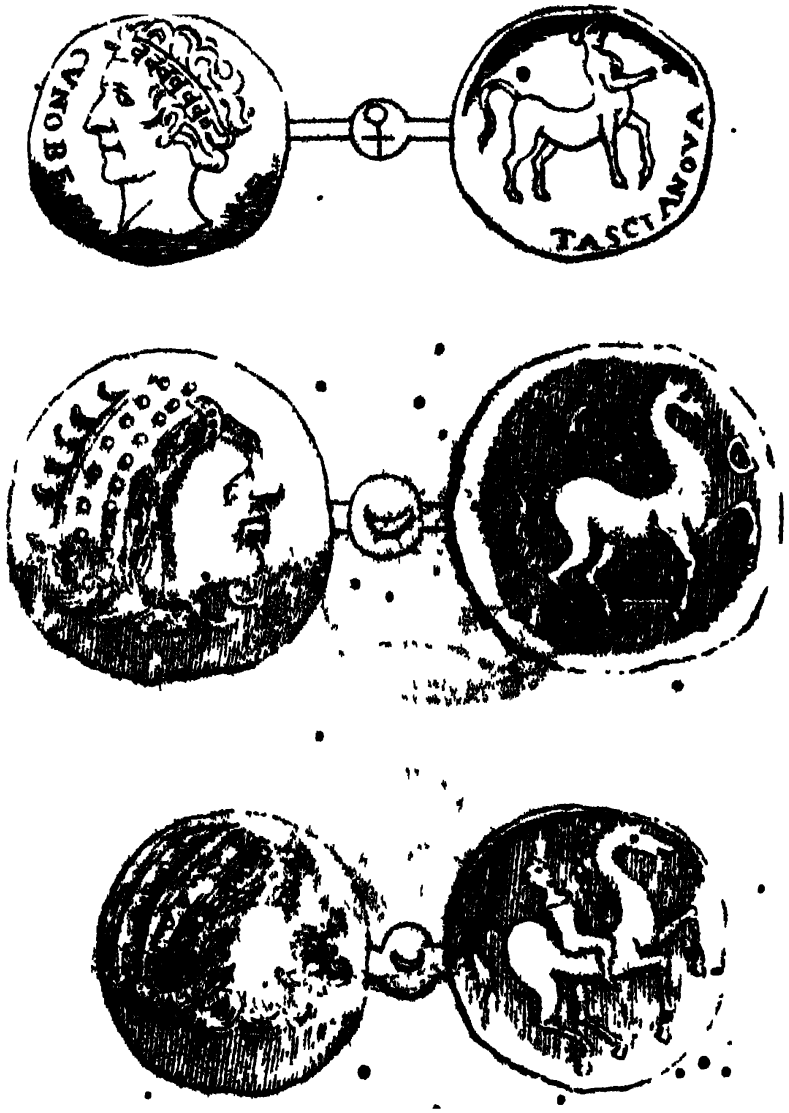
P. 255.

L. 17—26 thus—The cuſtomary enſign of royalty for the ſovereigns of the Britons was the imperial diadem, which was common to them and the eaſtern monarchs. This was ſometimes only a plain fillet tied round the head, as it is ſtill worne occaſionally by the loweſt of our people at Mancheſter, and regularly by the young unmarried women of the Highlands; and as it appears upon theſe two coins of the Britons.

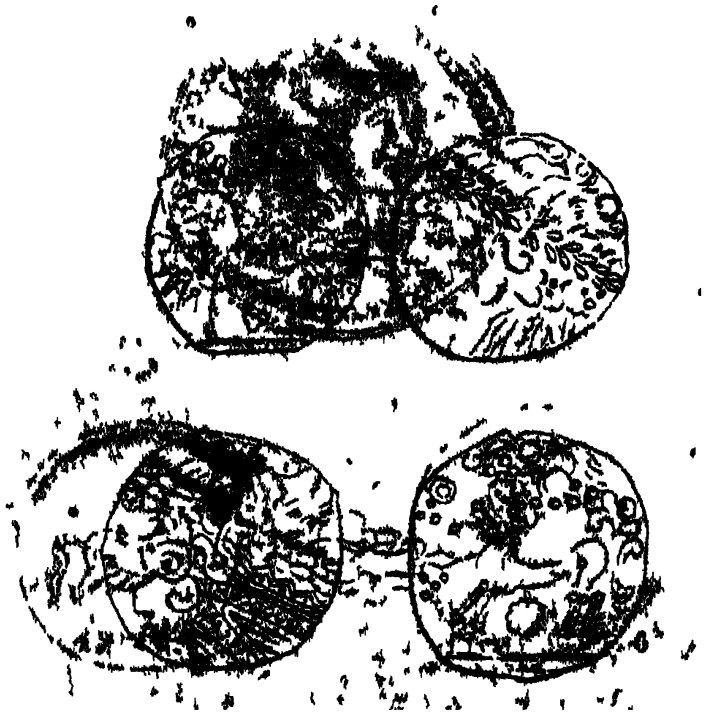


But

But at other times it was ornamented with the muſcle pearls and ſparry diamonds of the country; as in theſe.



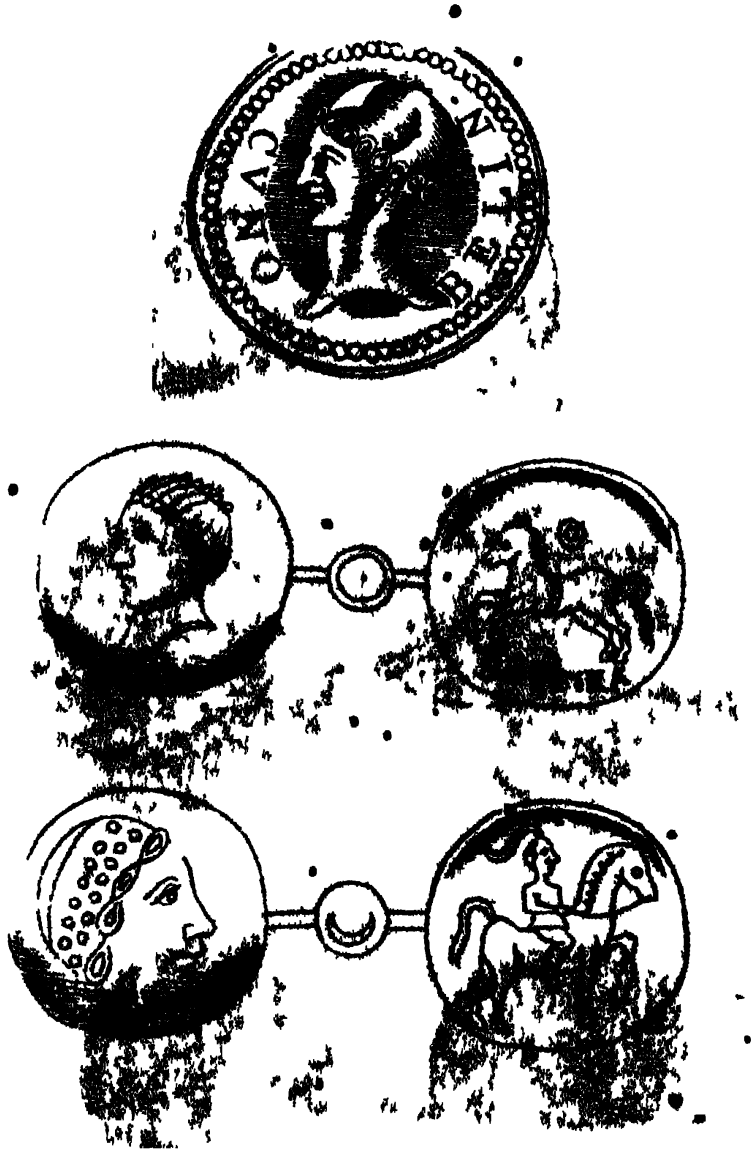
It was frequently worne by the monarch immediately over his hair, which was raiſed in one, two, or three rows of curls above it;



and frequently upon a ſmall cloſe cap, that juſt covered the head and was edged by the fillet [a].

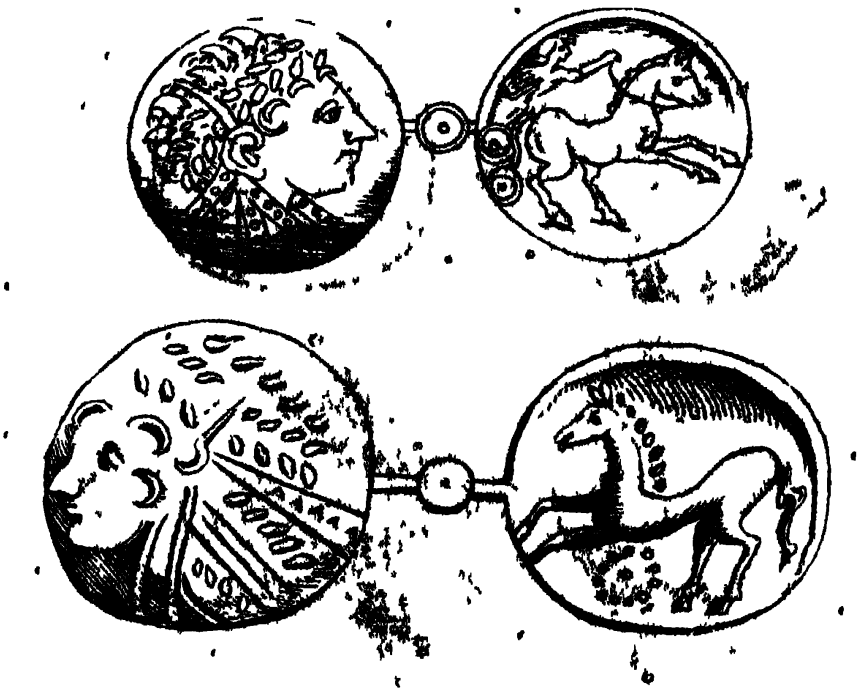
[a] [illegible] p. 165 Stukeley [illegible]—9 and Pegge 2—3 and Stukeley 14—8, 1—5 and 1—6, [illegible] ch. ix. [illegible] Agric. Vit. c. xii Porlock Cornw. lib. III. [illegible] 16 and [illegible], Pegge 1—5, and Stukeley [illegible] and [illegible]—8.

And

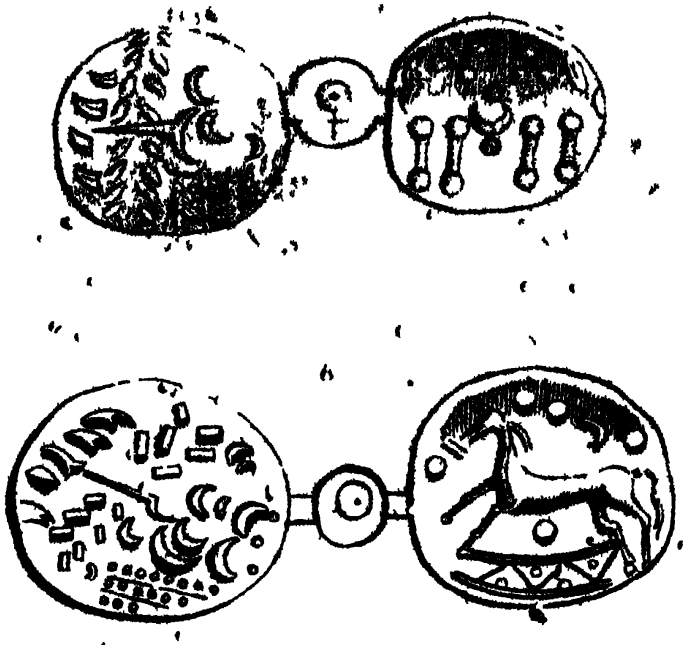


And it was often accompanied with an ornament, which has been taken by Dr. Borlaſe and myſelf for a croſs fillet and a claſp. This appears upon two of the coins above, and again upon theſe;

and

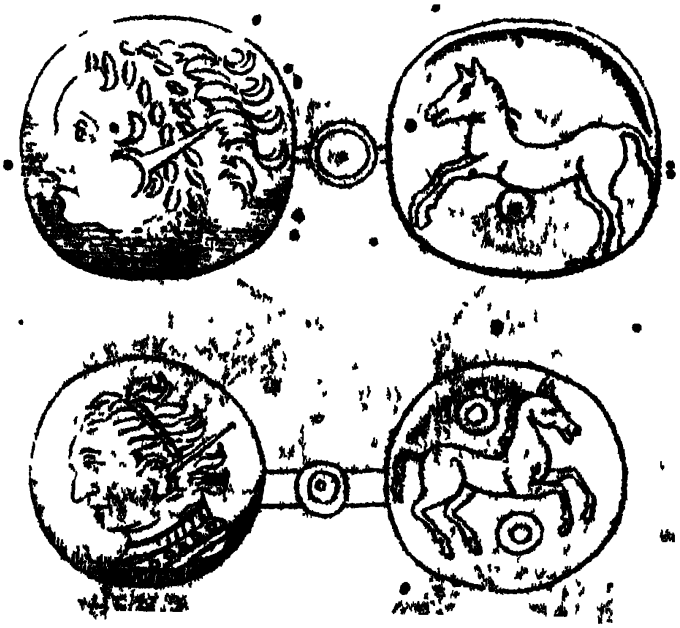


and is engraved by itself upon the following.



These

Theſe concur with others here,



to prove it a diſtinct and ſeparate ornament, and ſomething very different from a claſp and a fillet. And I take it to be a bodkin for the hair. It carries great reſemblance to ſuch an implement. And, what ſeems a ſtrong confirmation of the conjecture, in a Britiſh ſepulcher that was opened ſome years ago on Saliſbury-plain, along with beads of earth, glaſs, and amber, and one even covered with a film of pure gold, was actually found a bodkin of ſilver [b].

But after the coming of the Romans &c.

[b] Stukeley 3—10, 3—7, 1—2, 3—4, 15—10, and 20—5, and Stonehenge p. 45 and Gordon's Itin. Sept. p. 174. This bodkin ſeems to have loſt its crook-like or ſemi-lunar termination either by the fire which has injured the reſt, by time, or by accident.—And the creſcent, which appears at the ears of ſeveral monarchs on the Britiſh coins, as in one of thoſe exhibited above, Stukeley 14—8, and in Pegge 2—B, and Stukeley 6—10, 8—7, and 9—4, is nothing but the head of this bodkin projecting from the hair, while the body is buried in it; as appears from the ſame creſcent appearing upon two of the coins above, Stukeley 3—10 and 15—10, with the body of the bodkin plainly connected to it.

P. 256.

L. 1—5 thus—Crown; the former being a ſtrong weapon of iron pointed in the form of a lily, and the latter a circlet ſtudded with ſtars and decorated with flowers.

P. 264.

L. 31—34 thus—Britiſh ſeemingly is the characteriſtick term of the whole, Feod or Fee, occurring particularly in the language of the Iriſh, and ſignifying literally Glebe or Land. Britiſh &c.

P. 266.

L. 8—9 thus—In the Britiſh as Fich and Fod, the addition &c.

L. 12—14 thus—What Fee and Feud ſignify at preſent, a free tenement and its appurtenance, a noble eſtate and the modal tenure of it.

P. 267.

L. 9 thus—Of a feud left one ſon &c.

P. 269.

L. 19 thus—" Ibid. a. 6. See alſo Davies of the true cauſes why Ireland was never ſubdued, 1761, p. 189, for the villains in

in Ireland, paying rents in butter, oatmeal, and the like, to the reign of James the firſt, when they were reduced to money.—[19] Lib. &c.

L. 21 thus—A. 3, and Davies p. 124.—[22] Lib. &c.

L. 22 thus—A. 8, 14, and 15, and Davies p. 124.—[24] Lib. &c.

P. 270.

L. 2—4 thus—And Davies p. 124, &c.—[39] Howel &c.

L. 22—24 thus—[44] See b. II. c. iv. C. 4.—[45] See an Iriſh-Engliſh Dictionary printed at Paris, quarto, 1768. So Tir or Land is uſed for a Feud in Howel Dha; ſee lib. i. c. 9. a. 14, lib. ii. c. 14. a. 6, lib. ii. c. 17. a. 8 and 10, p. 347, 348, 365, &c.—And Fich or Fioch, which is only Fiudhuc pronounced in the Celtick manner, by melting down the intermediate DH (ſee the Dictionary), is the origin, I think, of the Saxon Feoh and the Engliſh Fee; as Beach, Iriſh, is of Beo and Bee. Fich or Fioch, accordingly, ſignifies either a portion of land or a fee-farm in Iriſh at preſent (ſee Dict.). And Fod, Fiudhuc, Fioch, Fich, and Fith, are all one and the ſame word moſt probably; as they all equally ſignify land, as Feud and Feod is now melted amongſt ourſelves into Feoh and Fee, and Feuders (or Feudatories) are called Feuers in Scotland to this day—[46] Lib. i. &c.

P. 271.

L. 1 thus—[52] Ware c. 8, Davies p. 93 and 117, Howel &c.

L. 3 thus—[53] See Gafael for a Feud or Eſtate in Howel Dha, lib. i. c. 9. a. 14, &c.—Silas Taylor &c.

L. 15 thus—Powel's Hiſt. of Wales by Wynne, 1697, p. 22, Davis's Dictionary, &c. &c. Nor is Gavelkind, as is generally ſuppoſed, confined to Kent at preſent. It is equally retained in Yorkſhire, and is the cuſtom of Swaledale to this day: ſee Thoreſby's Leeds p. 215.

P. 276.

L. 17 thus — And theſe were called Brethons, Brehons, or judges, in Ireland &c.

P. 279.

L. 9 thus—Britons.' And the oath was adminiſtered probably upon ſome of their arms, as it ſeems to have been with all the nations of the north; being taken upon their military ſtandard, among the Gauls, by the Iriſh about two centuries ago upon their ſwords, among the Highlanders lately on their dirks, and by the Danes antiently upon the military bracelet of their monarch [c]. The accuſed having thus aſſerted &c.

P. 282.

L. 11 thus—[20] So the Brehons in Ireland, within theſe two or three centuries, always brought up their children or relations to the ſame profeſſion, and left one of them to ſucceed (ſee Camden p. 788).—Kuerden &c.

[c] Cæſar p. 135 for the Gauls, Birt's Letters v. II. p. 244. for the Highlanders, Spenſer's View of Ireland p. 220 of his Works, 1679, for the Iriſh, and Aſſer p. 28, Wiſe, Spelman's Alfredus, Oxon. p. 22, and Ethelward F. 480, for the Danes.

CHAP.

P. 284.

CHAP. IX.

THE COINAGE OF THE BRITONS BEFORE AND AFTER THE COMING OF THE ROMANS—THE STATE OF THE MECHANICAL ARTS AMONG THEM—THEIR FURNITURE &c. OF THEIR HOUSES—THEIR PLANTS, FLOWERS, AND DOMESTICK ANIMALS.

I.

THE whole commerce of the Belgick and interiour Britons was carried on without the aſſiſtance of money, and in the courſe of a regular exchange. Such appears &c.

P. 285.

L. 1 thus—Colcheſter. And about twenty coins, the production of ſo many different coinages, have deſcended to us, bearing the appellation of the town upon them [a]. The inſtruments uſed in the work appear &c.

L. 16—17 thus—And about fifty of Cunobeline's coins, impreſſed with his own name in part or in whole, have come down to the preſent age [b].

P. 286.

L. 7—9 thus—He ſet up two others in two other towns of his dominions, at Verulam and London [c]. And we have four of the former mint, and ſix of the latter, that have been ſafely

[a] Dio p. 959, Pegge's claſs 2, Stukeley's Britiſh coins, 6—6, 6—10, 8—4, 8—8, 9—4, 10—1, and Camden's 1—14.

Pegge's and Stukeley's plates.

[b] See Pegge 4—1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, and 5—1. The new mint-town, as it ſeems in Mr. Pegge 4—5, is produced only by a miſtake in copying the inſcription (ſee Camden 2—12), the name being only Camu in the original, which is Dr. Stukeley's 19—2. And ſee Dr. Stukeley 4—2, 4—3, 4—10, and Mr. Pegge 4, and 6—1, for Verulam and London.

tranſmitted to us. Caractacus, or (as he is more properly called by Richard, a Britiſh coin [d], and the Triades) Charaticus, Caratacus, and Caradauc, &c.

L. 14 thus—Scheme, and equally minted money. But in all &c.

L. 17—18 thus — And we have only four of his coins at preſent [d].

L. 27—30 thus—Even the word Taſcia, which occurs ſo often on the coins of Cunobeline, appears equally inſcribed upon ſome of theſe.

P. 287.

L. 7—13 thus—Would firſt have travelled in all probability, whither it would moſt eaſily be carried, into the country of the Dobuni or Boduni, and the kingdom of Togodumnus, the ſon of the one and brother of the other. But the Caſſii, the maſters of the Dobuni, appear to have minted for them. This is evident from a remarkable coin, which preſents us with a head on one ſide and a houſe on the other, and bears inſcribed the name of the people, BODO, and the appellation of their and the Caſſian metropolis, CAM or Camulodunum. And we have five others of the Dobunian coins, all, as we muſt preſume from this, equally minted at Colcheſter, and exhibiting upon them only the name of the nation or the denominations of their monarchs [e]. The art, therefore, was firſt taken from the Caſſii probably by their immediate neighbours, the Iceni; and we have ſeven or eight of their coins at preſent [f]. And it was afterwards extended gradually through the iſland, being practiſed by the Attrebates, and at their capital Calleva, Calleva, or Wallingford; by Comus and Calle, the ſovereigns of two other principalities; by the Segontiaci of Hampſhire and Berkſhire [g]; by the Durotriges of Dorſetſhire, and at their metropolis Durnum &c.

[d] Stukeley 12—2, 12—3, and 12—4, and Pegge 6—4.

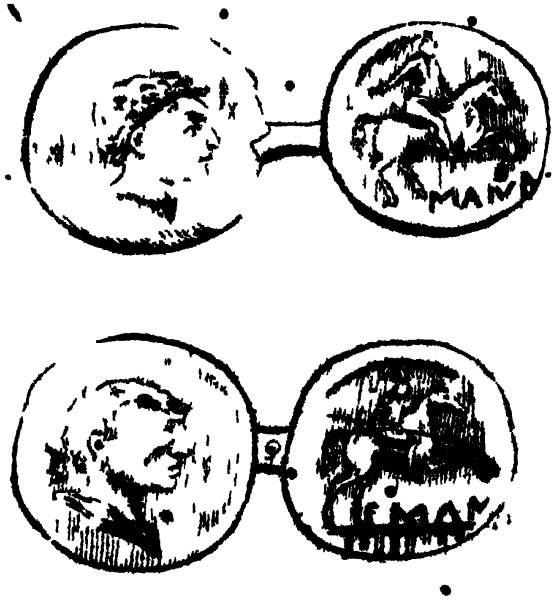
[e] Dio p. 957, Camden 1—8, Stukeley 11—9, 20—10, 18—2, 11—7, 11—2, and 11—6, and Pegge p. 59 for Beric.

[f] Stukeley 3—3, 15—6, 16—10, and 17—5, for Iceni or Cenomes; 11—7, for Pramutagus probably; and 11—10 for Boadicia.

[g] Stukeley 12—10 and 13—2.

L. 25.

L. 25 thus—And none of it is known to have reached the preſent age, except the following pieces may ſeem to carry the name of Mancenion upon them; and to prove the eſtabliſhment of a Britiſh mint at Manchéſter as well as York [h]



Laſt line thus—But there is one particular in theſe monies of the Britons, which has now for two centuries puzzled all our criticks, and loudly calls for ſome probable explanation. And that is the word TASC, which appears inſcribed upon ſeveral of them, and eſpecially upon thoſe of Cunobeline. It was firſt interpreted by the great Camden, as Taſc ſignifies equally in Welſh, Iriſh, and old Engliſh, a tax or tribute; and to point out the original deſignation of the money, for the payment of the tribute impoſed on the Britons by Cæſar. And this opinion has been almoſt univerſally received by our antiquarians ſince, and particularly vindicated of late with a profuſion of learning by Dr. Pettingall [i]. But it is greatly erroneous, I think, and for theſe ſhort reaſons. As only ſome of the coins are inſcribed with the letters TASC; this hypotheſis accounts merely for a part of the whole, and leaves the reſt to ſtand as the regular and

[h] Stukeley 3—9 and 3—8. And Man, a place, in Man-cenion, is written to this day, as in one of theſe coins, with a double N both in the Welſh and Iriſh.

[i] Camden c. cix. Gibſon, and Dr. Pettingall's Diſſ. quarto, 1763, p. 7.

current

current money of the iſland. And, had even theſe been intended for the diſcharge of the Roman tribute, they would have been principally found, not in the iſland where they were minted, but on the continent whither they were ſent, and where, however, not one of them is known to have been diſcovered. And, what winds up the argument at once, a writer who was cotemporary with Cunobeline or a little before him, Strabo, repeatedly aſſures us, that in his time the Britons paid no tribute to the Romans[k]. TASC therefore cannot ſtand as the mark of a payment that was not diſcharged. And we muſt look out for ſome other interpretation of the letters.

The only others are the ſuppoſitions of Mr. Wiſe and Mr. Pegge. The former would refer the words, without argument and without authority, to a nation at the other extremity of Gaul that was called by a ſomewhat ſimilar appellation[l]. And ſuch an ungrounded and fantaſtical hypotheſis is not worthy a ſerious refutation. It falls from its own airineſs of nature, and is directly contradicted by the fact that I have alledged before, the diſcovery of the coins in Britain only. But the latter has advanced a ſuppoſition much more rational and manly, that the word is the perſonal or national name of the Roman-Gallick mint-maſter whom Cunobeline invited into Britain[m]. And I adopted the opinion in my firſt edition. Taſcaire in Celtick ſignifies a tributary or ſervant. It might eaſily, therefore, become an appropriate appellation. And the ſame principle, which ſtamped the figure of a mintmaſter upon three of the coins, would as readily inſcribe his name upon them or others. Theſe reaſons, and the want of a more probable hypotheſis, induced me to follow Mr. Pegge in his opinion upon this ſubject. But I have ſince ſeen reaſon to change my ſentiments. The word occurs too often on the coins, to be merely the name of a minter. His perſon is exhibited only upon three of them: but the name appears upon no leſs than twenty-two out of thirty-nine in Mr. Pegge's tables. And it equally appears upon ten others in Dr. Stukeley's collection[m]. This is evidently

[k] P. 306—307. [l] Nummi Bodleiani, p. 226—227. [m] Pegge p. 54—55. —See 4—10, 5—5, 6—8, 7—2, 9—1, 9—6, 13—5, 15—9, 20—8, and 21—7, of Stukele.

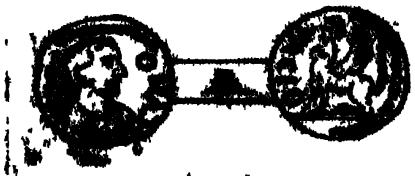
too

too much for a mere mint-master, however honoured. And it even occurs in some forms, that cannot agree with the id or a coiner. Thus in Mr. Pegge's and Dr. Stukeley's plates we have TASC NO, TASC NOVA, TASC NOVANE, and TASC NOVANIT [n]. And in the latter we have TASC RICO [o]. Here the word is found associated with others, that cannot with any propriety be applied to the minter. And some meaning must be sought, that will agree with the use of it both as it stands singly by itself, and as it is found confederated with these. And such a meaning, I think, I have discovered.

The word is written differently TASC, TASCI, TASCE, TASCIE, TASCIO, and TASCIA [p]. And it is nothing more, I apprehend, than the British and official appellation of the king whose coins exhibit the inscription; and signifies only the Leader. Tus, Tuis, Tos, and Toshich mean the beginning or head of any thing in the Irish language at present [q]. And hence Tuis imports a nobleman, and Toshich the leader of an army; as Macintosh, the family name of a clan in the Highlands, and denominated Mac-in-toshich in the Erse, signifies the son of a general [r]. Thus Toshich became an honorary title among the highlanders of the middle ages [s]. And Tuiseach and Taoiseach are the Irish appellatives for a commander at this day. The latter I imagine to be the Tase of the coins, as the Irish Gaoidhilge is the word Gathelic, and as Wallic is pronounced Welch. So we have Tasg-etius and Mori-Tasgus cotemporary with Cæsar in Gaul, two personages whose ancestors had obtained the sovereignty of their respective states, and who were themselves raised to the throne of their fathers [t]. And in this acceptation of the word, I believe, every thing will be found coincident and proper. There is a remarkable variation in writing the word, that has not been noticed by any of the critick. It was particularly overlooked, with a strange compose of invet-

[n] Pegge 4—C, 4—5, 4—1, 4—2, and Stukeley, 6—4 and 5—1. [o] Pegge 15—9. [p] Pegge 3—5 and 4—1, and Stukeley 5—5, Tasce, Pegge 3—2 and 6—Tasce and Tascie; Stukeley 13—5, Tasci; Pegge 5—1, 3—13 and Stukeley 7—2 Tascia and Tascio. [q] Cur. Diss. p. 184. [r] P. 185—[illegible]. [s] P. 191. [t] Cæsar p. 94 and 108.

tion, by Dr. Pettingall, who firſt engraved it from Mr. Duane's collection, and with one of whoſe opinions it directly agreed, and by his antagoniſt Mr. Pegge, who re-engraved it from Dr. Pettingall's table, and objected the want of ſuch a witneſs to the Doctor [u]. And it ſtrongly favours the whole of my notion. The word, that is written upon all the other coins TASC or TASCIO, is inſcribed upon this TACIO [x].



Thus the Welſh Tuyſog, the ſame with the Scotch Toſhich and the Iriſh Taoiſeag, is ſometimes altered even now into Dŷg, and was formerly changed into Tog, in the TOGU of one of theſe coins and the Togudumnus of Dio. And, as Dr. Pettingall has fully ſhewn, Tac or Tag ſignified a leader among the Britons, as in Taxi-magulus, Praſu-Tag-us, and Carac-Tac-us [y]. Both theſe forms of the word, therefore, coincide exactly with my interpretation of it. And, Taſcio anſwering to the Rex of the Latin inſcriptions and the Togu of the Britiſh, Cunobeline Taſcio, Cuno Tacio, and Cearatic Taſcie, upon ſome coins, will be the ſame as Cunobelinus Rex and Cunob Rex upon others [z]. Thus Taſc is frequently the only inſcription upon the coins, and is actually

[u] For Pegge ſee p. 22—23. And, what adds to the ſtrangeneſs, it hath alſo been a third time overlooked by Dr. Henry in his Hiſtory of Great Britain, 1771, v. I. p. 406, who even recites the legend, and gives it Taſcio, though his own repreſentation of the coin exhibits it rightly TACIO. [x] Pegge 3—7. [y] P. 1—2. [z] Pegge 3—5, and Stukeley 14—7 and 9—4.

inſcribed

inſcribed upon both ſides of one of them [a]. Thus Taſc Novanit and Taſc Ver ſignify the King of Verulam and London, the two capitals of the Caſſii and Trinovantes. And we have Cunobelinus Rex upon the face of one coin and Taſc on the reverſe, and Taſc Rico or King Commandant upon another; both inſcriptions aſſerting only the monarchical authority of Cunobeline over his ſubject ſtates [b].

In this view of the word TASCIA, I think, all the difficulties, that have hitherto attended the ſubject, are reſolved and removed. We do not embrace the ſtrange incongruous idea of a nation taught to coin money, merely for the ſake of paying their tribute in it; remitting it in a coinage, that was too inelegant and barbarous to circulate on the continent, and could only be melted down by their maſters; minting it merely for exportation into Italy, and yet frequently marking it with Britiſh terms that were unintelligible there; and ſending it for the diſcharge of a tribute, that appears not to have been paid at the time. We do not take up the wild and fantaſtical hypotheſis, that the pieces were not the coins of our iſlanders, when they are found only in the iſland; and that they were minted by a nation on the continent, when they actually bear the names of Britiſh ſovereigns upon them. And we do not acquieſce with the notion of their being ſo frequently inſcribed with the appellation of a minter, that has no exiſtence but in the viſions of conjecture; and of his arrogating to himſelf an equality with his king upon the coins, aſſuming the ſovereignty of his ſtates, and even parading with the expreſs appellation of Monarch. We take the word in its obvious and natural ſignification. And we apply it, as we find it applied by the Celtæ of Gaul about the ſame period, and as it has been applied by thoſe of Britain for ages. It is referred directly to the king, with whom it is immediately connected. And it is what one would naturally expect upon a Britiſh coin, a Britiſh appellative of royalty. . .

[a] Pegge claſs 5, and 5—5. [b] Pegge 3—5 and Stukeley 14—7 and 15—9.

P. 288.

L. 3—7 thus—Eleven mints in all probability, and perhaps more, were eſtabliſhed within the pale of their own government, two in the two municipia, nine in the nine colonies, and ſome in the legionary ſtations. And coins minted at Cheſter, London, and York, at Richborough, Colcheſter, Lincoln, Verulam, and Glouceſter, and at Conovium perhaps, the ſtationary head-quarters of the tenth Antonian legion [c], have been ſafely &c.

P. 290.

L. 9—11 thus—I am ſorry to obſerve, that Mr. Pegge has ſullied his very uſeful treatiſe on the coins of Cunobeline with a rude ſtricture on the late Dr. Stukeley. "I am ſenſible," he ſays, "the Dr. has his admirers; but I muſt confeſs I am not "one of the number, as *not being fond of wildneſs and enthuſiaſm* "*upon any ſubject.*"—(P. 106). Let the wildneſſes of Dr. Stukeley &c.

L. 20—21 thus—And generally ſeduces the mind into extravagancies while it raiſes it to excellences.

L. 26—30 thus—Itſelf. And the ingenioufneſs of contrivance and neatneſs of execution, in theſe carriages, proves them even to have been intimately converſant with ſome of the beſt principles of mechanicks. Their cars were admired &c.

P. 291.

Laſt line thus—The only drinking-veſſels of the Britons, and are even uſed by the Highlanders at preſent [d].

P. 292.

L. 6—14 thus—And a pottery was naturally erected at every ſtationary town in the kingdom. And our own at Mancheſter, which was moſt probably ſettled within the projection of the river-bank in Caſtle-field, and on the ſouth-weſtern part of it, might be ſupplied, I believe, with proper clays from many pla-

[c] See Gale's Antoninus p. 122.

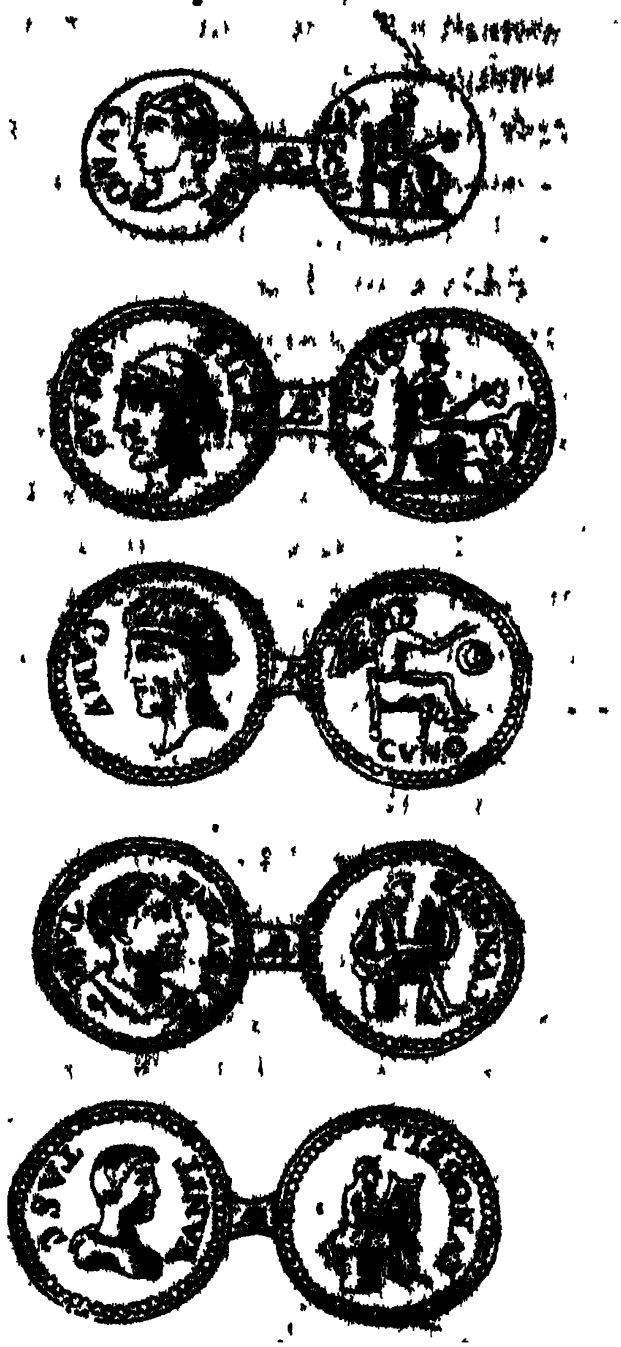
[d] Birt's Letters on the Highlanders, v. II. p. 43, and Oſſian v. I. p. 27. a note.

ces in the parish, seems clearly from those specimens of its skill that I have mentioned in the former part of the work. and particularly from the coral-coloured urn at Worsley, to have been a very considerable one, and to have had excellent artists engaged in it. And here, under the direction of Roman or Roman-Frisian masters, the Mancunians learnt to model their vessels with a lathe, to give them a polish, and embellish them with carvings and figures. Of these masters we know the appellations of four. The ADVOCISI of the Worsley urn is plainly the romanized name of a foreigner, and in all probability of some Frisian master-potter to the Frisian garrison. And, among many fragments of vessels that have been discovered in the ruins of the Roman slaughterhouse and cowstall in Castle-field, and on the opposite bank of the river and the site of Mr. Wallford's house, have some been found that were inscribed with the names of three others. One was the unglazed handle of a massy pitcher, and had VABEO rudely stamped upon it; the name of an Italian potter in all probability, as we have Phoebio upon a vessel at Rome, and Vibia on a Roman tombstone in Britain. Another was equally the handle of a pitcher, and equally large and unglazed, and had upon it the appellation NONOVI. And the third was a red stand for some little vessel, and on the bottom exhibited the letters OF A ASCUI, Officina Auli Ascui; signifying the piece to have been formed in the pottery of one Aulus Ascuus, plainly the name of a German, and the same with the Ayscue of modern times.

P. 293.

L. 1—9 thus—Below them. The British chairs were either tall and rounded blocks of wood, which our Mancunians to this day distinguish by the British appellation of Crickets, were provided with backs and mounted on four supporters, or rested upon a square basis of timber. And, as we have specimens of all the three delineated on the coins of Cunobeline, so we have

a cricket, particularly, exhibited twice upon them, and in the very form which it bears in Manchester at present[e].



P. 294.

L. 30 thus—It was mingled with three-fourths of their nitre, which was a fixed salt[f]; and both &c.

[e] Pegge 3—9, 3—1, 2—5, 4—1, and 4—3.

[f] See Hill's History of Fossils, p. 387.

P. 295.

P. 295.

L. 13—26 thus—At the ſtations or towns of either, appear to have generally conſiſted of a thick, ſometimes white, but moſtly blue-green, metal.

Native amber, very naturally ſuppoſed for ages to be a diſtillation from the gummy trees that formerly ſhaded all the northern coaſt of Germany, and are ſaid to remain in various places on the Baltick at preſent, appears upon a cloſer examination to be a foſſil, generated in the earth, and diſcloſed by accident. And it is the production of our own iſland, as well as North-Germany. Formed in the fiſſures of the cliffs that line the eaſtern ſhore of Britain particularly, it is thrown down by the falling of the rocks, and picked up on the beach or found floating on the waters. It is ſometimes gathered in large maſſes, not ſo bright and tranſparent as thoſe of the Baltick, but of a pale yellow and agreeably clouded. And it is incloſed in a thin coarſe coat, the neſt or ſhell of this equivocal creation, the ſemblance of a gum and a gem in one [b]. And the Britons appear to have poſſeſſed conſiderable quantities of it. This they molded into ſquares and circles, and their females ſtrung them as beads and wore them as necklaces. Nor was this peculiar to the wives and daughters of Britain. The Gallick women in the north of Italy did the ſame, as late as the æra of Agricola's expedition into Lancaſhire. And the Scotch retained the cuſtom within theſe two centuries [i].

P. 393.

This page now runs thus.

In this ſtate of our iſland manufactures, when the hills of Britain were found to be repleniſhed, as they are expreſsly de-

[a] Of Roman glaſs-ware, ſays Thoresby in Leeds p. 560, I have from London, Aldborough, and Adel: the bluiſh green, and ſome of the white, are very thick, above three fourths of an inch; but a piece of the white, found five or ſix yards in the Roman wall at Aldborough, is remarkably thin for thoſe ages.

[b] Pennant's Tour in Scotland 3 13, Boetius Scot. Reg. Deſcr. ſol. 10, and Leſlæi Hiſt. p. 29.

[i] Leſlæi Hiſt. p. 29.

clared

claimed to have been in the third century, with a rich variety of all ſorts of metals; the inhabitants of Mancheſter, and the reſt of the county ſlept upon ſkins of beaſts, and lay on the floor of their apartments. This was the practice univerſally in the firſt ages, and originally the cuſtom of the Greeks and Romans. But the ſkins were afterwards changed for looſe ruſhes and heather, as the Welſh a few ages ago lay on the former, and the Highlanders ſleep on the latter to the preſent moment [k]. And the example of the Romans now ſuggeſted to the Mancunians the uſe, and the introduction of agriculture ſupplied them with the means, of the neater conveniency of ſtraw-beds. For many ages the beds of the Italians were conſtantly compoſed of ſtraw, and it ſtill formed thoſe of the ſoldiers and officers at the conqueſt of Lancaſhire. And from both our countrymen learnt the uſe of them at this period. But it appears to have been taken up only by the gentlemen; as the common Welſh had their beds thinly ſtuffed with ruſhes, as late as the concluſion of the twelfth century [l]. And with the gentlemen it continued many ages afterwards. Straw was uſed even in the royal chambers of England, as late as the cloſe of the thirteenth. Moſt of our Mancunian peaſants lie on chaff at preſent. And ſtraw-beds remain to this day general in France and Italy. But they were no longer ſuffered to reſt upon the ground. The better mode that had antiently prevailed in the eaſt, and long before been introduced into Italy, was adopted in Britain. And they were now mounted on pedeſtals. This, however, was equally confined to the gentlemen. The bed ſtill continued on the floor among the common people. And the groſs cuſtom, that had prevailed from the beginning, was retained by the lower Britons to the laſt; and theſe ground-beds were laid along the walls of their houſes, and formed one common dormitory for all the members of the family. This faſhion continued univerſally among the inferiour ranks of the Welſh within theſe four or five

[k] See Giraldus's Deſ. Cambriæ p. 888.
[l] Ibid.

ages,

ages, and with the more uncivilized part of the Highlanders nearly to our own times[m]. And even at no great diſtance from Mancheſter, in the neighbouring Buxton, and within theſe ſixty or ſeventy years, the perſons that repaired to the bath are all ſaid to have ſlept in one long chamber together; the upper part being allotted to the ladies and the lower to the gentlemen, and only partitioned from each other by a curtain.

The hearth of the Britons ſeems to have been fixed in the center of their great halls; as ſome of the common people even in the nearer parts of Scotland, to this day, have the fire in the middle of the room, and the family ſit all around it[n]. This was perhaps nothing more than a large ſtone, depreſſed a little below the level of the ground, and thereby adapted to receive the aſhes. And about a century ago in Cheſhire it was only the floor of the room, with the addition of a back or hob of clay[n]. But it was now changed amongſt the gentlemen for a portable fire-pan, raiſed upon low ſupporters, and fitted with a circular grating of bars.

P. 303.

L. 1—15 thus—And others were found in the ſame bed of ſand ſixty yards to the weſt of it, and in the year 1770. But, what is more remarkable, the number of pieces in the former diſcovery was not leſs than thirty or forty, and a quantity of ſlack was dug up with them. And theſe circumſtances ſhew the coals to have been lodged upon the ſpot, before the road of the Romans covered it.

L. 20—26 thus—That the Britons in general were acquainted with this fuel, is evident from its appellation amongſt us at preſent, which is not Saxon but Britiſh, and ſubſiſts among the Iriſh in their Gual, and among the Corniſh in their Kolan, to this day.

[m] Ibid. for the common Welſh having their beds upon the ground, and Ibid. and Cit. Diſſ. p. 140 for the Welſh and Highlanders lying all in one apartment.

[n] Gent. Mag. March 1754, and King's Vale Royal, Pt. I. p. 19.

P. 307.

P. 307.

L. 8—14 thus—Lined the inſide of their brazen veſſels with it, and thereby prevented the tincture of braſs. And receiving the knowledge perhaps directly from the Gauls, deriving it perhaps immediately from the Romans, they as probably practiſed the curious art which the Gauls had diſcovered, and which was recently uſed in making our bell-metal, of incorporating &c.

P. 309.

The firſt paragraph of Sect. IV. now runs thus.

AT the period of Cæſar's expedition into the iſland, the woods of Britain were repleniſhed nearly with the ſame varieties of timber as the foreſts of Gaul. And the beech and fir are the only trees excepted by Cæſar. He aſſerts them both to have been ſtrangers to Britain at that æra. This, however, the generality of our criticks have affected to diſbelieve; and have appealed againſt it to the beech-covered hills of the Chiltern, the fir-topt mountains of Scotland, and the fir-apples diſcovered in draining our Marton Mere. But theſe arguments, ſurely, could never have been thought of ſufficient moment to overthrow one of the beſt hiſtorical authorities in the world, if they had not fallen in with that frivolous petulance of criticiſm, which has lately been very prevalent among us, and continually exalting itſelf againſt the teſtimony of Cæſar. Cæſar has explicitly aſſerted the fact. Cæſar appears in general, whatever the humourſomeneſs of antiquarianiſm has ſuggeſted, to have gained very accurate informations concerning the iſland. And if, in ſuch caſes, the credit of cotemporary relations was to be ſuperſeded by hypothetical reaſonings, and the authority of peremptory aſſertions overborne by problematical arguments, the faith of records would be deſtroyed at once, and the authenticity of hiſtory utterly annihilated.—I cannot, however, ſubſcribe entirely to the relation of Cæſar. Other and more forcible arguments preſent themſelves to the inquiſitive mind, that ſuperſede the authority

of

of that great hiſtorian, and ſhew one of the trees to be a native of Britain.

P. 312.

L. 4—6 thus—But they introduced the beech into it. And the tree, which they found, was not preciſely the ſame that now grows amongſt us. Our moſs-fir is daily experienced in Lancaſhire to be of a much more reſinous quality than the other. It could not have acquired this property, by lying in the moſſy ſoil. And it is therefore of a different ſpecies, and the ſame aſſuredly, with the Scotch fir, now totally extirpated in England, but preſerved in the Highlands of Scotland [o].

Nor was this the only tree which the Romans &c.

P. 318.

L. 13 and note [25] thus—Lib. xv. c. 23.—In the Phil. Tranſ. vol. LIX. p. 23 and vol. LXI. Pt. i. p. 136—169 is a diſpute betwixt my learned friend Dr. Ducarrel &c. and the Hon. Mr. Daines Barrington, concerning the origin of the cheſtnut in England. The latter would gladly prove it to have been lately tranſplanted into the iſland, and from Spain probably. And the former would make it a native of the country. The arguments for its recent introduction have been overthrown, in the compleateſt manner, by the Doctor and his two aſſociates (p. 136—166). Nor has Mr. Barrington, in his reply (p. 167—169), even ventured to ſupport them. And we may add to the reaſonings one deciſive obſervation, That the cheſtnut was in this iſland even as early as the twelfth century, was then common in it, was ſpread over the ſurface of the country, and even conſtantly grew wild in our woods. Giraldus Cambrenſis, ſpeaking of Ireland, ſays: arborum—ſpecies quatuor, quas *inſula Britannica circa cultoris operam per ſe producit*, hic deficiunt; *caſtanus* et fagus &c. (Top. Hib. p. 739).—But, after all, is there not an errour running through the whole controverſy? And are not

[o] And this, I ſuppoſe, is the old fir of Ireland, thus deſcribed by Giraldus: Ireland (he ſays) abundat abieto—, *thuia et incenſi matre* (Top. Hib. p. 739. Camden).—,

all the diſputants miſtaken in their main poſition? The cheſt-nut-tree is demonſtrably an antient inhabitant of the iſland. But it is not, therefore, a native. It may have been introduced in the earlier ages of our hiſtory. And, if my argument here from the Roman-Britiſh appellations be juſt, and reaſon ſuggeſts and hiſtory ſhews that it is, the tree was firſt brought into Britain by the Romans.

P. 319—320.

Among the various trees which the Romans introduced into Britain, the moſt curious undoubtedly was the vine. And it appears to have been very common in the iſland a few centuries ago. From the name of vineyard yet adhering to the ruinous ſites of our caſtles and monaſteries, there ſeem to have been few in the country but what had a vineyard belonging to them. The county of Glouceſter is particularly commended by Malmeſbury in the twelfth century, as excelling all the reſt of the kingdom in the number and goodneſs of its vineyards. In the earlier periods of our hiſtory, the iſle of Ely was expreſsly denominated the iſle of vines by the Normans [r]. Vineyards are frequently noticed in the deſcriptive accounts of Doomſday. And thoſe of England are even mentioned by Bede, as early as the commencement of the eighth century.

That the Romans were the original introducers of the plant, we need no other teſtimony than the Britiſh appellations of it. Being brought by them into Gaul, it was denominated the Vigne by the natives. And, being carried by them into Britain, it was ſimilarly called by the inhabitants the Guin-uydhen, the Guin-bren, the Guin-ien, or Fion-ras, as it is ſtill denominated in the Welſh, Cornish, Armorican, and Iriſh dialects. Theſe appellations, like the Gallick, do not directly ſignify the vine, and only ſpeak of it characteriſtically as the wine-tree. And, as they ſhew the Romans to have been the firſt planters of it in both kingdoms, ſo this little peculiarity pretty plainly intimates

[r] Harriſon's Deſcription of England prefixed to Holliſhead's Chron. p. 110—111, 1586.

the

the natives of both to have been acquainted with the liquor, ſome time before they cultivated the tree. Such would naturally be the caſe of both. Such appears to have been actually the caſe with the Gauls. And the Caledonian Britons, who were ſtrangers to the plant, were converſant with its produce before the middle of the third century.

The former was not brought into Britain in the firſt, but was introduced before the cloſe of the third. And, confined as it would for ages be within the pale of the Roman government, it was tranſplanted into Ireland before the beginning of the eighth. But the grape, or, as with an agreeable ſimplicity it was called by the Britons, the corn of the tree, the wine-grane, and the apple of the vine, was not, as it now is, merely raiſed for the uſes of the table. All the arts of the vigneron would naturally be introduced with the plant. They were carried with it into Gaul. And, that they came together into Britain, the good knowledge which the Caledonians appear to have had of the liquor is a preſumptive evidence, and the Britiſh appellation of wine-tree for the vine ſeems a ſtrong argument. But Doomſday exhibits to us a particular proof of wine made in England, during the period preceding the Conqueſt. And, after it, the biſhop of Ely appears to have received at leaſt three or four tuns of wine annually, as tythe, from the produce of the vineyards in his dioceſs; and to have made frequent reſervations in his leaſes of a certain quantity of wine for rent. A plot of land in London, which now forms Eaſt-Smithfield and ſome adjoining ſtreets, was with-held from the religious houſe within Aldgate by four ſucceſſive conſtables of the Tower, in the reigns of Rufus, Henry, and Stephen, and made by them into a vineyard to their great emolument and profit. In the old accounts of rectorial and vicarial revenues, and in the old regiſters of eccleſiaſtical ſuits concerning them, the tithe of wine is an article that frequently occurs in Kent, Surry, and other counties. And the wines of Glouceſterſhire, within a century after the Conqueſt, were little inferiour to the

French in ſweetneſs[1]. The beautiful region of Gaul, which had not a ſingle vine in the days of Caſar, had numbers ſo early as the time of Strabo. The ſouth of it was particularly ſtocked with them; and they had even extended themſelves into the interiour parts of the country. But the grapes of the latter did not ripen kindly[2]. And France was even famous for its vineyards in the reign of Veſpaſian, and even exported its wines into Italy. The whole province of Narbonne was then covered with vines: and the wine-merchants of the country were remarkable for all the knaviſh dexterity of our modern brewers, tinging it with ſmoke, colouring it (as was ſuſpected) with herbs and noxious dies, and even adulterating the taſte and appearance with aloes. And, as our firſt vines would be tranſplanted from Gaul, ſo were they in all probability thoſe of the Allobroges in Franche Compte. Theſe were peculiarly fitted for cold countries. They ripened even in the froſts of the advancing winter. And they were of the ſame colour, and ſeem to have been of the ſame ſpecies, as the black Muſcadines of the preſent day, which have lately been tried in the iſland, I think[3], and found to be fitteſt for the climate.

P. 323.

L. 15—19 thus—With ſaddles. Thoſe in the coins of the Britiſh ſovereigns have not the ſmalleſt appearance of one. The Iriſh had none on their horſes, even within theſe three or four centuries[4]. And the Britiſh appellation of that covering is purely Roman, Sedile, Sadhell, or Saddle. In the annals of the Romans is it firſt mentioned. And the earlieſt perſon, that is noticed in hiſtory to have [illegible], is Conſtantine the Younger, the ſon and [illegible] great emperor, and in the year 340. The necks of the garrons, however, were &c.

P. 324.

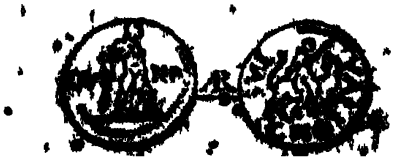
L. 15, thus—Fernandes. And the very word Brach, which appears from Shakeſpear to have been uſed among us about two

[1] Ibid. [2] Strabo p. 269. [3] At Bath.
[4] Top. Hib. p. 738, Sellis equitando non utuntur.

centuries

centuries ago even for a lady's dog, is evidently the ſame with the Iriſh Brech, and a Britiſh appellation for a wild hound [u].

L. 26—34. thus—The faſt is furniſhed with no ſagacity of noſe, but has an uncommon degree of vigour and courage. The faſt hold which it takes with its teeth, and the general ſtrength of its limbs, are incredibly great. And three of them have been always reputed a match for a bear, and four even for a lion. But we have ſome inſtances of their courage and vigour, that riſe greatly above this general eſtimate. Henry VII. is ſaid to have ordered one of them immediately to be hanged, in an exuberance of zeal for the pre-eminence of royalty, becauſe it had the hardineſs to engage ſingly with its lord and ſovereign, the lion. And in the reign of Elizabeth and the year 1572, my lord Buckhurſt, our ambaſſador at the court of France for a few weeks, one day produced an Engliſh maſtiff before Charles IX; which alone and without any aſſiſtance ſucceſſively engaged a bear, a pard, and a lion, and fairly pulled them all to the ground [x]. Theſe dogs are equally diſtinguiſhed from others by a ſurly dignity of aſpect, a genuine good-nature, and an honeſt fidelity. We have a breed of them at Mancheſter, that is enormouſly tall and large; and children frequently ride upon them in play. And juſt ſuch an one is repreſented on this coin of Cunobeline, and a child appears mounted ſideways upon it; the worthy animal waving its tail, and turning up its face, with a ſenſible ſatisfaction in its rider.



[u] "Truth's a dog muſt to kennel; he muſt be whipped out, when the lady Brach may "ſtand by the fire, and ſtink."

[x] Deſcription of England prefixed to Hollingſhead's Chronicle p. 231, taken from Caii opera, Jebb, p. 19. But the former fact is evidently a little miſrepreſented in both. They extend the king's order to all the maſtiffs in the realm; when the nature of the caſe, and the correſpondent order concerning the falcon (ibid.), ſhew it to have been confined to one of them.

The hiſtories of a town, of a nation, and of man, are nothing but records of human calamities and regiſters of human woes. Theſe, however, are generally provoked by vices, and are naturally productive of virtues. They re-invigorate by the taſk of trials that tone of the mind, which was previouſly weakened by inactivity. And, in forcible appeals to the thoughtfulneſs of the ſoul, they aſſert thoſe powers of religion, which were ſinking before in the ſenſualities of peace. The convulſions of nature and the enormities of man, the war of elements, and the ſubverſion of empires, are all admirably directed by the controuling influence of the Deity, to the great purpoſes of ſupporting the moral intereſts of the world, and impreſſing the heart with the truths of religion.

APPEN-

retains the note of its recenter deſcent in its newer appellation of the Manchester or Lancaſhire hound. But it has long been neglected by careleſſneſs or deſign. Its characteriſtick bulk has been gradually diminiſhing for ſome time. And this old and venerable breed is dwindling away into little more than a larger generation of harriers. To preſerve, however, what nothing but the pencil can; and ſo perfect the account that I have given of this hound, I have here added a view of one of them; which was taken a few years ago from the life and in full proportion, and has been reduced into miniature for the preſent work by the ſame perſon who made the drawings for the former edition, that example of a ſtrong and extenſive genius un-depreſt by poverty; and yet almoſt loſt in obſcurity, the modeſt Mr. Clarke of Salford.

A Scale of Inches

These

These were some of the original hounds of the island. And the Romans seem to have introduced into the one, and to have added to the other, the present breed of our common spaniels and harriers. The former carries evidently the signature of its origin in the singularity of its name; the appellation of Spaniard being a sufficient indication of its country, and the Roman termination, Hispaniolus or Spaniol, a full declaration of its Roman introducer. And the same race of our dogs is probably meant by the same denomination in these lines of Nemesianus,

Nec tibi Pannonicæ stirpis temnatur origo,
Nec quorum proles de sanguine manat IBERO,

Praised are the sires that own Pannonia's brood;
And praised the puppies of HISPANIA'S BLOOD;

And in these of Oppian,

Ἔξοχ' ἀριζηλοι, μαλα τ' αἰγρευτηρσι μελουσαι,
Παιονες, Αυσονιοι, Καρες, Θρηικες, ΙΒΗΡΕΣ,

First on the field appear Ausonia's race,
Thy dogs, O Caria, and thy hounds, O Thrace;
First from the hunter claim the favourite's meed
Pæonia's offspring, and HISPANIA'S BREED.

The harriers, I suppose, are equally foreigners with these; as their only game, the hare, will appear hereafter to have never been hunted by the primitive Britons. And they are probably Tuscans. Nemesianus has given us the following account of the Tuscan dog: and the description agrees exactly, I think, with the common harrier;

Quin & Tuscorum non est extrema voluptas
Sæpe canum; sit forma illis licèt obsita villo,
Dissimilesque habeant catulis velocibus artus,
Haud tamen injucunda dabunt tibi munera prædæ;

Namque

Namque & odorato noſcunt veſtigia prato,
Atque etiam leporum ſecreta cubilia monſtrant:

Nor on the file of hunters laſt is found
The merit, Tuſcans, of your native hound;
What though their form be haggèd with roughening hairs,
Nor one faint ſemblance of the greyhound wears,
Still will the table thank their uſeful care,
Served with the frequent banquet of the hare;
They ſnuff her footſteps on the ſcented mead,
They round her mazes to her ſecret bed.

And from the union of theſe and our Mancheſter dogs, I ſuppoſe, was that race of harriers originally generated, which is as remarkable for beagles as the other is for hounds, and almoſt equally confined to Mancheſter. Theſe are evidently the great hounds in miniature, preſerving on a ſmaller ſcale and in fainter colours all the ſtriking peculiarities of their ſize, their aſpect, and their note. And they have hitherto eſcaped the particular obſervation of the curious, becauſe they were placed in the immediate neighbourhood of the others. The brightneſs of the ſun throws every leſſer luminary into ſhade. And, had the greater breed been now loſt in Mancheſter, as it has lately been in the ſouth, and as, before the preſent hiſtory was publiſhed, it ſeemed likely to be in two or three generations amongſt ourſelves; theſe large and remarkable beagles would have appeared with peculiar luſtre, and been conſidered equally by the hiſtorian and the naturaliſt, at preſent, as the valuable and only repreſentatives of our antient hounds.

P. 333.

CHAP. X.

THE BRITISH PROVISIONS AND RECREATIONS BEFORE AND AFTER THE ROMAN ARRIVAL—THE WOODS, MOSSES, AND WILD BEASTS—THE STREETS, BUILDINGS, TRADES &c. OF MANCHESTER—AND THE BRITISH MARRIAGES, BURIALS, LETTERS, LANGUAGE, AND MILITARY ART.

I.

IN the whole round of intellectual entertainments, few things carry ſo agreeable an appearance to the curious mind as the hiſtory of human manners. And that lower ſpecies of patriotiſm, which ſhoots up inſtinctively in every breaſt, makes it particularly pleaſing to view our own national cuſtoms genuine as they riſe in our annals, and to ſee thoſe accidental combinations of ideas or tational modes of opinion, which prevailed in the more diſtant ages of our fathers, faithfully repreſented in the mirrour of hiſtory. Nor is this ſatisfaction confined to their ſublimer exertions of the underſtanding, their theories of political ſcience, or their taſte in literature. It is even better felt on the ſurvey of their little faſhions and fancies in the more characterizing ſcenes of lower life, in the exhibition of their private manners, and the detail of their domeſtick œconomy.

The proviſion for the table among the original Britons was taken chiefly from their herds of kine, their goats [a], ſheep, deer, and hogs.

[a] B. I. ch. i. §. 2. and Howel Dha l. II. c. 26. a. 7.

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L. 1—12 thus—And the latter ſeem to have been the duck, teal, widgeon, and ſwan; the crane, ſtork, buſtard, capercalze, and cock of the wood; the woodcock, quail, ſnipe, and heath-cock or grouſe; and the lark, the quoiſt or ſtock-dove, and others. Theſe are all natives of the iſland, as either the appellations of them in the Britiſh language, or the incidental notices of hiſtory, ſuggeſt to us. And none of them appear to have been prohibited, as ſome certainly were, by caſual cuſtoms or religious obligations. The crane and the ſtork, once familiar to our tables upon great entertainments, and the indigenous inhabitants of our country, are now known to us only by relation. The former was common in Kent during the ninth century, among the mountains of Wales in the tenth, and in the fens of Lincolnſhire, one of the iſles of Sylley, and various parts of Scotland, to the beginning of the laſt. And both of them were reſidents in Ireland at the cloſe of the twelfth; the ſtorks however being very rare there, and all black; but the cranes ſo numerous, as frequently to be ſeen in flocks of a hundred together. The Buſtards alſo (or, as in the Britiſh mode of variation they were popularly called in the north, the Guſtards) are pretty frequent in Ireland to this day: were found, though rarely, in the Mers of Scotland within theſe two centuries, and on the plains of Lindſey in Lincolnſhire within one and a half; and ſtill continue equally rare on Newmarket and Royſton heaths and the downs of Saliſbury. Theſe birds are ſcarcely able to raiſe themſelves from the ground becauſe of their bulkineſs, being even obliged to run againſt the wind, and beat their pinions, before they can take a flight; and are equally ſlow in their motions afterward. And for both reaſons they are very ſhy, approachable by the fowlers only in covered carts; and are reckoned a very excellent diſh in ſeaſon. The capercalze or caperkelly, or, as its appellation ſignifies in Erſe, the hobbie of the woods, ſeems to have been ſo called exaggeratingly from its ſize, being about the bigneſs of a turkey; and is therefore, like

the buſtard, frequently denominated a wild turkey in Engliſh. This was once aſſuredly common to all the iſland, but from its feeding on the tender tops of fir-branches, and loving high and ſolitary mountains and woods, has now for ages been peculiar to thoſe of the Highlands. And it was even there, and even two centuries ago, confined to the firwoods of Roſs, Lochaber, and other mountainous parts of the country, being then highly prized for the delicate flavour of its fleſh; and is at this day in ſtill higher eſtimation becauſe of its additional rarity. But the cock of the wood, which has been recently confounded with the capercalze, and even by our Britiſh zoologiſt himſelf, though it is ſtrikingly diſtinguiſhed by its inferiour ſize, the feathery covering of its legs, and its ſcarlet eyebrows, is about the bigneſs of a peacock, and is actually mentioned by Giraldus Cambrenſis under the name of a ſylveſtris pavo or peacock of the woods. And it was once, like the capercalze, an inhabitant of England in all probability, as it was very common in Ireland during the twelfth century, and in the Highlands during the ſixteenth; having gradually retired from England as it is now retreating from Ireland, on cutting down the woods that ſheltered it; and is now very rare even in the latter and the Highlands, but much valued for the uſes of the table [b]. The markets of

[b] See Top. Hib. p. 706 for Grutæ or Grouſe; Howel Dha p. 25, b. I. ch. 10. ſ. 2. and note 22, Polyolbion p. 107 (pt. 2), D. of Engl. in Hollingſhead, p. 34, and Leſlæi Hiſt. 1675, p. 24, for cranes; Smith's Cork vol. II. p. 329, Polyolbion p. 113 (pt. 2), Boethius Scot. Deſ. 1576, fol. 7, and Leſlæi Hiſt. p. 24, for buſtards; Top. Hib p. 705 and 706, for cranes and ſtorks; Leſlæi Hiſt. p. 24, and Birt's Letters p. 169, for the capercalze; and Top. Hib. p. 706, Pennant's Tour p. 278, Harris's Ware p. 172 and Smith's Cork vol. II. p. 328, and Leſlæi Hiſt. p. 24, for the cock of the wood.

Mr. Pennant in his Scotch Tour ſays thus; "Cock of the wood—formerly was common "throughout the Highlands, and was called Capercalze and Auercalze, and in the old law-"books Capercally" (p. 278—279). But biſhop Leſley has accurately diſtinguiſhed one from the other. And Mr. Pennant has totally omitted the real capercalze, as the author of the letters from the Highlands has equally omitted the cock of the wood, or confounded it with the black cock (ſee him p. 169). The biſhop has noted all three. In Roſſiâ (ſays he)—, Loquhabriâ, & aliis montanis locis, non deſunt abietes, in quibus avis quædam rariſſima, capercalze, id eſt, ſylveſter equus, vulgò dicta, frequens ſedet, corvo illa quidem minor [The biſhop is greatly erroneous here in the ſize of his capercalze], quæ palatum dentium ſapore longè gratiſſimo—delinit. Victitat ex ſolis abietis extremis flagellis. *Alia*

Rome,

Rome, in the reign of Vespasian, were supplied with geese even from Picardy and Flanders, and the flocks travelled all the way on foot thither; a much longer expedition for these birds than what has been so often admired among ourselves, their yearly journeys from Lincolnshire to London; and, when any of them tired, they were removed into the front, and so pushed on by the advance of those behind [c]. And the Cheneros of Britain, most probably the Goosander of the present day, was particularly esteemed by the Romans as a dainty, and preferred by them for the table to most of the animals in the island [c].

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L. 4 thus—Shores. And, when any object has been employed in the ministeries of religion, it has naturally such an odour of sanctity thrown over it, as must prevent it from being used in the common offices of life. Thus the hare, being made use of by the Britons in that curious inquisition into futurity which has always made a part of every, merely human, religion, was therefore interdicted the table. Thus also the goose and hen, which were equally interdicted the Britons, in all probability therefore were equally employed in augury among them. And their abstinence from fish seems to have resulted from the same principle. They exalted their rivers into divinities, and made the turbulent ocean around them an object of adoration. And some remains of the

avis est etiam in his regionibus numerosa, *superiore minor, bursulis pedibus, palpebris rubricantibus*; nostri *gallum tessuorum* dicunt. *Est et alia* nusquam nisi in tesquis victitans, fasiano illa quidem minor, sed colore, atque partim sapore, haud dissimilis; nostri *nigrum tassorum gallum* appellant. This last is the black grouse of our mountainous heaths in the north of England, though mentioned in Birt's Letters as peculiar to the Highlands.

[c] Pliny lib. x. c. 22.—Anserini generis (says Pliny) sunt chenalopeces, et, quibus lautiores epulas non novit Britannia, Chenerotes, fero ansere minores. The Cheneros was not the wild-goose, being expressly distinguished from it. And yet it was of the goose kind. It was most probably the goosander, which corresponds exactly with the only mark in this description, in being less than a wild goose. It is generally about four pounds in weight, while that is seven. And it is, what none of the kind are besides, of a beautiful aspect. The rest would repel, while this would provoke, the appetite of luxury or hunger. The head and upper part of the neck are of a shining green, the body is variegated with white and black, and the feet are a fine red. It is found in Lincolnshire &c.

worship

worſhip of both have continued to the preſent times, in the practices which the Scotch have preſerved among their ſequeſtered mountains and iſlands. The Highlanders to this day talk with great reſpect of the genius of the ſea; will not bathe in a fountain, leſt the elegant ſpirit that reſides in it ſhould be offended and remove; and never mention the water of rivers without prefixing to it the appellation of Excellent[d]. And in one of the weſtern iſlands the inhabitants retained the cuſtom to the cloſe of the laſt century, of making an annual ſacrifice to the genius of the ocean. A quantity of ale having been prepared by a general contribution againſt All-Saints day, and the whole body of the iſlanders being aſſembled on the ſhore, the occaſional prieſt of the feſtival walked up to his middle in the ſea, bearing a full cup in his hand; invoked the deity by the title of Shony or Water, ſupplicated his kindneſs towards them, and poured the liquor in libation to the god. And then they all concluded the anniverſary with feaſting, dances, and ſongs[e]. This was the reaſon probably, why the Britons never fed upon fiſh. The ſame inventive ſpirit of religion, which ſtamped divinity upon rivers and the ocean, which offered a ſacrifice to the ſea, and feared to offend the elegant genius of a fountain by bathing in it, would, in the full height of the ſuperſtitition, naturally conſider the ſcaly inhabitants of the ſea and rivers as the little naiads of both, and as ſharing a part of their divinity with them. And in the interiour parts of the Highlands, where original cuſtoms are preſerved the longeſt, and the lower ranks of people ſubſiſt only on a little oatmeal, milk, and blood drawn from their living cattle and boiled into cakes; even in ſuch circumſtances of diſtreſs for the neceſſary proviſion of life, the fiſhes of their brooks

[d] Mr. Macpherſon's Introduction to the Hiſt. of Great Britain and Ireland p. 163—164.

[e] Harris's W. Iſlands, Ed. 2, p. 28—29.—And Shony is the ſame word as makes the Britiſh names of ſome rivers in theſe iſlands and on the continent, the Sena or Shann-on of Ireland, the Seine of France, the Senney of Brecknockſhire, and the Seny of Leiceſterſhire, which all ſignify only Water.

and

and lakes are ſeldom or never eaten by the natives to this day[f]. —But theſe were now laid open to the ravages of hunger and luxury among the provincials.

L. 28—29 thus—The ſame places, as thoſe of Folkſtone at preſent, which Mr. Twyne about two centuries ago commended above all the reſt in the iſland, and therefore reaſonably argued to be the genuine favourites of the antients[g].

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L. 6 thus—The peacock was probably brought into Europe from the Eaſt-Indies, where it is univerſally common; but muſt have been introduced in ſome very early period of time, ſince even Pliny ſpeaks of it only as an European. And it was a diſh &c.

L. 19 thus—Brought into the iſland by the Romans. Here it is not conſidered as a bird for the table, but has been eaten by a few curious adventurers in feaſting, and is ſaid to be a delicate diſh. And the Italians retain the fondneſs of their anceſtors for it to this day. The domeſtick &c.

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L. 1—7 thus—And a ſmaller breed of them, the ſame that are denominated the Grey-Mooſes or Wampooſes in America, actually continued in Ireland to the twelfth century: being deſcribed by an author, the cotemporary of Henry the Second, among the wild beaſts of the iſland; as ſtags little calculated for

[f] Birt's Letters vol. II. p. 121.—Mr. Macpherſon, with his uſual unhappineſs of argumentation, contends in p. 163—164 againſt the notion of the Britons worſhipping rivers and the ſea, in direct oppoſition even to his own evidence, and in full contradiction to the cuſtom of the weſtern iſlanders and the teſtimony of Gildas. I mention not, by the latter, montes ipſos, aut colles, aut *fluvios*—, quibus divinus honor a cæco tunc populo cumulabatur (&c.)—Mr. Macpherſon alſo informs us in p. 163, that the Highlanders ſpeak with great reſpect of the Spirit of the Mountain. But he argues, notwithſtanding, that the Britons never worſhipped mountains; though the Highland practice plainly ſhews that they did, and though Gildas here expreſsly aſſures us of the fact: *montes* ipſos, aut *colles*, quibus divinus honor—cumulabatur. And, if there were any wild beaſts that could be ſaid to be the peculiar and appropriate inhabitants of mountains, as fiſhes are of the ſea and rivers, the Britiſh abſtinence muſt have naturally extended to thoſe as theſe.

[g] Lambard's Kent, 1596, p. 170.

flight

flight becauſe of their extreme bulkineſs, rather ſhort in the body, but greatly ſuperiour to all others in the largeneſs of their heads and dignity of their antlers. The large black mooſe would naturally be the firſt deſtroyed. And the ſmaller would continue the longeſt, becauſe it could ſhelter itſelf the beſt.

Both, however, were only &c.

L. 14—17 thus—The Iriſh wolf-dog. Ireland, ſays an author who wrote two centuries ago, is not without wolves, or greyhounds to hunt them, that are bigger of bone and limb than a colt. Scotland, ſays another of the ſame period, in the firſt claſs of her hounds ranks a breed which is ſuperiour to a yearling bull-calf in ſize, and uſed equally in hunting the ſtag and the wolf[h]. And the buck-hound of the Britons, like the dog of Ireland, was grey-coloured, long-bodied, and well-ſcented, active enough to run down and ſtrong enough to maſter a Britiſh ſtag. Both are therefore the ſame with that Iriſh greyhound, for which particular court was made by a Spaniſh nobleman to Henry VIII, and a privy ſeal iſſued to the lord deputy and council of Ireland; and which was even ſollicited as the moſt acceptable of all preſents by the great Mogul in 1617. And all are the ſame with that old greyhound of the Highlands, which is now become as rare among them, as the other is in Ireland, but was formerly in great repute for the magnificent ſtag-hunts of the chiefs; being very ſwift, bold, and large, very ſtrong and deep-cheſted, and covered with very long and rough hair[i].

But entirely different &c.

[h] Stanyhurſt's Deſc. of Ireland in Hollingſhead's Chron. p. 19, and Leſlæi Hiſt. p. 13.—[i] Oſſian p. 4 and 81, vol. I, and p. 11 vol II; Pennant's Tour in Scotland p. 127 and 275; and Harris's Ware p. 166—167.—This dog was once common to the whole iſland aſſuredly, and ſeems from the following paſſage to have been ſo within theſe two or three centuries. "The fifth" (ſays Harriſon, enumerating our dogs) "is a *greyhound* cheriſhed for its *ſtrength*, "ſwiftneſs, and *ſtature*, commended by Bratius in his De Venatione, and not unremembered "by Hercules Stroza in a like treatiſe, but above all others of Britain, where he ſaith, Et "*magnæ ſpectandi mole* Britanni." See D. of B. in Hollingſhead p. 230, 1586.

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L. 17—19 thus—The wolf, which in ſome reſpects ſeems nothing more than a ſavager ſpecies of dogs, is therefore denominated Madre Allaidh, or the wild hound by the Iriſh to the preſent day, and was actually employed as a dog for hunting by the original inhabitants of North-America. This animal is well known to &c.

L. 27—35 thus—The common cattle of the iſland, I ſuppoſe, muſt often have run wild along our heaths and foreſts; as the kine of Europe range freely in herds at preſent along the levels of Patagonia. And the wild cows and bulls of the country continued very frequent among us in the fourth century, and even for ſeveral ages afterward. Theſe were merely of the uſual ſize, but all milk-white in their appearance, all furniſhed with thick hanging manes &c.

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L. 31—34 thus—This alſo explains that conſiderable difficulty in natural hiſtory, which is ſcarcely explainable on any other principle, the tranſportation of ſavage beaſts from the continent into diſtant iſlands [k].

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L. 12—14 thus—Romans; and thoſe of the bull and bear are the great diverſions of our dogs and populace at preſent. In ſome very antient conſtitutions of the Welſh it is expreſsly declared, that, of the nine ſorts of wild beaſts which were hunted, only three of them were baitable, and that the bear was one [l]. And, as I have lately ſhewn, Norwich was obliged by the Saxons to furniſh even the king with one bear annually, and ſix dogs for

* In the Genuine Hiſtory of the Britons Aſſerted, I have hinted at another ſuppoſition. And the reader may decide betwixt them. The Gauls about Calais, as I have obſerved, being accuſtomed to ſee this iſland daily from their own ſhores, "ſoon paſſed over in all pro-"bability from more motives of curioſity,—*perhaps ſtocked ſome of the nearer woods with wild* "*beaſts for hunting*, and ages afterward ſettled &c." p. 99.

[l] Ray's Synopſis Method. Quadr., 1693, p. 214.

baiting it. For theſe exhibitions edifices were conſtructed at Rome, of ſquared ſtone &c.

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L. 21—26 thus—And in this ſtate hawking remained, the favourite recreation of our gentlemen for many ages; and the predominant ſpirit of incloſing, and the fabrication of light fowling-pieces, have not yet baniſhed it entirely from the kingdom. Driven from the ſouth, and practiſed, I believe, in no one part of England at preſent, it has taken refuge in Scotland, and is ſtill kept up by the gentlemen of the Highlands [n].

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L. 3—4 thus—Roman-Britiſh remains among us. The Britons and Romans may even ſeem, perhaps to have particularly cultivated this diverſion, and to have formed a remarkable ſpecies of harriers for the purpoſe. And the race remains at Manchester to the preſent moment.—When the great hound was loſt there many centuries ago, the name and the breed would ſoon be forgotten together. And, on its re-appearance from the ſouth, the ſeeming ſtranger aſſumed the denomination of the ſouthern hound. But it had probably been coupled with the common harrier before it was deſtroyed among us, and had left its progeny in the preſent beagle behind it. And the fact perhaps happened about the Roman period. As the mooſe-deer became gradually rarer, and was at laſt exterminated in our woods, the mooſe-dog would be found more and more uſeleſs in its original dimenſions and ſtrength. And, the hare becoming a principal object in hunting, the ſtrain would naturally be croſſed with the harrier, to reduce its ſize, augment its ſpeed, and yet preſerve its form and note. Hence aroſe probably the generation of our Mancheſter beagles, the exact miniatures (as I have formerly obſerved) of our large hounds. And when this had been done, when the only peculiarities of the dog, that were now of any moment in the eſtimate of a mere hunter, had been happily

[n] Birt's Letters on the Highlanders v. II. p. 299, and Pennant's Tour p. 127.

transferred

transferred to another, it would be thrown aſide, ſuffered to mingle caſually with every ſpecies, and ſo be gradually diffuſed and loſt. But it would naturally keep the ſame appellation in its diminiſhed ſtate, that it had borne before. And, when the parent breed became extinct, the new one would enjoy the denomination without a rival. Hence our Mancheſter beagles retain to this day the familiar and appropriate title of the Kibble-hounds; one equally confined as the race, and totally unknown among us as to its etymology or import. But the appellation is purely Britiſh, tranſmitted to us from our Britiſh anceſtors, and remaining at preſent in the language of Ireland. The terms Cuib and Gibne are both of them uſed by the Iriſh for their grey-hound, and are evidently the ſame with our Kibble; as we have Kurak in Iriſh and Korug and Kurugl in Welſh for a Coracle, Kryd and Dyſgl in the latter for a cradle and a diſh, and Greid-eal in the former for a grid-iron. And the name, which is thus applied in Ireland and at Mancheſter to two ſuch different kinds of dogs as the beagle and the greyhound, properly ſignifies only a hound in general. Thus does the remarkable mooſe-dog of the Britons, appear to have been diſtinguiſhed among them by the peculiar denomination of the Kibble. And the Man-cheſter beagles preſerve to this moment the primary appellation that was given to the Mancheſter hounds. The latter were a new colony introduced into the pariſh from the ſouth, and ſome time after the extinction of its original number. And the for-mer are therefore more diſperſed over the neighbouring country than they, and not marked, like them, with titles expreſſive of their derivation from Mancheſter.

The Spaniards uſed originally to diſlodge the rabbets from their holes, with wild African cats that had their mouths muzzled; but afterwards employed the ferret in the ſport. And, when the Romans introduced the rabbet into Italy and Britain, they brought in the ſame cuſtom of attacking it with ferrets[n].

[n] Strabo, p. 214, and Pliny lib. viii. c. 55.

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L. 16—17 Note [m] thus—Boetii Scot. Reg. Desc. fol. 6. and Leslæi Hist. p. 18. And hence is the popular story of the fierce wild cow of Dunsmore in Warwickshire, slain by Guy earl of Warwick.

L. 20—22 thus—P. 977. Gale's Scriptores from Doomsday.—In Ray's Synopsis Method. Quadr., 1693, Mr. Lhuyd acquaints us, that in some antient laws and customs of the Welsh, now preserved in MS. among them, there was one among other maxims of hunting, summam seu præcipuæ æstimationis ferinam esse *uri*, leporis, & apri; p. 214. And bears appear in Normandy and Scotland nearly to the conquest of England: see Gemeticensis p. 667. Camden, and Pennant's Tour p. 169.

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L. 13—22 thus—A range of meadows upon it.

Thus was the parish of Manchester overspread at this period with woods. And no parts of it seem to have been free from the trees, but the cultivated area and the mosses.

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At the end of the notes is this additional paragraph.

To take off the seeming strangeness, which the notices in this section concerning the Lancashire mosses may carry to some of my readers, it may be proper to observe, That the same causes have operated in a still more extraordinary manner, where their instruments have been greater and their scope of action larger. Where the former have not been merely brooks, or the latter confined to small valleys; but when rivers have concurred in the production, and the scene of operation has been the levels of our eastern coast; the effect has been much more astonishing, than any which I have here recorded. On deepening Wisbech river in 1635, at eight feet below the channel the workmen came to another, and found no less than seven boats in different parts of it. And, at Salters Lode, the adventitious earth was observed about 1660 to be ten feet deep, over a firm moorish soil of three

in

in thickneſs; to be ſucceeded by a bluiſh ſoft of earth, which was judged to be original ſilt, and by another layer of mooriſh ſoil below it, as thick as the former, but much firmer and clearer; and to be followed by a whitiſh clay, which appeared to be the natural ground. But, in digging through the moor at Whittleſea about the ſame time, at the depth of eight feet was found a perfect mold, and ſwaths of graſs lay as they were mowed upon it. And, at Skyrbeck ſluice near Boſton, the labourers ſunk ſixteen feet, and then diſcovered even a ſmith's forge, furniſhed with all the requiſite tools, horſeſhoes, and other implements of iron. See Dugdale's Hiſt. of Embanking, 1662, p. 178, &c.

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L. 11—15 thus—By the Romans. This, however, would naturally be confined to the chiefs. And in thoſe northern parts of England, and even in our neighbouring county of Cheſter, as late as the commencement of the laſt century, the common people had their fire in the midſt of the houſe, and no chimney above to diſcharge the ſmoke[o].

The covering of edifices in the north &c.

L. 25—27 thus—Theſe were equally ſo amongſt ourſelves in former ages, and continued even in Edinborough beyond the beginning, and in moſt parts of Cheſhire below the middle, of the laſt century[p].

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L. 17—18 thus—The windows ſeem generally to have been &c.

L. 32—33 thus—And that tranſparent foſſil, Lapis Specularis or Iſing-glaſs ſtone, which &c.

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L. 7—14 thus—Preſent moment.

One or more wells would &c.

[o] See King's Vale Royal part I. p. 19.

[p] King's Vale Royal ibid. and Maitland's Edinborough, 1753, p. 62.

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P. 363.

L. 25 thus—Scotland. Nor was this all. Medicinal botany, originally the only branch of medicine, was even engrafted upon the ſtock of the Celtick religion; and the druids of the Gauls and Britons were at once their phyſicians and prieſts [q]. And the magick rites, which were practiſed with ſuch a wild ſolemnity in our own iſland at this period, were merely the mixt effuſions of medicine and ſuperſtition, each acting upon the other, and both heightening the whole. Magick, as Pliny has juſtly obſerved [r], was nothing more in its origin than the daughter of Medicine; calling out the ſecret powers of nature in the vegetable creation, and yet concealing their agency under the mantle of religion. And we have three or four plants pointed out to us by the antients, that were peculiarly the favourites of the druids. One was what they denominated the Samol, and which has been very differently interpreted, as the botanical mind had no ſtandard of determination; but was probably, as the L and the R are frequently interchanged, the Seamar or wild Trefoil, to which the Iriſh Britons pay a particular attention at preſent, wearing it in their hats on St. Patrick's day under the diminutive appellation of Seamrog. This was eſteemed an excellent remedy for all the diſeaſes of their droves and herds, if it was bruiſed, and then mingled with the water that the cattle drank. But, when it was gathered in the ſwamps where it grew, it was conſtantly plucked by the left hand alone; and the ſimpler was faſting, never looked back while he gathered it, and depoſited it no-where till he put it into the watering-troughs [s]. Another was Vervain, by which the druids pretended to predict future events, and from which they really extracted an unguent, that (beſides its power to conciliate friendſhips and procure the accompliſhment of every wiſh) was thought to be efficacious in preventing fevers and curing every other diſeaſe. And it was

[q] Pliny lib. 30. c. 1, Druidas,— hoc genus vatum medicorumque.

[r] Ibid.

[s] L. xxiv. c. 11.

gathered

gathered about the commencement of dog-days and in a moonleſs night; the leaves, the ſtem, and the root were dried ſeparately and in the ſhade; and an infuſion of it in wine was preſcribed for the bite of a ſerpent[t]. The Selago alſo, a kind of Savin, was eſteemed a preſervative againſt every calamity, and the ſmoke of it beneficial for any complaints in the eyes[u]. And the Miſletoe of the oak, which was then as rarely found upon that tree as it is at preſent, naturally became therefore a peculiar object of regard in a botanical ſyſtem of religion; was thought, when it was taken in a draught, to give fruitfulneſs to barren animals, and to be an uſeful antidote to poiſons; and was called by a Celtick appellation, that ſhews it to have been conſidered as an univerſal medicine[x]. Thus, out of four preſcriptions that have been communicated to us from the Celtick pharmacy, the ſamol was thought a remedy for all the diſeaſes in hogs and kine, the vervain was a cure for every diſorder in man, and the miſletoe was denominated the All-healing plant. And, in theſe firſt ſtages of her progreſs, Medicine would naturally be ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at the virtues which diſcloſed themſelves in plants; and, by the influence of her aſſociates, Credulity and Superſtition, be ſtrongly tempted to carry her faith into extravagance, and attribute infallibility and univerſality to almoſt every remedy. Thus the vulgar mind, we ſee at preſent, is ready to receive every medicine that is obtruded upon it by the hand of quackery; as equally applicable in all the ſtages of a diſorder, and certainly ſucceſsful in all its operations. The miſletoe of the oak is to this day conſidered as a curioſity by our naturaliſts, and within a century and a half was reputed very medicinal by our phyſicians, and compoſed a regular part of the Materia Medica of our ſhops[x]. And the many preſcriptions which remain traditional all over the kingdom, that either work as amulets on the fancy in agues and the like diſorders, or apply the powers of plants to the bodies in diſeaſes of a more fixed and inveterate nature, and are generally the only medicines of

[t] L. xxv. c. 9.—[u] L. xvi. c. 11.—[x] L. xvi. c. 44. and Selden on Polyolbion. p. 153.

our

our peasants at any distance from Manchester, have been mostly derived, I apprehend, like those of the Highlanders mentioned above, from the botanical and medical notices of the Britons.

L. 32 and note 6 thus—Brick is Brike, plural Bricion, in Irish.—Mr. Macpherson, in p. 222. of his Introduction, affirms the Britons to have had bricks, on the pretended authority of Herodian lib. vii. But in this, as in five hundred passages besides, he has adopted that strange mode of seasoning which has been used by so many of our historical writers, of applying to the Britons every trait of character which occurs concerning the Germans, without attempting to prove them of the same blood and in the same circumstances, and when both were very different.

P. 364.

L. 11—16 thus—Window is yet provincially denominated Windor in Lancashire &c., or the passage for air; as that for people was peculiarly called The Door. And the word is Welsh, Uynt Dor signifying the passage for the wind.

P. 365.

L. 1—7 thus—The primitive Britons are charged by two of the most respectable historians among the Romans, with the gross barbarisms of a community of wives, incestuous loves, and unnatural mixtures. And the accusation is too surely as just, as it is scandalous. A community of wives was the principal crime; and the incestuous and unnatural cohabitations were merely the result of that. The Britons formed themselves into a strange sort of matrimonial clubs, which generally comprehended ten or twelve families; and each husband had free access to each wife in it. And, as these associations would most naturally consist of the nearest relatives, brothers carried on an intercourse with their sisters-in-law, and daughters-in-law became the concubines of their fathers.

L. 24—26 thus—Incorporated into the society. And an &c.

L. 20 thus—Husband Cairbar. And some of the wilder Irish retained the custom, in part, within these two or three centuries[y]. The whole &c.

P. 368.

L. 6—17 thus—Heroes. And they have been preserved in many families of the Highlanders, nearly to the present period. Nor is the practice yet forgotten in Wales. The lower women among the Welsh frequently gird themselves in their pregnancy, to this day, with the cast slough of a snake as a charm.

The mode of interment &c.

P. 369.

L. 18 thus—The body of the king in it. Even the century after Vortigern, a person dying in the presence of the celebrated saint, Columba, and in the isle of Sky, it is expressly related that he was buried in this manner; Socii congesto lapidum acervo sepelierunt[z]. And the practice is retained in part among all the remains of the provincial and extra-provincial Britons to this day. When a wretch dies by the act of suicide in Ireland, and is buried, as in England, at the intersection of two highways; or when the greatest of criminals suffer the sentence of the law either in Ireland, Wales, or Scotland, and are interred under the gallows; the passengers for some time afterwards have a custom of throwing stones upon their graves, till they have raised a considerable heap over them. And a proverbial sort of curse prevails both in Wales and Ireland, of wishing an enemy what Hector wishes to Paris, to have a Cairn over him, or (in the language of Homer[a]) to be clad in a coat of stone[b]. But the original custom is still more perfectly preserved in Scotland. If a person there suddenly falls down dead, or loses his life by any accident in his journey, whether the fact happens on a road or in the field, a rude heap

[y] Stanyhurst's Des. of Ireland in Hollingshead, p. 45.

[z] Adamnan's life of Columba lib. I. c. 33. in Colgan's Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ, vol. II. p. 345.

[a] Λαινον εσσαρ χιτωνα κακων ενεχ' οσσα εοργας. Iliad. lib. iii.

[b] Ware, Harris, p. 142, and Mona p. 214.

of ſtones is immediately thrown together upon the ſpot by the firſt who diſcovers the corps; and the common people contribute to increaſe the pile, by adding each of them a ſtone to it. And there are ſome perſons ſo religiouſly ſcrupulous in this reſpect, that they will turn out of their way for a quarter of a mile, in order to fetch a ſtone for the purpoſe; as the neglect, they apprehend, will be puniſhed by ſome ſubſequent misfortune to them [c].

In theſe barrows &c.

P. 300.

L. 6—7 thus—Third century.

Thus formed, theſe barrows have been generally preſerved inviolate to our own times, by the reverentialneſs which the religious principles of the Britons beſtowed upon them. And of this we have very lively traces remaining among the Highlanders at preſent. They are firmly perſuaded to this moment, that if a dead body ſhall be known to lie unburied, or to be removed from its ſepulcher either by malice or accident, and immediate care is not taken for the interment of it; ſtorms and tempeſts will ariſe to deſtroy their corn, overturn their cabins, and carry deſolation through their country [d]. And the late conſtruction of the military roads in Scotland afforded a remarkable proof of the notion. As the way which runs from Crief northward was carried on through Glenalmond, an enormous ſtone was removed that croſſed the intended line of it, and a Britiſh ſepulcher found below, containing aſhes, fragments of bones, and half-burnt ſtalks of heath. And, as ſoon as it was known to the Highlanders of the country, they aſſembled in arms even from diſtant parts of it, and formed themſelves in a body; carefully collected the relicks, marched with them in a ſolemn proceſſion to a new place of burial, and there paid the military honours to the deceaſed by diſcharging their muſquets over his grave [e].

[c] Birt's Letters vol. II. p. 102—103, and Gent. Mag. May 1752.
[d] Birt's Letters vol. II. p. 301.
[e] Ibid. p. 299—300.

L. 9—12.

L. 9—11 thus—Mr. Rowland, Mr. Carte, and Dr. Macpherson (and from them Dr. Henry in his Hist. of G. Britain vol. I. 1771, p. 445) have endeavoured to vindicate the Britons, Mona p. 246, History p. 71, and Crit. Diss. p. 140; and all equally in vain. Their argument is, That, all the members of a family sleeping (as I have shewed before) in one apartment together, they were therefore supposed by foreigners to have a promiscuous copulation. But, to make the apology correspondent to the charge, it should have been shewn, not merely that one family, but that ten or twelve, thus slept together.

P. 372—373.

L. 33 of p. 372 to L. 8 of p. 373 thus—In the one and of Agricola in the other. And the Cornish, Welsh, Scotch, and Irish &c.

P. 373.

L. 11—19 thus—To the Italian. And the long settlement of the Italians in Britain as naturally made a free opening for their language. The latter became nearly as familiar to the ears, as the former to the eyes, of the Britons. And the language seems to have been generally spoken by the gentlemen after the coming of the Romans, and even to have been understood by many before it. Hence, in that period during which Strabo informs us that the Romans became well acquainted with the island, though they had not yet formed a settlement within it, and in which we know the Britons to have introduced a mint from the Gallick continent, we see so many of their current coins bearing Roman inscriptions [f]. And hence we find the epitaphs of the British monarchs, even after the departure of the Romans, all uniformly written in the language of Italy. Such is Pabo's, such is Eneon's, and such Cadvan's, all three in the isle of Anglesey only. Hence also, which is very remarkable, the parental appellations among our superiour ranks at present are purely

[f] Strabo p. 306, and ch. ix. s. 1. before.

Roman, while thoſe among the vulgar are abſolutely Britiſh [a]. And, though the Italian could never have &c.

P. 374.

L. 2—6 thus—Arms. And, when Oſtorius took poſſeſſion of his government here, he diſarmed even ſuch of the allies as he ſuſpected of hoſtile deſigns. But, on the peaceable &c.

L. 26—28 thus—Romans, and raiſed in rotation among the ſubjects by the monarchs.

When it was requiſite for the Britons to call out their warriours into the field, they uſed a method that was particularly marked by its expeditiouſneſs and deciſiveneſs, and remains partially among us to this moment. They raiſed a cry, which was immediately caught up by others, and in an inſtant tranſmitted from mouth to mouth through all the region. And, as the notice paſſed along, the warriours ſnatched their arms, and hurried away to the rendezvous. We have a remarkable deſcription of the fact in Cæſar, and there ſee the alarm propagated in ſixteen or ſeventeen hours through 160 miles in a line. Ubi major atque illuſtrior incidit res, ſays he, clamore per agros regioneſque ſignificant; hunc alii deinceps excipiunt, et proximis tradunt: ut tunc accidit; nam quæ oriente ſole Genabi geſta eſſent, the inſurrection of the Carnutes and the maſſacre of the Romans, ante primam confectam vigiliam in finibus Arvernorum audita ſunt; quod ſpatium eſt millium paſſuum circiter 160 [b]. And the ſame practice has been retained by the Highlanders to our own time. When the lord of a clan received intelligence of an enemy's approach, he immediately killed a goat with his own ſword, dipped the end of a half-burnt ſtick in the blood, and then gave it and the notice of the rendezvous to be carried to the next hamlet. The former ſymbolically threatened

[a] The Tat or Dad of the vulgar are Britiſh for a father, as Mam is for a mother. And the Tata, Papa, and Mama of genteeler life are all Roman.

[b] Cæſar, p. 135.

fire

fire and ſword to all his followers, that did not inſtantly repair to the latter. The notice was diſpatched from hamlet to hamlet with the utmoſt expedition. And in three hours the whole clan was in arms, and aſſembled at the place appointed [j]. This was within theſe few years the ordinary mode, by which the chieftains aſſembled their followers for war. The firſt perſon that received the notice ſet out with it at full ſpeed, delivered it to the next that he met, who inſtantly ſet out on the ſame ſpeed, and handed it to a third. And, in the late rebellion of 1745, it was ſent by an unknown hand through the region of Braidalbin; and, flying as expeditiouſly as the Gallick ſignal in Cæſar, traverſed a tract of thirty-two miles in three hours [k]. This quick method of giving a diffuſive alarm is even preſerved among ourſelves to the preſent day, but is applied, as it ſeems from Cæſar's account above to have been equally applied among the Celtæ, to the better purpoſes of civil polity. The huteſium and clamor of our laws, and the hue and cry of our own times, is a well-known and powerful proceſs for ſpreading the notice and continuing the purſuit of any fugitive felons. The cry, like the clamour of the Gauls of the ſummons of the Highlanders, is taken from town to town and from county to county. And a chain of communication is ſpeedily carried from one end of the kingdom to the other.

Thus raiſed, each corps would march to the place &c.

P. 375.

L. 1—2 thus—Such was, in fact, the uſual diſpoſition of the Britiſh forces. And every principle of policy and honour concurred to bind the followers cloſely to their chief. The ſtrong attachment of the Highland clans to their lairds is well known. And we ſee exactly the ſame vigorous and implicit fidelity profeſſed and practiſed among the Gauls and Britons. When Litavicus was detected in his deſign of cauſing a defection

[j] Oſſian vol. I. p. 160, a note.

[k] Birt's Letters vol. II. p. 227, and Pennant's Tour p. 164.

among

among the Ædui, ſays Cæſar, he fled to Gergovia, and was attended by all his retainers; as, according to the Gallick cuſtoms, it was criminal for them to deſert their lords in the greateſt extremity of diſtreſs; quibus [clientelis] nefas more Gallorum eſt, etiam in extremâ fortunâ deſerere patronos[l]. This is evidently as ſtriking a picture, as could be drawn even by a modern hand, of a Highland clan. And two claſs of Britons in theſe north-weſtern parts of England, that in the ſixth century broke out into rebellion with their chiefs, againſt a king equally religious and generous, and for ſo ridiculous an object as a couple of dogs and a lark's neſt, were highly extolled at the time, and are greatly celebrated by a Welſh author of the tenth century, for their exemplary loyalty to their lords. One of them obſtinately continued in rebellion after their chieftain was defeated and ſlain, and maintained a ſeries of daily engagements for no leſs than ſix weeks together, in order to revenge his death; and the other, after the defeat, attended their lord in his flight, accompanied him even into Ireland, and there devoted themſelves to a perpetual exile with him. And they have therefore been tranſmitted with applauſe to poſterity by their cotemporaries, and the Welſh author above, and diſtinguiſhed by the higheſt and moſt honourable appellation that either of them thought they could give, that of The two loyal clans of Britain[m].

Theſe forces &c.

P. 376.

L. 14—15. thus — Armies afterwards, the diſpoſition that was uſed among the latter. Thus in 556, more than 100 years after the departure of the Romans from the iſland, and at the fight of Beranbury againſt the Saxons, the Britons ranged their numerous army in nine diviſions, three forming the front-line, three the rear-guard, and three the center; and the archers,

[l] Cæſar p. 155.

[m] Carte vol. I. p. 211.

ſpearmen,

ſpearmen, and cavalry were drawn up in the Roman order of battle; viris ſagittariis et telorum jaculatoribus equitibuſque *jure Romanorum* diſpoſitis. And, even thirty-five years afterwards, the Britons poſted their troops, like the Romans, in diſtinct diviſions, *more Romanorum* acies diſtinctè admoverent; while the Saxons ruſhed upon them, as at the former engagement, in one cloſe and confuſed column.

P. 37.

P. 377.

CHAP. XI.

THE MANUFACTURES ESTABLISHED IN BRITAIN BEFORE AND AFTER THE SETTLEMENT OF THE ROMANS — THE FOREIGN AND INLAND COMMERCE OF THE BRITONS — THE STATE OF RELIGION AMONG THEM — AND THE ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT BROUGHT IN BY CHRISTIANITY.

I.

WHEN guilt had introduced the principle of ſhame into the mind, and made a covering requiſite to the decencies of the body; when vengeance had charged the ſeaſons with inclemency and armed the elements with unkindneſs againſt the votary of ſin, and an artificial warmth became neceſſary to the health of his frame; the ſkins of beaſts would naturally be the firſt cloathing of man. The flocks and herds about him preſented their wooly or hairy garments to his hand. And the Moſaical records demonſtrate him to have uſed them. This ſpecies of cloathing continued regularly among the deſcendants of Adam, for a long ſucceſſion of ages. And our own Britons, in particular, retained it to the days of Cæſar; and even ſome of them, the inhabitants of an iſle on the weſtern coaſt of the Highlands, very nearly to the preſent times [a]. But it was &c.

[a] Martin's St. Kilda p. 109, 1698.

P. 378.

P. 378.

L. 28—30 thus—Actually ſpread, over the whole face of the iſland. The Highlanders were in the third century, and are to this day, poſſeſſed of a manufacture of plaiding; and the ſtriped mantles which are made of it, they denominate Breacan. And the Welſh had equally a manufacture in the twelfth; and the coarſe rough cloth, which they fabricated, was popularly known among them by the ſimilar appellation of Brychan [b]. Such was the introduction of a woolen manufacture into Lancaſhire, &c.

P. 380.

L. 22—26 thus—And the Caledonians retained theſe primitive ropes in the third century. The nations to the north of the Baltick had them in the ninth or tenth. And the inhabitants of the weſtern iſles of Scotland make uſe of them at preſent; cutting the ſkin of a ſeal, or the raw and ſalted hide of a cow, into long pieces, and faſtening the plough to their horſes with them; or even twiſting them into ſtrong ropes of 20 or 30 fathoms in length [c]. But theſe, in the ſouth of our iſland and on the continent, were early ſuperſeded by the application of iron chains to this purpoſe. The very maritime and commercial nation of the Veneti, that was ſo intimately connected with the Belgæ of Britain, had iron chains for its cables in the days of Cæſar [d]. And the aſtoniſhing temple of Stonehenge, which lies in the dominions of the Belgæ, and was plainly the work of their improved architecture, could not have been conſtructed without the aſſiſtance of chains. But, in the more diſtant and refined countries of the ſouth, both thongs and theſe had long given way to the uſe of vegetable threads, &c.

[b] For the Highlanders ſee Birt's Letters v. II. p. 143, Martin's Weſtern Iſlands p. 57, and Crit. Diſſ. p. 166; and for the Welſh ſee Giraldus p. 888.

[c] Martin's Weſtern Iſlands p. 65, and Macaulay's St. Kilda, 1764, p. 132.

[d] Cæſar p. 55, Strabo p. 297, and Sect. 3.

P. 384.

L. 13 thus—Differt. p. 325. But this point has been more amply treated, ſince the firſt edition, in the Genuine Hiſtory of the Britons Aſſerted againſt Mr. Macpherſon, p. 178—181. And to both accounts let me add, That in the time of Columba, who lived in the ſixth century, we ſee a veſſel lined with leather, pelliceum tectum, navis penetrales, which went with oars and ſails, and had ſeveral mariners on board, ſcudding before a ſtorm, plenis velis, for fourteen days together, without foundering; carried on to the north beyond the track of any former navigators, ultra humani excurſûs modum; and yet, after all, ſafely gaining her port (Adamnan's Life of Columba, written in the eighth century, l. ii. c. 42. p. 362, in Colgan's Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ v. II).

P. 386.

L. 23—24 thus—Was diſcovered in St. Mary's, I think, which bore directly into the ſea, and pointed towards the ſhore of Cornwall; and even many of them were known to be well ſtored with the metal within theſe two centuries[e]. And the cargo &c.

P. 387.

L. 22—25 thus—Narbonne. And the Veneti of Gaul were the merchants, that reſorted to the iſle of Wight with their veſſels, that bartered with the Britons for their metal, and tranſmitted it acroſs the continent afterwards[f].

This iſle, which is now ſeparated from the remainder of Hampſhire by a channel little more than half a mile in breadth about the point of Hurſt-caſtle, was then a part of the &c.

[e] Harriſon's D. of E. prefixed to Hollingſhead, p. 34.
[f] Strabo p. 297. See alſo Cæſar p. 52 and Richard p. 4.

P. 390.

P. 390.

L. 15—16 thus—Europe, and of the ſilvery marle or chalk of Kent and Eſſex, which was ſhipped off for the marſhy countries on the Rhine [s]; bears &c.

P. 392.

L. 11 thus—P. 88.

It is Dr. Borlaſe, who has aſcribed this effect to an earthquake &c., and endeavoured to fix it at a very diſtant period. But, as I have here ſhewn the ravages of the ſea to have ariſen from certain gradual and progreſſive cauſes, ſo they ſeem not to have reduced the iſlands to any thing like their preſent ſtate, till theſe three or four centuries. "The violence of the ſea" (ſays Harriſon in his Deſcription of England, dated 1586) "hath "devoured the greateſt part of Cornewall and Devonſhire on "either ſide: and it doth appeere yet by good record, that "whereas now there is a great diſtance between the Syllan Iſles "and point of the land's end, there was of late yeares, to ſpeke "of, ſcarſelie a brooke or drain of one fadam water betweene "them, if ſo much, as by thoſe evidences appeereth, and are "yet to be ſeene in the hands of the lord and chiefe owner of "thoſe iſles" (Prefixed to Hollingſhead's Chron. p. 236, 1586). The diſtance here betwixt Cornwall and the Sylley iſles is certainly contracted too much. But the whole ſerves ſtrongly to ſhew the original diſtance between them to have continued a good while below the Conqueſt.

P. 395.

L. 1—2 thus—The elements, and the ocean; mountains, rivers, and rocks; imaginary intelligences, and departed ſpirits; would next &c.

[s] In Canſigeter de Brittenburgo, Hagæ Comitum, 1734, is this inſcription found in Zeeland, p. 14, Deæ Nehalenniæ ob merces rectè conſervatas Secundus Silvanus *Negotiator Cretarius Britannicianus* votum ſolvit lubens merito. It is alſo, with a little variation, in Reineſius p. 190 and Gale's Antoninus p. 43.

P. 396—397.

L. 35—36 of p. 396 to L. 1. p. 397. thus—Kingdom, concur to ſhew us. They contrived to raiſe the moſt enormous blocks of ſtone, a quarry almoſt in a ſingle pillar; and to balance them as it were upon air. And all this &c.

P. 399.

L. 20—29 thus—Mr. Macpherſon, in his wild efforts to vindicate his countrymen, in the Britons, from the charge of idolatry, has aſſerted them not to have worſhipped either the heavenly bodies, mountains, or rivers, the wind, or the ocean (Introduction p. 159—166). But that the Britons actually paid adoration to the ocean, to rivers, and to mountains, I have ſhewn deciſively before from Mr. Macpherſon's own facts, the recent practice of the Weſtern Iſlanders, and the expreſs atteſtation of Gildas (b. I. ch. x. ſ. 1). And we have as good proof of their adoring the others. It appears from Mr. Macpherſon himſelf, that his countrymen ſpeak to this day with as great reſpect of the ſpirit of the ſun and the ſtorm, as of the genius of the hill, the fountain, or the ſea (p. 163—164). And therefore it obviouſly follows, that they muſt have been equal worſhippers of all. Mr. Macpherſon alſo ſhews us in p. 162, and we had been ſhewn it before in Critical Diſſertations p. 314, that there is a large heath in Scotland betwixt Badenoch and Strathſpey, on which are many circles of ſtone, or Britiſh temples, and which is therefore denominated Slia-Grhannas or the plain of the ſun to this day. And, among the Roman-Britiſh remains in the ſouth of Scotland, we have an altar expreſsly inſcribed Apollini Grammo or to the Britiſh God of the ſun (Horſeley p. 206). In the Confeſſion of St. Patrick, which he wrote as an epiſtle to the Iriſh heathens, he calls them off from their idolatry to the ſun, by declaring the everlaſting puniſhment denounced againſt all who adore it (Ware, Harris, p. 122). And we ſee the monarch of Ireland, at the ſame period, ſwearing to the performance of a ſtipulation by two of the national divinities, the ſun and the wind (ibid).

P. 402.

P. 402.

L. 1—5 thus—Begun in the period of the apoſtles, and has remained ever ſince in all the Chriſtian nations of the world. No other made its appearance in the church till the year 1541. And no other obtains in it at this moment, except in a few ſocieties of Weſt-Europeans, that, compared with the great body of Epiſcopal Chriſtians over all the world, appear very inſignificant and trifling. This was particularly eſtabliſhed in Britain.

P. 495.

L. 16—21 thus—Lib. iii. c. 4.—But how vainly does Mr. Camden talk of a biſhop of Glouceſter in theſe days, p. 255; relying in this, as in his account of the Wallbrook and Flamen of London, p. 304—305, on Geoffrey or as redoubtable an authority.

The ſtory of king Lucius alſo, which has been ſo greatly canvaſſed by our hiſtorical criticks, is in all probability ſpurious. And the two coins &c.

P. 406.

CHAP. XII.

THE STATE OF THE ROMAN LÆGIONS IN BRITAIN BEFORE THE DEPARTURE OF THE ROMANS — THE GREAT REASONS OF THEIR DEPARTURE EXPLAINED — AND THE EXTENT OF THEIR EMPIRE, AND DISPOSITION OF THEIR FORCES, IN THE ISLAND AT IT.

I.

IN the two military municipies and the ſeven military colonies, which were planted by the Romans in the iſland, the lands aſſigned to the legionaries would regularly deſcend to their heirs. The very nature of ſuch aſſignments neceſſarily requires that they ſhould. And the continuance of the ſame legions in the ſame municipiſs and colonies for three or four centuries together, which was the caſe particularly with the ſixth, plainly proves that they did. Thus inherited, the lands were virtually military feuds in themſelves, and virtually enjoyed by military tenures from the emperor. And the male deſcendants of the original legionaries would be all equally legionaries by birth, at the military age would all engage by turns in the duties of the garriſon at home, and all by turns be draughted out for the occaſional ſervices of the iſland abroad.

P. 470.

L. 33 thus — Reſided the Attacotti in Lenox, equally omitted by Ptolemy, and equally ſubjected by him to the Damnii *; extending &c.

* He carries the Damnii from the Selgovæ on the ſouth-weſt to Victoria (or the Tay) on the north-eaſt, and from the Gadeni to the Epidii; giving them all the intermediate regions, that belonged to the Horeſtii, Attacotti, and Damnii Albani.

P. 412—413.

Laſt line of p. 412 to ſecond line of p. 413 thus — In Surry. And it was at this period &c.

P. 414.

L. 2—5 thus—Though, as king of the Caſſii, he lay at a diſtance from the ſouthern coaſts; the intimate acquaintance of the Romans with his name and capital, though with relation to them he was only an inland monarch; and the appellation &c.

P. 415.

L. 27—28 thus—Therefore denominated the Fir-Mæ-at or the Men of the Plains.

P. 417.

L. 34—35 thus—They were not a number of &c.

P. 421.

L. 22 thus—Oſſian p. 5, &c). See this, ſince the firſt edition of this work, more fully diſcuſſed in the Genuine Hiſt. of the Britons aſſerted, p. 225—260.—But ſince the firſt edition I have alſo obſerved, that Richard in p. 32 places all the Caledonians ultra Vararem, making this river by miſtake to flow to the weſt as well as the north of the Roman conqueſts. And this, I think, reconciles him with himſelf better than the ſuppoſition before. But let the reader judge. Either way there is a miſtake in him.—Ptolemy &c.

P. 423.

L. 8—10 thus—See Genuine Hiſt. of the Britons aſſerted, p. 136—137.—A. Marcellinus &c.

P. 427.

L. 15—16 thus—Celtæ by Strabo and Appian [b]. And they are equally aſſerted to be Gauls by Diodorus &c.

L. 31—32 thus—Cimbri. And, what is equally ſurprizing, and has been equally unnoticed by the criticks, the Welſh diſtinguiſh England by the name of Loegr or Liguria even to the preſent moment. In that irruption theſe Saxons, Ambrons, or Ligurians compoſed a body of more than thirty thouſand men, and were &c.

P. 430.

L. 21 thus—Down; and having the Logia or Lagan, which falls into Carrickfergus Bay, &c.

P. 432.

L. 6—7 thus—For their metropolis. And the latter was probably that city near Limerick, the ſite of which is ſtill famous, and retains the appellation of Cathair or the fortreſs; and where the remains of ſtreets, and other marks of a town, may yet be traced [c]. The Cangani &c.

P. 434.

L. 16—18 thus—Muſt equally (I apprehend) have poſſeſſed all Galloway weſt of the Dee, and have &c.

P. 437.

L. 9—10 thus—Iſland. And, ſo generally inhabited, it naturally received &c.

L. 19—20 thus—Diofna-Fael or Dyfn-Wall. The channel betwixt France and England is denominated by a writer of the eighth century only, Sinus Vallicus or the Gallick-ſtrait. And as the Dutch and Germans call the French by the name of

[b] Appian ſays, that all Italy was greatly afraid of the Celtæ, till the Romans under Marius defeated the Cimbri; p. 1169, Amſtel. 1670.

[c] O'Halloran's Introduct. to the Hiſt. and Ant. of Ireland, p. 37.

Walls

Walls and Walloons to this day, ſo the Saxon Chronicle ſpeaks of the Britons by the title of the Brit-walas or Brit-walana [d]. The denomination &c.

P. 430

L. 10—15 thus—Britons. Thus the appellation of a fortreſs, Kadair and Kathair, is now pronounced Kahir in the Iriſh, and was formerly reſolved into Guiher, and is now melted into Kaer and Gaer, in the Welſh [e]; and the names of Cathbait, Cruthgall, Sithfadda, and the like, are pronounced &c.

L. 19—26 thus — Names of Rauthmell, Rathbone, and Withnell in Lancaſhire; and a variety of other words, in every part of the iſland, ſuffering the ſame eliſion in converſation [f]. Thus alſo the appellation of a diſtrict in Caledonia, which was antiently written Ar-Gathel, is now &c.

P. 439.

L. 8—10 thus—Woodlanders. Guylh-t and Guel-z import among the Iriſh, the Welſh, and the Armoricans, a man of the Guylh, &c.

P. 440.

M E M.

The note here is removed to its proper place in the notes.

P. 444.

L. 8 thus—In Ullin or the county of Down [g], and &c.

[d] See Sax. Chron. p. 11 and 12, and Adamnan's life of Columba l. ii. c. 34. Colgan, vol. II. p. 358, and note p. 384.

[e] See Nennius c. 8, Guiher Cet Guely, or Caer Kidwelly. And the ſame eliſion ran through all the Celtick, as in the Gallick Rhodanus or Rhone, Matrona or Marne, &c.

[f] Thus in the Saxon Ethelward pronounced Elward, &c. and in the Engliſh Clothes Clo's, Them 'Em, Boatſwain Boſon, North and South Nor and Sou, &c. &c.

[g] Harris's Ware's Ant. p. 44.

P. 450.

L. 6. thus—In an addreſs of Valerius Flaccus to Veſpaſian, he ſays thus,

Tuque o pelagi cui major aperti
Fama, *Caledonius* poſtquam tua carbaſa vexit
Oceanus. Phrygios prius indignatus Iulos.

Here we ſee the word, *Caledonius*, applied even to the Britiſh Channel, to the ſea which is ſaid to have diſdained the yoke of Cæſar by deſtroying his veſſels. And, even at the death of Veſpaſian, the Romans had not yet entered the real Caledonia at all. And in the Genuine Hiſt. of the Britons I have produced another inſtance exactly correſpondent to this, which ſhews the coaſt adjoining to this ſea, and the very ſhore at which Cæſar's navy was deſtroyed, to have been called Caledonia as early as the reign of Nero. See p. 124.

P. 451.

L. 8—14 thus—[74] Richard p. 53.—[75] Ammianus lib. xxvii. c. 8, &c.

MEM.

For a ſtill further elucidation of this portion of Hiſtory, ſee the Genuine Hiſtory of the Britons aſſerted againſt Mr. Macpherſon, written ſince the firſt edition, and confirming and improving the notices here delivered.

P. 453.

L. 19—27 thus—Thus Oſtorius, as Tacitus informs us, carried a regular chain of camps along the Severn and the Upper Avon, the Avon of Glouceſterſhire, Warwickſhire, and Northamptonſhire, and the genuine and long-loſt Antona of that hiſtorian; and afterwards continued it, as fact ſeems plainly to ſhew us, along the Nen of Northamptonſhire to the marſhes

of the eaſtern coaſt. A ſecond ſeries was alſo drawn from the Eden to the Tyne, before the reign of Hadrian. And a third was &c.

L. 36 thus—By croſſing the Kelvin from the country of the Attacotti below Bennulie, and afterwards &c.

P. 454.

L. 3—6 thus—And the Britons again paſſing the forts betwixt the friths in the reign of Antoninus Pius, and invading the land of the Novantes; Lollius united the former by another, and carried the wall, and the forts into the country of the Attacotti, and nearly up to their capital.

L. 15 thus—All the Caledonians, and had actually reduced the Attacotti. The walls &c.

P. 458.

L. 33—34 thus—The firſt deſcent upon the provinces, which had been attempted from that country with a view of conqueſt, it muſt &c.

P. 459.

L. 8—9 thus—Had the Iriſh invaded the weſtern coaſt with any conſiderable armament before, the Romans would have left &c.

L. 12—15 thus—Would not have invaded it with ſo conſiderable a one now. But apprized of the new military arrangements, and ſtimulated with the inviting proſpect of conqueſt, they &c.

P. 460.

L. 11 thus—Extended their arms to &c.

P. 461.

L. 15—17 thus—Tacitus Ann. lib. xii. c. 31, and Richard's Iter 14, Sariconio 11, Glebon 15, *Ad Antonam* 15, Alauna 15. This ſerves to fix the Antona of Tacitus deciſively, Glouceſter on one ſide and Alceſter on the other ſettling Ad Antonam about

Eveſham or Bengeworth, and on the Upper Avon. And Gale's Eſſay in Leland's Itin. v. VI. p. 143, 1769, ſerves to ſhew, that additional links were made to the chain, to continue it along the Nen to the marſhes. By this ſcheme, the paſſage in Tacitus is now for the firſt time interpreted literally, and hiſtory and fact are reconciled together.

P. 462.

L. 17—18 thus—Is ſuppoſed by Mr. Macpherſon, and from him by Dr. Henry in his new Hiſtory of Great Britain v. I. 4to 1771, p. 425—426, to be the famous Carauſius.

THE

THE CONCLUSION.

WE have now purſued the hiſtory of Mancheſter to that important period in the annals of the iſland, the conſolidation of its five provinces into one empire, and the deſcent of the Saxons on the whole.

We have ſeen the large extent of the pariſh a wild unfrequented tract of woodland, inhabited merely by the boar, the bull, and the wolf, and traverſed only by the hunters of the neighbouring country. And we have ſeen it ſelected by the monarch of Lancaſhire for the ſeat of a ſort in the woods, and a fort actually ſettled in the middle of it. Such was the very early origin of the population of the pariſh, and the firſt commencement of a town within it. And the rude outlines of the one, and the faint principle of the other, began about fifty years before the Chriſtian æra, and within the compaſs of the Caſtle-field.

The foreſt aſſumes a new life and colouring from it. And the ſilence and ſolitude, that have regularly prevailed before, are now interrupted by the reſort of ſoldiers to the fortreſs, the excurſions of hunters from the field, and the voices of the garriſon on the banks of the Medlock.

But that warlike tribe of Latium, which, from a ſmall aſſemblage of outlaws on the heights of the Tiber, had amazingly become the lords of Italy, the maſters of Gaul, and the conquerors of half the globe, land upon the iſland, reduce the little kingdoms of the Britons, and advance into Lancaſhire. They penetrate

trate into our woods. They introduce the tumults of war into our pariſh. And they take the original Mancheſter.

An additional ſpirit then actuates the woodland. A Roman ſtation is conſtructed on the Caſtle-field. Another is eſtabliſhed about a mile to the north of it. And the ſite of the preſent town is now cleared in part of its trees, and firſt receives a colony of inhabitants upon it; one indeed that is but tranſitory in its nature, and exiſts only during the continuance of ſummer. The moſt north-weſterly part of the foreſt is appropriated to the feeding of the Roman cattle; and four little fortreſſes are placed for their protection within it. And the whole woodland is interſected with large roads on every ſide, all ranging in right lines through the thickets, and converging to a point at the Caſtle-field.

One thing more compleats the great change in the aſpect of this region. A regular town is now for the firſt time laid out in the pariſh. And a neighbouring baron and his clan are ſettled within it. This is placed in the center of the foreſt, and founded in the memorable autumn of 79. And the adjoining ſtation in the Caſtle-field becomes the citadel of the new Mancheſter.

Under the auſpices of the Roman genius in Britain, that principle of population, which had faintly quickened before at the heart of the woodland, now becomes active and vigorous, and diffuſes its influence on every ſide. The beaſts are diſlodged to a greater diſtance from the town. The receding foreſt curves in an amphitheater of woods around it. And all the mechanical arts are ſucceſsfully tranſplanted into the wild. Civility, literature, and politeneſs follow. And Chriſtianity cloſes the rear.

Immediately a new ſcene of ſorrow ariſes. A freſh invaſion is meditated from the continent. A tribe of idolatrous ſavages is haſtening from the ſhores of Germany. Ruin marks their advance. Ignorance, incivility, and barbariſm attend upon them. And the fall of Mancheſter approaches.

The

part of the whole, the attempted hiſtory of domeſtick life. But he has been careful to preſerve in the old parts, and purſue in the new, the general and leading ſpirit of the whole; and has always aimed, as before, to be original without being fantaſtical, and to deal conſtantly in new notices with an inviolable adherence to truth.

And he has particularly retained that diſpoſition of the Notes, which ſeems to be as ſingular as his execution or his plan; and ſtill places the numerous authorities for his aſſertions and facts, not, as has hitherto been the cuſtom, at the foot of the page, and even not, as Lord Lyttelton has recently placed them, in an appendix at the end; but at the concluſion of each ſection. And from this arrangement of them the Hiſtory of Mancheſter ſeems to have derived an advantage peculiar to itſelf. They are not now, what on the common method they evidently are, ſo near as to diſtract the attention by diverting the eye, break the narration, or confound the argument. And they are not, like my Lord's, too remote to be conſulted in the progreſs of the reading. Theſe little members of a work, which are ſo neceſſary to every authenticated hiſtory, and yet ſo embarraſſing generally to the reader and the writer, are not crouded inelegantly on the margin of the page, where they are attended with an inconvenience almoſt equal to their utility; and are not huddled together in a common repoſitory at the cloſe, where they are loſt to every purpoſe of immediate conſultation, and the obſervations in them cut off from the ſubjects to which they reſpectively belong, and of which they are actual though ſubordinate parts. They are now formed into collections. And theſe are ſubjoined each to its own portion of the work, where every one of them is given unmingled with another; and are placed each at a point of the hiſtory, where a pauſe is made equally by the writer and the reader. They are not either ſo ſmall, as to be occurring with a troubleſome frequency, or ſo large, as to be formidable to the reader from their bulkineſs. And they are equally ready for a tranſient conſultation or a formal peruſal.

CHAP.

THE

PRINCIPAL CORRECTIONS

MADE IN

THE HISTORY OF MANCHESTER.

BOOK THE FIRST,

On republiſhing it in Octavo.

SOLD

By WHITE, LOWNDES, Fleet-ſtreet; DODSLEY, Pall-mall; PAYNE, Mews-gate; BAKER and LEIGH, York-ſtreet, Covent-garden; EVANS, Strand; DAVIS, Holbourne; and NEWTON, CLARKE, and HARROP, Mancheſter.

MDCC LXXIII.

M E M.

THERE ARE SOME MINUTE CORRECTIONS OF THE HISTORY OF MANCHESTER IN THE PRESENT SUPPLEMENT, WHICH ARE NOT TO BE FOUND IN THE OCTAVO EDITION OF IT; AS THEY DID NOT OCCUR TO THE AUTHOR BEFORE THAT EDITION WAS PRINTED OFF.

M E M.

** Preface p. ix. add this paragraph to the whole.

Theſe are the principles, upon which the preſent work was originally undertaken, and this firſt volume of it compleated. And the writer reflects with ſatisfaction, amid the ſolicitude naturally attendant on the hour of publication, that he has been impelled by accident and allured by pleaſure to execute in part what he had always deſigned, but ſhould never perhaps have deliberately begun; to taſk himſelf with ſome hiſtorical undertaking in the earlier period of life, to fix for ſome years his undivided attention on the ſubject, and then give himſelf and his performances to the candour of the publick.

ADVERTISEMENT

To the Second Edition of Book the Firſt.

WHEN the preſent work was publiſhed, the author was not a little ſolicitous about its reception in the world. Additional to the anxiety ſo natural to every writer on his firſt publication, he had peculiar reaſons for apprehenſion, both from the unpromiſing title and the ſtriking ſingularity of his undertaking. A hiſtory that pretended merely to be local, and yet ventured to deviate widely from the common track of topical antiquities, and even preſumed to make its private accounts only the center of a large circle, that ſhould generally extend itſelf over the iſland, and frequently ſtretch into Ireland and the continent; was a work of ſo uncommon a nature, as was ſure to encounter, at firſt, all the hereditary prejudices of our old antiquarians and the publick. The former would be apt to condemn the boldneſs of its plan, ſo much above the uſual ſcale of antiquarian courage, as the very extravagance of fancy. And, what weighed more with the author, he was afraid of being confounded by the latter in the common herd of local hiſtorians, and haſtily reſigned with the reſt of his brethren Blattarum ac Tinearum epulæ, to the moths and the worms of antiquarianiſm. But from theſe apprehenſions he was ſoon freed. His plan has been approved of in every part. And the encouragement, which he has received, has even enabled him thus early to publiſh a ſecond edition of his work.

In this he has availed himſelf of the obſervations, which have been made upon the former. And he thinks his hiſtory improved by the attention. But his plan and execution are ſtill the ſame. His corrections are confined to parts. And he has

altered ſome, and enlarged others. His great aim has been to render each eſſay in the work, as far as he could, a compleat treatiſe upon the ſubject, to throw nothing wilfully into ſhade, but make every part ſtand forth diſtinct and clear. And the ſtile, which was ſometimes embarraſſed by its own accuracy and weakened with exceſs of vigour, he has endeavoured to improve, by clearing away its obſtructions and retrenching its exuberance. In a hiſtory of ſo ſingular a complexion and genius, and with an author unknown to fame, the firſt publication muſt be merely experimental; to try the taſte and judgement of the publick, for the correction or confirmation of his own. The ſucceeding books of this work, therefore, will not want the alterations and additions of this; when, like it, they make their ſecond appearance in octavo. And, in that ſtrict juſtice which ſhould always be ſhewn to the purchaſers of a former edition, all the principal corrections of the ſecond will be thrown together, and printed in a quarto pamphlet.

The author has been obliged to leave out the plates. They are too bulky to be folded in an octavo. And, uſeful as they are for embelliſhment, they are not neceſſary for illuſtration. But he has added near forty Britiſh coins, many of which have been publiſhed ſince the firſt edition, and remarkably coincide with the obſervations that he had made in it; has diſperſed them in different parts of the hiſtory, and applied them to explain the manners of the Britons. And he has prefixed a little table of contents to every chapter, calculated to excite curioſity without anticipating information, to give the reader an inviting view of the country in which he is going to travel, and yet leave it to open afterwards with all its novelty upon him, as he gradually proceeds in his journey. Almoſt ever ſince Mr. Macpherſon releaſed him from attention to the diſpute betwixt them, by ingenuouſly yielding up the whole; Mr. Whitaker has been employed in reviſing his work, and ſtudying to give it every attainable grace and perfection. This he owed to himſelf, to local hiſtory, and a patronizing publick. And he has particularly endeavoured to perfect, what ſeems to himſelf the moſt curious

MEM. It is greatly to be wiſhed, that ſome Gentleman would ſpeedily give us a new edition and a numerous impreſſion of Richard's infinitely uſeful Commentary. This would be of conſiderable ſervice to the cauſe of Britiſh and Roman-Britiſh antiquities. We might then hope to ſee a true knowledge and a juſt acquaintance with the original and primary period of our hiſtory a much commoner acquiſition among our antiquarians than it ſeems to be at preſent. We might then hope to ſee our antiquarians more commonly begin their hiſtorical reſearches at the great fountain-head of our hiſtory, there mark the ſecret primogenial principles that mix and colour it at the ſource, and thence be better able to diſcern with clearneſs the ſeveral ingredients and tints that ſucceſſively incorporate with it afterwards. And a complete and entire Manual might happily be formed for the Roman-Britiſh antiquarian, by adding all the Britiſh Notices in Ptolemy Antonine Ravennas and the Notitia to the Commentary of Richard, perhaps all the hiſtorical incidents in all the Roman hiſtorians, and certainly a Roman-Britiſh Gloſſary upon better principles than Baxter's. Such a work would be a moſt acceptable preſent to the hiſtorical and antiquarian world. And I am in hopes that the preſent will be actually made it by my worthy and learned friend, the Rev. Dr. Hallifax of Oxford.

INDEX.

APPENDIX.

N° I.

I Have here ſubjoined what I have frequently referred to in the work, the Itinerary of Ricardus Corinenſis. Such a curioſity ought no longer to be locked up in the few copies of Dr. Stukeley's Comment or the fewer of Mr. Bertram's original. To this I have added the parallel parts of Antonine's Itinerary, that the one may reflect a light upon the other. And to the whole I have annexed the modern places correſpondent to each antient name, as they are aſſigned by Gale by Horſley and by Stukeley.

DIAPHRAGMATA[1]

ITER I.

A RHUTUPI VIA DUCTA EST GUETHELINGA DICTA USQUE IN SEGONTIUM PER M. P. 324. PLUS MINUS SIC.

			Antoninus Iter 2 inverted
	CANTIOPOLIS quæ et DUROVERNO	m. p. 10	Durovemo 11
Iter 15 Ricardi Durelevum	DUROSLVO ——	12	Durolevo 11
Durobrovæ	DUROPROVIS ——	25	Durobrovis 16
	DEINDE —— ——	m. p. 27	
	TRANSIS THAMESIN INTRASQUE PROVINCIAM FLAVIAM ET CIVITATEM LONDINIUM AUGUSTAM		Iter 3 inverted from Durobrovis to Londinium 27
Di. Stukeley's Copy Sulloniagis	SULO MAGO ——	m. p. 9	Iter 2 inv. Sullenacis 12
	VEROLAMIO MUNICIPIO[2]	12	Verolamio 9
	FORO DIANÆ[4] ——	12	Durocobrivis[4] 12
	MAGIO VINIO ——	12	Magiovinto 11
	LACTORODO —— ——	12	Lactodoro 11

[1] The Itinera are so called from their similitude to the animal midriff, which passes through the body from side to side (Stukeley).

[2] This number appears from the distances preceding and following to be faulty. Antonine's must be the right number.

[4] In this and one or two other places I have omitted the notices concerning martyrs, the impertinent interpolations of the Monk.

Canter-

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Canterbury	Canterbury	Canterbury
Lenham	Milton	Sittingburne
Rochester	Rochester	Rochester
London	London	London
Shenley near Brockley Hills	Brockley Hills	Edgeware near Brockley Hills
Verulam	Verulam	Verulam
Hertford	Dunſtable	Market-ſtreet near Dunſtable
Dunſtable	Fenny Stratford	Dunſtable
Stony Stratford	Towceſter	Stony Stratford.

[a] Durocobrivis, a name which has been long wreſted by the antiquarians into Duroc-coc-brivis, and to ſignify the Ford of the Red Water, and which has therefore been idly fixed at Redburne and Hertford (ſuppoſed to be He-rud-ford), is really nothing more than Duroc-o-brivis and ſignifies nothing more than a watery town, juſt as Dur-o-brivis and Ebur-ac um. And Redburne is abſolutely Red Bourne or the brook Read.

Iter 18 inv.			Antoninus.
Hannovaria	ISANTA VARIA	12	Bennavenna (Iter 6. Hanavatia) 12
			Iter 6
Tripontio 12	TRICNTIO	12	Tripontio 12
Venonis 11	BENONIS	9	Venonis 9
	HIC BISECATUR VIA; ALTER— UTERUMQE EJUS BRACHIUM LINDUM USQUE [1], ALTRUM VERSUS VIRICONIUM, PRO- TENDITUR SIC.		
Iter 18 inv.			Iter 2 inv.
Manduessedo 12	MANDUESSEDO	m. p. 12	Manduessedo 12
Etoceto 16	ETOCETO	13	Etocto 16
	PENNOCRUCIO	12	Pennocrucio 12
	UXACONIA	12	Uxacona 12
	VIRIOCONIO	11	Urioconio 11
	BANCHORIO [2]	26	Bovium . . . . .
	DEVA COLONIA	10	Deva Leg. 20 Vict. 10

[1] This road, the eaſtern branch of the foſſeway, the ſecond Iter of Antonine purſues.
[2] The etymology of this name is ſtrangely miſtaken by Baxter. In the laws of Howel

Caſtle

Gale	Horseley	Stukeley
Caſtle Dykes near Wedon	Near Daventry	Towceſter
Dowbridge near Lilburne	Bugby	Dowbridge or Showel
High Croſs or Claycheſter	Claycheſter	Claycheſter or High Croſs
Manceſter	Manceſter	Manceſter
Wall near Litchfield	Wall	Wall
Stretton near Penkridge	Near the river Penk	Penkridge
Oken-yate	Near Sheriff-Hales	Oken-yate
Wroxeter	Wroxeter	Wroxeter
Banchor	Near Stretton in Cheſhire	Banchor
Cheſter	Cheſter	Cheſter

Dha it carries a ſenſe which is undoubtedly the meaning of this appellation. It ſignifies a Fortification. See A. 37. p. 398. Wotton.

FINES FLAVIÆ ET SECUNDÆ				Antoninus Iter 11 inv.	
VARIS	——		m. p. 30	Varis	32
CONOVIO	——		20	Conovio	19
SEGUNTIO	——	——	[1] 24	Segontio	24

[1] The ſum total at the end is juſt ten more than the number preſixed, the latter being three hundred and twenty-four and the former three hundred and thirty-four. The nine or ten additional miles in the faulty number annexed to Durocovis account for the difference.

Bodvary

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Bodvary	Bodvary	Bodvary
Caer Rhun	Caer Rhun	Caer Rhun
Caer Segont near Caernarvon	Caer Segont	Caer Segont

APPENDIX.

ITER II.			Antoninus	
A SEGUNTIO VIRIOCONIUM USQUE m. p. 73, SIC.				
Heriri Monte	——	m. p. 25	Iter 2.	
Mediolano	——	25	Mediolano	
Rutunio	—— ——	1 –	Rutunio	12
Virioconio	——	11	Virioconio	11

Gali	Horseley.	Stukeley
		Raranvaur Hill by Bala in Merionethſhire
Meivod North-Wales	Draiton Shropſhire	Meivod Montgomery-ſhire
Rowton Caſtle	Near Wem	Rowton
Wroxeter	Wroxeter	Wroxeter

ITER III.		Antoninus	
A LONDINIO LINDUM COLONIAM USQUE, SIC.			
			Iter 9 inv.
Durosito —— ——	12	Durolitum	15
Cæsaro Mago ——	16	Cæsaromago	16
Canonio —— ——	15	Canonia	12
Camaloduno Colonia —	9	Camaloduno	9
IBI ERAT TEMPLUM CLAUDII, ARX TRIUMPHALIS, ET IMAGO VICTORIÆ DEÆ [1].			
Ad Sturium Amnem	m. p. 6	Ad Anſam	6
ET FINIBUS TRINOBANTUM CENIMANNOS ADVENIS.			
Combretonio ——	m. p. 15	Combretonio	15
Sito Mago —— ——	22	Sitomago	22
Venta Cenom ——	23	Venta Icenorum	31

[1] This Note muſt have been copied by Richard from ſome account that was previous to the deſtruction of Camalodunum by Boadicia.

Leighton-

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Leighton-ſtone	Leighton-ſtone	Rumford
Writtle or Witham	Near Chelmsford	Chelmsford
Little Canfield	Fambridge	Kelvedon Eſſex
Walden	Malden	Colcheſter
Barklow or near Haverill	Witham	Stretford-ſtreet, Suffolk
Brettenham	Stretford	Bretenham, Bradfield Combuſt, Suffolk
Thetford or Wulpitt	Wulpitt	Thetford Norfolk
Caſter near Norwich	Caſter	Caſter

		Antoninus Iter 5
	ICIANIS[1] —— —— m. p. 27	Icianos ....
	CAMBORICO COLONIA —— 20	Camborico 35
Iter 17.		
Duroliſponte	DURALI PONTE —— 20	Duroliponte 25
Durnomago m. p. 30	DURNO MAGO —— 20	Durobrovis 35
Coriſennis 30	ISINNIS —— —— 20	Cauſennis 30
Lindo — 30	LINDO —— —— 20	Lindo 26

[1] As ſeveral differences occur in the copies which were publiſhed by Dr. Stukeley and Mr. Bertram, which I ſhall regularly note, ſo this is one. Icianos has only a vacancy in Bertram, but is actually inſerted in Stukeley. And the latter is evidently right.

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Ickburrow	Chesterford	Ixworth, Icklingham
Near Cambrige	Icklingham	Chesterford Cambridge-shire
Godmanchester	Cambridge	Godmanchester
Brig Casterton	Caster by Peterborough	Caster
Nottingham	Ancaster	Stanfield by Bourn, Lincolnshire
Lincoln	Lincoln	Lincoln

ITER IV.

A LINDO AD VALLUM USQUE, SIC.

		Antoninus.
ARGOLICO ——	m. p. 14	Iter 5 Segelocum (Iter 8 Agelocum) 14
DANO —— ——	m. p. 20	Danum —— 21

IBI INTRAS MAXIMAM CÆSARIENSEM.

LEGOTIO ——	m. p. 16	Legeolium (Iter 8. Lagecium) 16
EBURACO MUNICIP. OLIM COLONIA SEXTA[1] ——	21	Eburacum 21
ISURIO ——	16	Isubrigantum 17
CATARRACTONI ——	24	Catarractoni 24
AD TISAM ——	10	—— —— ——
VINOVIO —— ——	19	Iter 1 inv. Vinovia 22
EPIACO —— ——	19	—— —— ——
AD MURUM ——	9	—— —— ——

Iter 18 Legiolium Iter 5 inv. and Iter 8. from York

Catarractoni 40

[1] This Note muſt have been interpolated by Richard.

Little-

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Little-Burrow	Littleburrow	Littleburrow
Doncaſter	Doncaſter	Doncaſter
Caſtleford	Caſtleford	Caſtleford
York	York	York
Aldborough.	Aldborough	Aldborough
Cattarick	Cattarick	Cattarick
— — —	— — —	Pierce Bridge, Ovynford
Bincheſter	Bincheſter	Bincheſter
— — —	Hexham	Cheſter in the Street
— — —	— — —	Newcaſtle

TRANS MURUM INTRAS VALENTIAM		Antoninus	
ALAUNA AMNE	m. p. 25	——	——
TUÆDA FLUMINE	—— 30	——	——
AD VALLUN ——	m. p. [1] 70	——	——

[1] Dr. Stukeley gives us the numerals which Mr. Bertam has omitted.

Alnwick

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
— — —	— — —	Alnwick Northumberland
— — —	— — —	Berwick on Tweed
— — —	— — —	Falkirk

ITER V.

A LIMITE PRÆTURIAM USQUE SIC.

Dr. Stukeley's Copy			Antoninus	
Corium	CURIA —— —— m. p. ...	—— —— ——		
	AD FINES [1] —— m. p....	—— —— ——		
			Iter 1.	
	BREMENIO —— m. p. ...		Bramenium	
	CORSTOPLIO ——	20	Corſtopitum	20
	VINDOMORA ——	9	Vindomora	9
	VINDOVIO —— ——	19	Vinovia	19
	CATARRACTONI ——	22	Catarractoni	22
	EBORACO —— ——	40	Iſurium & Eboracum	41
	DERVENTIONE ——	7	Derventio	7
	DELGOVICIA —— ——	13	Delgovitia	13
	PRETURIO ——	25	Prætorium	25

[1] Dr. Stukeley by a ſtrange miſtake reads Ad Tines, and therefore idly fixes the ſtation upon the North-Tyne. The ſtation muſt certainly have been upon the limits of the Gadenian and Ottadinian territories, and ſomewhere, I ſuppoſe, upon the banks of the Tweed in Tweedale.

Roman-

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
— — —	— — —	Romanhow, Corſton-law
— — —	— — —	Rocheſter on Tyne
Brampton	Riecheſter	Riecheſter
Corbridge	Corbridge	Corbridge
Dolande	Ebcheſter	Ebcheſter
Bincheſter	Bincheſter	Bincheſter
Cattarick	Cattarick	Cattarick
York	York	York
Aldby on the Derwent	On the river Derwent	Stanford Bridge Yorkſhire
Wigton	Wigton	Wigton
Patrington	Hebberſtow Fields or Broughton	Patrinton

ITER VI.		Antoninus
AB EBURACO DEVAM USQUE SIC.		
		Iter 2.
CALCARIA ——	m. p. 9	Calcaria 9
CAMBODUNO ——	22	Camboduno 20
MANCUNIO —— ——	18	Manucio 18
FINIBUS MAXIMÆ ET FLAVIÆ	m. p. 18	—— —— ——
CONDATE —— ——	18	Condate 18
DEVA —— ——	18	Deva Leg. 20. Vict. 20.

Tadcaſter

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Tadcaſter	Tadcaſter	Tadcaſter
Almondbury	Near Gretland	Almondbury
Man-cheſter	Man-caſtle near Man-cheſter	Man-caſtle
———	———	Stretford on Merſey
Congleton	Near Northwich	Northwich
Cheſter	Cheſter	Cheſter

ITER VII.

A PORTU SISTUNTIORUM EBORACUM USQUE SIC.

Dr. S.			Antoninus
	Rerigonio	m. p. 23	
	Ad Alpes Peninos	8	
	Alicana	10	
Isurio — 19	Isurio	18	
	Eboraco	16	

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
— — —	— — —	The mouth of the Lune
— — —	— — —	Burton on Lune, or Ribchester
— — —	— — —	Pendleton, Pendlebury, Lancaſhire
— — —	Ilkley	Skipton in Craven
Aldborough	Aldborough	Aldborough
York	York	York

ITER VIII.

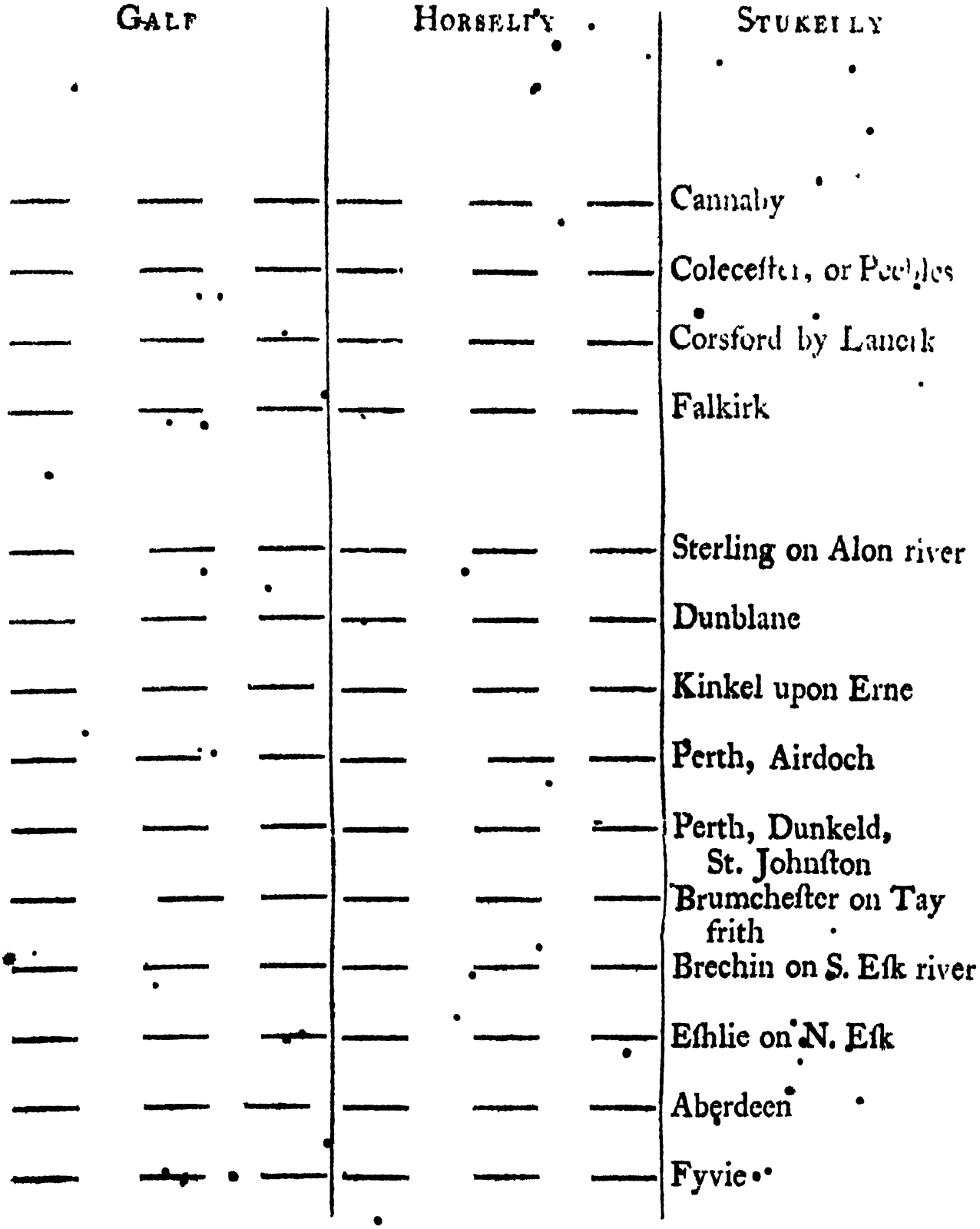
Dr. Stukeley's Copy		AB EBORACO LUGUVALIUM USQUE SIC.		Antoninus	
				Iter 2 inv.	
Catarractoni	40	CATARRACTONI	m. p. 40	Catarractoni	41
Lataris	18	LATARIS	16	Lavatris	16
Vataris	13	VATARIS	16	Verteris	14
Brocavonacis	20	BROCAVONACIS	18	Brovonacis	13
Voreda	13	VORREDA[1]	18	Voreda	13
Luguvalia	13	LUGUVALIA	[1] 18	Luguvallio	14

[1] Iter 10 inv. from Brocavonacis to Luguballia 22.

Catta-

Gale	Horseley	Stukeley
Cattarick	Cattarick	Cattarick
Bowes	Bowes	Bowes
Brough under Stanmore	Brough	Brough
Kendale	Kirby Thure	Browham
Penrith	Old Penrith	Caſtle Voran
Old Carliſle	Carliſle	Carliſle

ITER IX.		Antoninus
A LUGUBALLIO PTOROTONIM USQUE SIC.		
TRIMONTIO ——	m. p.	—— ——
GADANICA ——	m. p.	—— ——
CORIO —— ——	m. p.	—— ——
AD VALLUM ——	m. p.	—— —— ——
INCIPIT VESPASIANA		
ALAUNA ——	m. p. 12	—— —— ——
LINDO —— ——	9	—— ——
VICTORIA ——	9	—— ——
AD HIERNAM ——	9	—— —— ——
ORREA —— ——	14	—— —— ——
AD TAVUM ——	19	—— ——
AD ÆSICAM ——	23	—— ——
AD TINAM ——	8	—— ——
DEVANA —— ——	23	—— ——
AD ITUNAM —— ——	24	—— ——


GALF
HORSELEY
STUKELY
Cannaby
Colecester, or Peebles
Corsford by Lanerk
Falkirk
Sterling on Alon river
Dunblane
Kinkel upon Erne
Perth, Airdoch
Perth, Dunkeld, St. Johnston
Brumchester on Tay frith
Brechin on S. Esk river
Esklie on N. Esk
Aberdeen
Fyvie

	Antoninus.
Ad Montem Grampium m. p. . . .	—— ——
Ad Selinam —— m. p. . . .	—— ——
Tuessis —— —— 19	—— ——
Ptorotone —— m. p. [1] 27	—— ——

[1] Dr Stukeley fills up with theſe numerals the vacancy which appears here in Bertram's edition.

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
— — —	— — —	— — —
— — —	— — —	On Dovern river
— — —	Nairne	Rothes on the Spay
— — —	Inverneſs	Inverneſs

ITER X.

AB ULTIMA PTOROTONE PER MEDIAM INSULÆ ISCA DAMNONORUM USQUE SIC.

Dr. Stukeley's Copy Varis — 9	VARIS —	m. p. 8	— —
	AD TUESSIM —	18	— —
Dr. Stukeley's Copy	TAMEA —	29	— —
— 20	— — —	m. p. 21	— —
	IN MEDIO —	9	— —
	ORREA — —	9	— —
	VICTORIA —	18	— —
Iter 9 Ad Vallum 30	AD VALLUM —	32	— —
	LUGUBALLIA —	80	— —
	BROCAVONACIS —	22	— —
Dr. Stukeley's Copy	AD AL'AUNAM —	m. p. . . .	— —
Coccio — 66	COCCIO —	m. p. . . .	Iter 10 Coccio . . . .
	MANCUNIO —	18	Mancunio 17
	CONDATE —	23	Condate 18

Gale	Horseley	Stukeley
— — —	— — —	Nairne [1]
— — —	— — —	Ruthvan on Spay
— — —	About Dunkeld or Blair	Brumcheſter or Blair
— — —	— — —	Spittle in Glenſhire
— — —	— — —	Strumnic on Erie river
— — —	Orrock in Fife	Perth, Dunkeld, St. Johnſton
— — —	Abernethy	Perth, Airdoch
— — —	— — —	Falkirk
Carliſle	Carliſle	Carliſle
Kendal	Kirby Thure	Browham
— — —	— — —	Lancaſter
Ribcheſter	Ribcheſter	Burton by Lancaſter
Mancheſter	Man-caſtle by Manchester	Man-caſtle
Congleton.	Near Northwich	Northwich

[1] Farr on Nairne river

			Antoninus
	Mediolano ——	18	Mediolano 18
	Etoceto ——	m. p. . . .	—— —— ——
	Bremenium [1] ——	——	—— —— ——
	Salinis ——	m. p. . . .	—— —— ——
	Brannogenium [1] ——	——	—— —— ——
			Item 13.
	Glebon Colonia ——	m. p. . . .	Clevo . . . . .
	Corino —— ——	14	Durocornovio 14
	Aquas Solis ——	m. p. . . .	—— —— ——
	Ad Aquas —— ——	18	—— —— ——
Dr. S. Ad Uxellam . . .	Ad Uxellam Amnem	m. p. . . .	—— —— ——
Iſca — . . .	Isca —— ——	m. p. . . .	—— —— ——

[1] The names of theſe two ſtations are taken from Dr. Stukeley. Only blanks appear in Bertram. And as the name of Bremenium is compounded of Bre and Maen, the high Stone, and the ſite of it muſt therefore have been upon the creſt of the hill at Birmingham, ſo this fine town has two or three Roman roads plainly proceeding to it. One is well known to appear in Sutton Park. And another muſt have reached it from Stratford upon Avon and from Shirley Street.

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Meivod	Near Draiton	Myvod
Wall near Litchfield	Wall	Wall
—— —— ——	—— —— ——	Birmingham
—— —— ——	—— —— ——	Droitwich in Worceſterſhire
—— —— ——	Ludlow	Worceſter
Glouceſter	Glouceſter	Glouceſter
Cirenceſter	Cirenceſter	Cirenceſter
Bath	Bath	Bath
—— —— ——	—— —— ——	Wells
—— —— ——	Exeter	Barton on the Foſs Somerſetſhire
Exeter	Chiſelborough	Exeter

ITER XI.

AB AQUIS, PER VIAM JULIAM, MENAPIAM USQUE SIC.

Dr. Stukeley's Copy			Antoninus
			Iter 14 inv.
	AD ABONAM —— m. p.	6	Trajectus [1] 6
	AD SABRINAM ——	6	—— —— ——
	UNDE TRAJECTU INTRAS IN BRITTANIAM SECUNDAM ET		
	STATIONEM TTAJECTUM m. p.	3	Abone —— [1] 9
Venta Sil. —	9 VENTA SILURUM ——	8	Venta Silurum 9
Iſca —	9 ISCA COLONIA ——	9	Iſca —— 9
Tibia —	7 TIBIA AMNE —— m. p.	8	—— ——
			Iter 12 inv.
	BOVIO —— ——	20	Nido — [2] 15
	NIDO —— ——	15	Bomio — [2] 15
	LEUCARO —— ——	15	Leucaro 15
	AD VIGESSIMUM ——	20	—— ——
	AD MENAPIAM ——	19	—— ——
	AB HAC URBE PER 30 m. p. NAVIGAS IN HYBERNIAM.		

[1] Dr. Gale ſuppoſes Abone and Trajectus to be tranſpoſed. Mr. Horſeley oppoſes the ſuppoſition. But the order of Richard's Iter ſhews the former to be right.

[2] Dr. Gale again ſuppoſes a tranſpoſition; and the order of Richard's Iter again confirms the ſuppoſal.

Gale	Horseley	Stukeley
Manham	Aunſbury	Olland near Rainſham
— — —	— — —	Auſt on Severne
Oldbury	Henham	Tydenham or Chepſtow
Caer Gwent	Caer Gwent	Caer Gwent
Caerleon	Caerleon	Caerleon
— — —	— — —	Caerdiff
Boverton	Near Axbridge	Boverton
Neath	Near Portbury	Neath
Logher	Near Glaſſonbury	Logher
— — —	— — —	Narbath Caſtle
— — —	— — —	St. David's

ITER XII.		Antoninus	
AB AQUIS LONDINIUM USQUE SIC.			
		Iter 14.	
VERLUCIONE ——	m. p. 15	Verlucione	15
CUNETIONE —— ——	20	Cunetione	20
SPINIS —— ——	15	Spinis —	15
CALLEBA ATTREBATUM[1] —	15	Calleva	15
BIBRACTE[2] —— ——	20	—— ——	
LONDINIO ——	20	—— ——	

[1] This the capital fortress of the Attrebates was seated without doubt upon the present site of the ruinated castle at Wallingford. That site is a good natural eminence very near to the Thames and contiguous to the old ford over it. And at it still remains, amid all the ravages of war and the fancies of innovation, an evident fragment of the stationary wall of the Romans. This is immediately on the right-hand side of the entrance, as you advance from the bridge. It is a piece of wall about five yards and a half in height on the inner side and about six on the outer. On the inner side, it has a foundation of large stones about one fourth of a yard in depth, then smaller stones in little order for two yards and a half in height, then two regular ranges of largish flat stones, then five layers of edge-stones, then another range of flat stones, and then two layers more of edge-stones. On the outer side, the foundation is rather deeper; but that and the disorderly stones rise about one yard and a half only from the ground: then the wall presents nine courses of edge-stones and a range of largish flat stones above them, and ends in two courses more of edge-stones. The breadth of the whole piece is about six yards within and six and a half without, and the thickness about two yards and a quarter. But about three yards within have lost this original facing of the wall; and the height was evidently greater, as the wall even now rises two inches at least above the last layer of edge-stones within. And as the ground within has evidently been sunk below its original level, being now even lower than the foundation of the wall; so the courses of edge-stones are a sufficient evidence of the original constructers of the wall. That style of building appears plainly to have been used by the Romans, being found in the vallum of Severus and in the walls of Silchester.

Westbury

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Weſtbury	Near Leckham	Lacock on Avon Wilts
Kennet	Marlborough	Marlborough
Spene	Spene	Spene
Henley	Silcheſter	Wallingford
		Bray
London	London	London

And that ſtyle of building appears not to have been ever uſed at all by either the Saxons the Danes or the Normans of the iſland.

[a] The Britiſh fortreſs which was originally placed upon the ſite of this ſtation, which was denominated Bibrac-te or the Abode of the Bibroc, and which was the original metropolis of the Bibroces, muſt have been ſeated upon the area of the preſent church-yard at Bray, the ſite of the vicarial houſe and vicarial garden, and the level of the adjoining meadow to the weſt of all. This compaſs of ground lies upon the ſouthern ſide of the Thames and ſpreads directly along the current of it. This compaſs of ground contains about twelve ſtatute-acres, and reaches at one extremity to the point of the old ford over the river. And the fortreſs muſt have been ſurrounded with the great wood or frith (as Leland calls it) which remained very conſiderable to the days of Q. Elizabeth, the laſt remains of which were grubbed up for firing in the ſevere froſt of 1739, and the ſite of which ſtill retaineth the name of Maidenhead Thicket.

The Roman ſtation which was afterwards conſtructed upon the Britiſh fortreſs muſt have been placed upon one ſide of it and muſt have been confined within the area of the adjoining meadow. That field lies at the confluence of a brook with the river, and is defended by the former upon one ſide, by the latter upon another, and by ſome remains of ditches upon a third. That field is denominated Garſton or the Field of War, and includes an area of about five acres. And near to that field and ſkirting the eaſtern ſide of the church-yard Tradition lays the old road to London, carries it along the lane, and makes it to ford the river at the end.

ITER XIII.

AB ISCA URICONIUM USQUE SIC.

Dr. Stukeley's Copy			Antoninus. Iter 12.	
Bultro	9	BULTRO —— —— m. p. 8	Burrio —	9
		GOBANNIO —— —— 12	Gobannio	12
		MAGNA —— —— 23	Magnis	22
		BRANOGENIO —— 23	Bravinio	24
Urioconio	28	URIOCONIO —— —— 27	Urioconio	27

Brubege

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Brubege	Aſk	Caerphylli Caſtle
Aber-gavenny	Aber-gavenny	Aber-gavenny
Old Radnor	Kencheſter	Old Radnor
Ruſhbury	Ludlow	Worceſter
Wroxeter	Wroxeter	Wroxeter

ITER XIV.

AB ISCA PER GLEBON LINDUM USQUE SIC

		m. p.	Antoninus	
			Iter 13.	
Iter 13. Bultro	Ballio	8	Burrio	9
	Blestio	12	Blestio	11
	Sariconio	11	Ariconio	11
	Glebon Colonia	15	Clevo	15
	Ad Antonam	15	—	—
	Alauna	15	—	—
	Præsidium[1]	—	—	—
			Iter 8 inv.	
	Vennonis	12	Vennonis	—
	Ratis Corion	12	Ratis	12
	Venromento	12	Vernometo	12
	Margiduno	12	Margiduno	12
			Iter 6.	
Bertram's Copy thus Croco Colana Lindum 12	Ad Pontem	12	Ad Pontem	7
	Croco Colana	7[2]	Croco-colana	7
	Lindum	12	Lindo	12

[1] This name is taken from Dr. S.'s Copy.
[2] This number is equally taken from Dr. S.'s Copy.

Brubege

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Brubege	Uſk	Caerphylli Caſtle
Old Town	Monmouth	Old Town
Kencheſter	Near Roſſe	Kencheſter
Glouceſter	Glouceſter	Glouceſter
—— —— ——	—— —— ——	Eveſham Worceſterſhire
—— —— ——	—— —— ——	Alceſter Warwickſhire
—— —— ——	—— —— ——	Warwick
Claycheſter	Claycheſter	Claycheſter or High Croſs
Leiceſter	Leiceſter	Leiceſter
Charnley	Near Willoughby	Coſington on Soar Leiceſterſhire
Willoughby	Near Eaſt Bridgeford	Willoughby, Nottinghamſhire
Eaſt Bridgeford	Near Southwell	Bridgeford
Collingham	Brugh near Collingham	Collingham
Lincoln	Lincoln	Lincoln

ITER XV.

A LONDINIO PER CLAUSENTUM IN LONDINIUM SIC.

		Antoninus	
		Iter 7 inv.	
CALEBA	m. p. 44	Caleba	44
		Iter 12.	
VINDOMI	15	Vindomi	15
VENTA BELGARUM	21	Venta B.	21
AD LAPIDEM	6	——	——
		Iter 7 inv.	
CLAUSENTO	4	Clauſento	10
PORTU MAGNO	10	——	——
REGNO	10	Regno	20
AD DECIMUM	10	——	——
ANDERIDA PORTU	m. p. [1] 10	——	——
AD LEMANUM	m. p. 25	——	——
LEMANIANO PORTU	10	——	——
DUBRIS [2]	10	——	——

[1] These numerals are taken from Stukeley. A large vacuity is left for them in Bertram.

[2] The harbour of Dubris was not the preſent harbour of Dover. The latter is merely an artificial pier formed by ſtrong jettyheads of timber bolted with iron and collecting a large deep bed of beach. The former extended actually into the land, and ran up the valley at the mouth of which the preſent town ſtands. This appears ſufficiently from the accounts of tradition and the diſcovery of anchors. Several have been formerly found

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Henley	Silcheſter	Wallingford
Sylcheſter	Farnham	Silcheſter
Wincheſter	Wincheſter	Wincheſter
— — —	— — —	Stoneham Hants
Southampton	Old Southampton	Southampton
— — —	Pool	Portcheſter
Ringwood	Chicheſter	Chicheſter
— — —	— — —	Arundel Suſſex
— — —	— — —	Newhaven Suſſex
Lyme	Lyme	Old Romney
— — —	— — —	Lyme
Dover	Dover	Dover

about three miles up the valley. And at that diſtance from the town both the direction and the aſpect of the valley are equally altered. The ſea therefore retiring from Dover as it has retired from all the ſouthern coaſt of Kent, the town followed it, and the preſent Dover lies exactly at the mouth of the antient harbour. This muſt have been an haven incomparably good, two great headlands of chalk forming the chops of it, a long deep narrow valley forming the ſecure baſon of it, and a back-water from the country always

			Antoninus.	
RHUTUPIS COLONIA [3]	——	10	——	——
REGULBIO —— ——		10	——	——

keeping it open. And from this deſcription of its antient ſtate, compared with the ſtate of the coaſt about it, the haven of Dover appears ſufficiently to have been, what the generality of our hiſtorians have ſuppoſed it to have been, that very point of land which Cæſar firſt made in his firſt expedition into Britain. His account of that land is a lively deſcription of this harbour. Nearing the land about ten in the morning, Ibi in omnibus collibus expoſitas hoſtium copias armatas conſpexit; cujus loci hæc erat natura, adeò montibus anguſtis mare continebatur uti ex locis ſuperioribus in litus telum adjici poſſet. And his account of his motions afterwards quadrates exactly with the nature of the coaſt. Waiting for the reſt of his fleet, he came to anchor about the very point aſſuredly where the town of Dover now ſtands, & ventum & æſtum uno tempore nactus ſecundum,—circiter Millia Paſſuum viii ab eo loco progreſſus, aperto ac plano littore naves conſtituit. He landed about Walmer Caſtle, where the high cliffs terminate, and whither the diſtance of eight miles from Dover exactly carries us. Theſe are ſuch coincidences as deciſively prove the point. And the expreſſions in Dio which have been unfairly wreſted by Halley into a conformity with Cæſar's account, and as unfairly applied by Batteley in direct oppoſition to it (p. 45. Antiq. Rhutup.), ought certainly to be of no conſideration on the point, becauſe they are oppoſed by Cæſar's. Cæſar's own account of what he ſaw and did muſt certainly, in all points where the honour of Cæſar was not peculiarly intereſted, be infinitely ſuperior in authority to the accounts of others not preſent at the ſcenes, not cotemporary with the facts, and writing two or three centuries after him. The road from Dover to Canterbury, formerly fourteen Roman miles or thirteen Engliſh only (ſee Antoninus Iter 3.), is now extended to ſixteen Engliſh, as the head of the harbour and the ſite of the town of Dover were three miles nearer to Canterbury than they are at preſent. And the preſent road runs for one mile and a half along the bottom of the antient harbour. The name of this town therefore, the etymon of which has been ſuſpended in uncertainty betwixt Duvr Water and Duſyrrha Rocks (Lambard, Camden, and Somner), is certainly derived from the former, becauſe it was originally placed remote from its rocky cliffs, and becauſe its name Dubris or Dubræ is the appellation equally of the river and of the town.

[3] Batteley has fully ſhewn, and tradition coincides with the proofs, that the large plain which now lies under Richborough Caſtle was formerly the great harbour of Rhutupæ, Portus — claſſi Romanorum quæ Oceano Septentrionali dominabatur recipiendæ factus idoneus (Richard p. 17). The road from Margate now runs directly acroſs the mouth of the harbour, and the traveller now rides where the Roman navy anchored. At a point of this harbour and on the margin of a cliff were raiſed the caſtle and town of Rhutupæ. The ſite of the town, though it was one of the few Roman colonies in Britain, has been diſputed among the antiquarians. Camden places it near the caſtle and on the deſcent of the hill (p. 240 and 241, edit. 1607). And Somner transfers it to Sandwich (p. 6. Roman Ports in Kent). But the reaſons produced by Camden are deciſive. In his time,

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Richborough	Richborough	Richborough
— — —	— — —	Reculver

though not perhaps in the days of Somner, and certainly not in the days of Batteley, the interſections of the ſtreets were plainly traceable among the corn of a neighbouring field, and the plow frequently threw up Roman coins in it (p. 240 and 241). And this town appears from Leland (vol. vii. p. 113. Hearne) and Camden together to have extended along the ſlope of the hill that faces Sandwich. There, ſays the former particularly, more Roman money has been immemorially found and is to this day diſcovered than on any ſpot in the kingdom —The caſtle was without queſtion originally the ſtation of the Roman garriſon before Rhutupæ was erected into a colony, and afterwards ſerved ſolely, as it had partly ſerved before, for a ſecurity to the harbour. The walls of this caſtle, the moſt entire of any Roman walls in the kingdom, I ſuppoſe, except thoſe at Silcheſter, and of which we have a view in Stukeley (Itin. Curioſ. plate 97), and a deſcription both in Batteley (p. 17) and Stukeley (p. 118), ſtill ſtood very lofty in 1769, an huddled compoſition of flints pebbles and mortar, once faced (as the preſent not inconſiderable remains of the facing evince) with ſmall ſtones of a parallelogrammatick figure but different in length and breadth. The exterior ſurface of the wall is divided into ſtories, each ſtory comprizing ſeven courſes of facing ſtone, and each being defined with two courſes of very thin ſhort Roman bricks. The greateſt height of the wall at preſent is ſix ſtories and a half. And the uncommon height of the wall ſhews plainly that it could never have riſen much higher. But the wall towards the cliff is now wholly level with the ground, and perhaps always was nearly ſo.—The town and caſtle of Rhutupæ muſt have ſunk in ruins as the ſea retreated from them. The town, like Dover, followed the retiring waters. And Rhutupæ deſcending from its cliff, and ſettling upon the ſandy level of the old bay, aſſumed the new appellation of Sandwich. This evidently happened in the earlieſt period of the Saxon ſettlement among us. Somner indeed could not find the name of Sandwich in any cotemporary writing till the year 979 (p. 15. Roman Ports in Kent). But it occurs in a writer who lived before Bede, Aeddi or Eddius Stephanus, and in the relation of a fact as early as 664 or 665. The famous Wilfrid (ſays the author) returning from his conſecration in France, he and his company proſperè in Portum Sandwich atque ſuaviter pervenerunt (Vita Wilfridi c. 18. in Gale tom. i. See Bede lib. iv. c. 2.). This daughter-town of the Roman Rhutupæ muſt have ſtood cloſe upon the margin of the ſea at its original erection. But as the waters continued to recede from the coaſt, Sandwich found itſelf equally deſerted with Rhutupæ, and was obliged to open an harbour through the ſands of the ſhore. This communicated with the ſea betwixt Sandwich and Deal, is now denominated the Old Haven, but is nearly filled up and appears merely as a ditch at preſent. The ſea now lies two miles from the town, and the mouth of the Stour, which muſt formerly have been at that point of the æſtuary betwixt Thanet and Kent which is ſtill denominated Sture-mouth, is now the only harbour of Sandwich? There was therefore no river here in the time of the Britons and the Romans. And Camden's applauded etymology of Rhutupæ, Ruyd Tufith,

CAN-

		Antoninus
Contiopoli	m. p. 10	—— —— ——
Durelevo ——	18	—— —— ——
Mado —— ——	12	—— —— ——
		Iter 2 inv.
Vagnaca ——	18	Vagniacis ....
Novio Mago —— ——	18	Noviomago 18
Londinio ——	15	Londinio 10

or the Sandy Ford, is abſolutely impoſſible to be true. Equally impoſſible for the ſame reaſon is alſo Dr. Stukeley's etymology of Rhyd Tyf or the Paſſage over the Water. And the derivation given us by Batteley from the noiſe is obviouſly too general and extenſive to be juſt. The antient name of the town is Rutupæ, Rhutupi, or Rutubi. And the modern name of Richborough, Repta-caeſtir, or Ratiſburghe is merely a corruption of it. Rutubi Portus (ſays Bede lib. i. c. 1.)—nunc corruptè Reptacaeſtir. And ſee Somner p. 87. In b. II. ch. i. I ſhall ſhew Rut and Ruth to ſignify any Current of Water, and Pig or Pi is a Prominence (ſee Baxter in Begeſſa and Cager Voran, and remember Cunedag &c. mentioned before). Ruthupis then is Ruth-eu-Pi, the Peak of the Currents or the Prominence of the Waves, exactly the ſame as Bar-Rath-on the Hill of the Waves,

Canter-

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Canterbury	Canterbury	Canterbury
Lenham	Milton	Sittingburne
— — —	— — —	Maidſtone
Maidſtone	Northfleet	Sevenoke
Woodcote near Croydon	Woodcote	Croydon
London	London	London

a Caledonian iſlet in Oſſian (vol i. p. 261), and juſtly deſcriptive of the ſite of Rhutupis, which projects conſiderably into the antient domain of the ſea.

* The Roman ſtation at Cantiopolis, or Canterbury, the ſite of which none of our antiquarians have hitherto attempted to ſettle, was placed aſſuredly upon the preſent area of the ruinated caſtle, a natural eminence near to the river, and giving name to the ſtation and the town, Durovernum or Dorobernia. This name has been equally derived from the Britiſh Dur Whern a Rapid River (Lambard, Camden, and Somner) and the Britiſh Dur Vern a Temple on the River (Baxter). But as the river at Canterbury was always diſtinguiſhed by its preſent appellation of Sturius or Stour (Richard p. 17), ſo the idea of a Britiſh temple on its banks is merely imaginary. The name is nothing more than Dur Bern or the Knoll on the River.

ITER XVI.

A LONDINIO CENIAM USQUE SIC

Iter 15.				Iter 7 inv.	
Venta B.	80	VENTA BELGARUM	m. p. 90	Venta B.	66
				Iter 12.	
		BRIGE	11	Brig	11
		SORBIODUNO	8	Sorvioduno	)
		VENTA GELADIA	12	Vindocladia	13
		DURNOVARIA	9	Durnovaria	8
		MORIDUNO	33	Muriduno	36
		ISCA DAMNON.	15	Sca Dumnunnio-rum	15
		DURIO AMNE	m. p. ..		
		TAMARA	m. p. ..		
		VOLUBA	m. p. ..		
		CENIA	m. p. ..		

Win-

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Winchester	Winchester	Winchester
Broughton	Broughton	Broughton
Old Sarum	Old Sarum	Old Sarum
Winburne	Near Cranburne	Winburne
Dorchester	Dorchester	Dorchester
Seaton	Near Eggerton	Seaton
Exeter	Near Chiselborough	Exeter
		Ashburton Devonshire
		By Saltash
		Grampound Cornwall
		Tregeney, Falmouth

ITER XVII.

AB ANDERIDA [EBORACUM] USQUE SIC.

			Antoninus
	Sylva Anderida —	m. p. . . .	— — —
Iter 15.			Iter 2 inv.
Novio Mago —	Novio Mago —	m. p. . . .	Noviomago . . .
Londinio 15	Londinio —	m. p. 15	Londinio 10
	Ad Fines —	m. p. 30	— —
Iter 3.			Iter 5.
Durali Ponte —	Durolisponte —	m. p. . . .	Duroliponte . . .
Durnomago m. p. 20	Durnomago —	m. p. 30	Durobrovis 35
Isinnis — 20	Corisennis —	m. p. 30	Causennis 30
Lindo — 20	Lindo — —	30	Lindo — 26
	In Medio — —	15	— —
	Ad Abum — —	15	— — —
	UNDE TRANSIS IN MAXIMAM.		
Iter 5. from Preturium	Ad Petuariam —	m. p. 6	— —
Delgovitia 25	DEINDE		
Derventio 13			
Eburacum 7	Eboraco ut supra	m. p. 46	— —
45			

* The numerals do not appear in Bertram.

The

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
— — —	— — —	The Wild of Suſſex near Newhaven
Woodcote	Woodcote	Croydon
London	London.	London
— — —	— — —	Roiſton Hertfordſhire
Godmancheſter	Cambrige	Godmancheſter
Brig Caſterton	Caſter	Caſter
Nottingham	Ancaſter	Stanfield by Bourn Lincolnſhire
Lincoln	Lincoln	Lincoln
— — —	— — —	Kirkton in Lindſey
— — —	— — —	Wintringham on the Humber
— — —	Perhaps Brough in Yorkſhire.	Brough.
York	York.	York.

ITER XVIII.

AB EBORACO PER MEDIUM INSULÆ CLAUSENTUM USQUE SIC.

		Antoninus
	LEGEOLIO —— m. p. 21	—— —— ——
	AD FINES —— 18	—— ——
	—— —— —— m. p. 16	—— ——
Dr. S. more rightly perhaps	—— —— —— m. p. 16	—— ——
—— —— 10	—— —— —— —— ——	—— ——
—— —— 10		
Derventione 16	DERVENTIONE [1] —— m. p. 16	—— ——
	AD TRIVONAM —— 12	—— ——
	ETOCETO —— —— 12	—— ——

[1] These are the only ſtations in Derbyſhire which the Romans have pointed out to us. I have in the body of the work evinced Buxton to have been a ſtationary town. And a road proceeds from it, as I have ſhewn, to Brough near Caſtleton. This is popularly denominated Batham-Gate. I travelled the road in the autumn of 1767, and found it very direct, very broken, and frequently ſpoiled of all its original gravel. Circling by Fairfield to it, and proceeding about half a mile beyond the church, I found the road opening very broad on the right, courſing in a ſtraight green lane, and bordered with the ſtone-hedges of the country on either ſide. Thus does the road go on cutting all the other roads at right angles, ſometimes very plainly and ſometimes very obſcurely diſcernible, and elbowed now on the right and now on the left by the encroachments of the incloſures along it. It croſſes Small-dale Fold, deſcends the ſhelve of the hill beyond it, and is entirely blocked up by the ſtone-hedges in the valley. Here rounding a little upon the right in order to recover the ſeemingly apparent line of the road upon the oppoſite hill, I loſt myſelf and it for ſome time. But upon the large heath immediately beyond the valley, and betwixt the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth mileſtones in the road from Mancheſter to Cheſterfield, leaving the turnpike road as it proceeds to the latter, and directly croſſing Caſtle-

Gale	Horseley	Stukeley
Caſtleford	Caſtleford	Caſtleford
—— —— ——	—— ——	Gravelborough near Rotherham
—— —— ——	—— ——	Cheſterfield Derbyſhire
—— —— ——	—— ——	Alfreton
—— ——	—— ——	—— —— ——
—— ——	—— ——	Little Cheſter by Derby
—— ——	—— ——	Burton upon Trent
Wall near Litchfield	Wall	Wall.

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the heath to the left, about a quarter of a mile from it and upon the hither ſide of the hill, I came abreaſt of a large track, and immediately knew it to be the Roman road. It appeared a long ſtraight ſtreak of vivid green on the left, ſweeping over the purple-brown ſurface of the heath. I entered it, purſued its direction to the right, and at the end of three miles or three and a half found myſelf upon enquiry about a mile diſtant from Brough.

This village is placed in a beautiful well-watered and fruitful valley; and the cultivated ſcenery of it is a ſtriking contraſt to the barren heathy wilds in its neighbourhood. And the village appears from its name, its diſtance from Buxton, and the range of this Roman road to it, to have been originally Roman.

The ſtation was conſtructed upon the three fields which are denominated the Hall-ſteads, and are diſtinguiſhed into the Upper the Lower and the Little Hallſtead. This ſite lies directly upon two brooks, which waſh two of its ſides and unite at one of its angles. This ſite is nearly a parallelogram of eight or nine ſtatute-acres in extent, ſinks in ſteep banks along one of the longer ſides to the brook Noo or the Limeſtone Water, and ſlopes all the way in a gentle inclination to the South or the Gritſtone Water. To the weſt of theſe Hallſteads, and two or three incloſures from them, the Batham-Gate appears very

Iter

Iter 1 inv. From Etocetum			Antoninus Iter 2. from Etocetum
Manduessedo 13	MANDUESUEDO	16	Manduessedo 16
Benonis 12	BENONNIS	12	Venonis 12
			Iter 6 inv.
Tripontio 9	TRIPONTIO	11	Tripontio 9
Isanta Varia 12	ISANNAVARIA	12	Isanavatia 12
	BRINAVIS	12	
	ÆLIA CASTRA [2]	16	
	DOROCINA	15	
	TAMESI	6	
	VINDOMI	15	
	CLAUSENTO	46	

visible along the side of the Stræt-Fields; the fine ridge having the large hedge planted upon it, thrusting itself out considerably into the lane, and presenting a very remarkable elevation within the field. It is three or four yards in width across the back, one yard in height, and many yards in length, pointing directly at the end into the Lower Hallstead. And in the Lower Hallstead, and upon the lofty bank of the Noo, were very lately found the evident remains of the Prætorium, an hard flooring of Roman cement. A long cake of the cement I saw upon the site, more than two yards in length and one and a half in width, about two inches in thickness, composed of red pounded brick large pebbles and white mortar.

[2] The station and town of Ælia Castra or Aldchester in Oxfordshire were placed upon a very disadvantageous site, a level ground, and a damp soil. The site of the city has been considerably raised above its antient level by the foundations beneath and the ascititious earth above. This appears sufficiently from the level of all the meadows around it, and particularly at the neighbouring station. They are all above one yard and a half lower in the level than the other. The site of the city therefore, damp as it is at present, must have been much damper formerly, and nearly as much so as any of the swampy meadows in its neighbourhood.

The site of the Castrum is a very damp triangular meadow, bounded by a curving brook on the west and south, and having about the middle a remarkable mount of earth, which covers nearly half an acre of ground and rises nearly eight feet in height. This is mentioned by Plot and Stukeley, is called the Castle-Hill, and is said by tradition to have

Man-

GALE	HORSELEY	STUKELEY
Manceter	Manceter	Manceter
Claycheſter	Claycheſter	Claycheſter
Dowbridge near Lilburne	Bugby	Dowbridge
Caſtle Dykes near Wedon	Near Daventry	Towceſter
—— ——	—— ——	Banbury Oxfordſhire
—— ——	—— ——	Alceſter Oxfordſhire
—— ——	—— ——	Dorcheſter Oxfordſhire
—— ——	—— ——	Stretley on Thames
Silcheſter	Farnham	Sylcheſter
Southampton	Old Southampton	Southampton

had the Caſtle of Aldcheſter upon it. This was undoubtedly the Prætorium of the ſtation, and ſeems to have been ſurrounded with a ſlight ditch. The mount was dug into in the beginning of the laſt century, and much Roman money was diſcovered, as alſo brick, tile, and pavements of curiouſly wrought tile in the bigneſs of a ſixpence and delicately laid (Hiſtory of Aldcheſter in Kennet's Par. Ant). But in the ſpring of 1766 a conſiderable opening was made into it by Mr. Penroſe the proprietor of the meadow.

The workmen began upon the ſouth-weſtern part, and, through one foot and a half of old bricks and tiles and through four feet of aſhes mingled with human bones, came to paved ground covered with fine gravel. Purſuing this for ſeven or eight yards, they reached the walls of the Prætorium. Theſe were ſtanding about three feet in height. Going along the outſide of the wall about twenty or thirty feet towards the north-weſtern angle, they came to an opening in it, which appeared to be a doorway and was about eight feet in breadth. At this opening they began to enter the building, and immediately diſcovered a Roman pavement raiſed about four feet from the level of the meadow, and appearing to extend through the whole compaſs of the building. The pavement conſiſted of teſſellæ about one inch and a half in the ſquare, bearing different colours, neatly cemented together, and laid upon a bed of mortar.

Beneath, and on one ſide of, the diſcovered pavement was found a Roman Hypocauſt. It was a low room of one foot and a half in height, floored with ſmall pieces of cemented brick, and ſupported by a great number of little pillars. Theſe were two or three feet diſtant from each other, and had heaps of aſhes between them.

MEM.

I HAVE here laid open a variety of errours, within the compaſs only of two or three pages of Mr. Hume's hiſtory. And I may ſubjoin one remark to the whole, That his in-accuracy and in-attention have made him give us ſcarcely any real information, concerning the interiour ſtate of the iſland, even for the whole of the Roman period. His haſtineſs to diſcharge himſelf of this part of his work, has increaſed and multiplied his miſtakes. And yet it has in all probability preſerved him from more; as upon a rough road a briſk pace is frequently ſafer for fine horſes, than a ſlow one.

APPENDIX.

N° I.

I HAVE long thought, that a regular courſe of remarks upon the incidents and obſervations, which occur in the principal of our Engliſh hiſtorians, would be of conſiderable ſervice to hiſtorical knowledge. Our beſt national accounts, in the period eſpecially before the Conqueſt, call loudly, I think, for the corrective hand of criticiſm. Prejudice and partiality, ignorance and inattention, dulneſs and refinement, have all co-operated to throw their ſeveral falſe colours over the face of our annals, and diſguiſe their real and genuine features. And ſome bolder ſpirit has been long wanted among us, that would dare to read, examine, and think for himſelf; mount up to the fountain-heads of our hiſtory, there mark the principles that ſecretly colour the waters at the ſource, and then obſerve the tints that incorporate with them afterwards. Something of this nature is attempted in the preſent work. But it wants perhaps one addition. It ſhould not only endeavour to open the great and unveiled truths of our hiſtory, but alſo point out the errours, with which the earlier part of it ſeems to be clouded over. The brightneſs of truth, like that of the ſun, is moſt fully diſplayed, not merely by the radiance of its own light, but by a contraſt with its oppoſite darkneſs. And the many faults that have been committed by all our recent hiſtorians, I think, and are continually gleaned by each ſucceeding writer from the earlier, will be the ſooner avoided by being held up to the light,

light, and our iſland annals more readily purged of their original falſities.

Theſe reaſons have induced me to begin here, and to think of continuing regularly in the appendix, a ſeries of remarks, ſhort and deciſive, on our two beſt hiſtorians Mr. Carte and Mr. Hume, as the proper repreſentatives of the reſt. I ſhall remark upon them, however, only ſo far as their accounts run parallel in time with my own. And I ſhall do it with all the reſpect that is due to both. From this plan I foreſee not a little advantage to myſelf; as I doubt not but I ſhall have frequent occaſion, in animadverting upon them, to correct myſelf. And each volume of the Hiſtory of Mancheſter, before it appears in publick, will be improved by the light reflected back from the appendix. The obſervations will, many of them perhaps, appear un-important and trifling in the detail. But all will be found ſerviceable, I think, as parts of a whole. And, before I finally cloſe the ſubject, a regular ſcheme of hiſtorical criticiſm may be given, perhaps, for all the period of our national hiſtory before the Conqueſt.

At this time, I ſhall notice only ſuch parts of Mr. Hume's and Mr. Carte's hiſtories, as relate to the preceding accounts. And theſe are not very many. The preſent work has ſtruck out a new path of hiſtory, that ſeldom comes near to theirs.

CARTE

Vol. I.

P. 4—7, Mr. Carte gives us his etymologies for the names Albion and Britain; deriving the former in the uſual ſtrain of our hiſtorians from the white cliffs of Dover, and the latter from the Britanni on the continent. But theſe etymons are entirely overthrown, I think, in ch. i. ſ. 1. before, and, more particularly, in the Genuine Hiſtory of the Britons aſſerted againſt Mr. Macpherſon, p. 91—93 and 95—103.

P. 7—15, Mr. Carte is employed in following the courſe of Monſ. Pezron, and tracing thoſe Celtæ who planted Gaul and peopled Britain, in their progreſs weſtward from the ſeat of their original patriarch. But this is a ſubject ſo compleatly inveloped in darkneſs, that we cannot advance a ſtep upon certain ground. We are every moment in danger of ſtumbling upon ſtones or ſinking into pitfalls. And not a ruſh-light appears at a diſtance, to direct us in the dubious and dangerous progreſs. I ſay not this, however, from the faſhionable petulance of briſkneſs and vanity, which often condemns the reſearches that it is too ignorant or too indolent to purſue itſelf, and haſtily reprobates every attempt as impracticable which is attended with difficulty. And I ſpeak it only from the plain nature of the caſe. The Sacred Hiſtory frequently lends us information with regard to the father of a people, and the firſt place of his ſettlement. But it goes no farther. The Great Being, who amazingly condeſcended to become hiſtorian to man, became ſo only to promote the awful purpoſes of religion in the world. After the Diſperſion, therefore, he confines himſelf entirely to the family of Abraham, and gives us only incidental notices concerning the nations that bordered immediately upon it. And profane hiſtory cannot ſupply its place; as it does not give us its light, till ages after theſe weſtern regions of Europe were all inhabited.

That the iſles of the Gentiles were firſt peopled by the deſcendants of Japhet, is a declaration of Infallibility; and means, I ſuppoſe, only the iſlands and ſhores on the northern ſide of the Mediterranean. But that the family of Tiras or Tirax, his youngeſt ſon, firſt planted Europe, and ſpread themſelves to the weſtern coaſt of the Atlantick, as is aſſerted by Mr. Carte in p. 8—11; and were afterwards ſubdued by colonies from the deſcendants of Gomer the eldeſt, as is affirmed in p. 11—12; is ſaid without any authority of reaſon or of fact. Scripture only can carry us ſo far up the current of time. And it is quite ſilent on the ſubject. The only pretended proof of the former is the ungrounded affirmation, that the ſons of Tirax

had

had the names of Thraces, Briges, and Phryges; and the wild ſuppoſition, that theſe are the ſame with Frixi, Frigones, Friſones, Friſii, Bariſii, Brigantes, Briſones, Briſones, and Britanni, (p. 9); when almoſt all theſe appellations actually appear only as the names of the Gomerians or Celtæ many centuries afterward. And the only argument in favour of that Gomerian hiſtory, which is related in p. 12—15, is this, That the fabulous ſtories of the antients concerning their gods Saturn, Jupiter, Mercury, and Pluto, ſeem to have related to the antient princes on the northern coaſt of the Mediterranean. But this is no evidence, that theſe princes were kings of the Gomerians. It particularly does not ſhew, whether they were Gomerian or Thracian monarchs. And it much leſs proves, that the Thracians were the firſt planters of Europe, and afterwards ſubdued by the Gomerians

There are, I believe, no traces in any part of Celtick Europe, of an original ſettlement there by the ſons of Tirax, or of a ſubſequent reduction of theſe by the children of Gomer. And this part of Mr. Carte's or Monſ. Pezron's ſyſtem has not even the uſual ground-work of ſuch precarious ſpeculations, a ſemblance of hiſtorical probability. If indeed they had thought judiciouſly over their ſcheme, and endeavoured to give their airy hypotheſis a more ſubſtantial form; they would have cut off the whole of the Thracian plantation of weſtern Europe, and made the Gomerian invaſion the primary eſtabliſhment of it. And undertaken upon better principles, and executed in at more argumentative manner, this would pretty certainly have given us the true origin of our Celtick anceſtors.

N. B. I paſs over the etymologies, with which Mr. Carte has preſented us, to confirm his poſitions. The former indeed have, many of them, been given very often before. But they are as ridiculous as the latter are viſionary. And it would be too degrading for criticiſm, to refute ſeriouſly the derivation of the national names of Parthi and Sacæ from the Welſh Parthy and the Engliſh To Part and Sack (p. 11); and the deduction of Uranus,

the Greek ουρανος or heaven, from the Armorick Ur-ên a man of the heavens (p. 12); of Mercury from Merc a Latin-Britiſh word, and Ur, ſignifying a man of merchandiſe (p. 14); of Cronos, the Greek χρονος or time, from Corona, Kroon, or Crown, and of Pluto from the Greek πλουτος or riches (p. 13). the fantaſtical buttreſſes of a whimſical building.

P. 10. "This [Thracian or Phrygian] deſcent of theirs [the "Britons] ſeems to be ſufficiently pointed out, and the me- "mory of it to be preſerved, in the name of the Brigantes, who "were known to be, what Cæſar calls, the Aborigines, the "firſt inhabitants of this iſland. This was certainly the old "tradition of the natives; not only in his time, agreeably to "what he tells of their firſt coming over from Gaul; but alſo in "Bede's, who, living in the heart of the country of the Bri- "gantes, ſpeaks of it, as their received opinion, that Great "Britain was firſt peopled ex Armoricano tractu, not from the "particular province of Bretagne, but from the whole tract of "the ſea-coaſt."

In this ſpecimen of inaccurate and vague reaſoning are many miſtakes.—Cæſar ſays not, either that the Brigantes were the Aborigines of Britain, or that the latter came over from Gaul. His words are theſe: Britanniæ pars interior ab iis incolitur quos *natos in inſulâ ipsâ* memoriâ proditum dicunt; maritima pars ab iis qui ex Belgis tranſierant. And I have ſhewn before, ch. i. ſ. 1, and in the Hiſtory of the Britons aſſerted p. 71—74, that the name of Brigantes was not peculiar to the aboriginal Britons, but common to them and the Belgæ. The Belgick Trinovantes are particularly mentioned as Brigantes by the famous Galgacus. And the whole body of the Britiſh Belgæ are denominated Allobroges by Richard.—But how can any intimation in Cæſar, if there had been any, that the Aborigines came over from Gaul; or any in Bede, of their derivation ex Armoricano tractu; prove the Phrygian or Thracian deſcent of the firſt coloniſts, and in oppoſition too to the Gomerian of the ſecond?—Cæſar oppoſes the

the Aborigines to the Belgæ; but Mr. Carte contraſts them with the Gomerians or Celtæ. And Bede, in his traditionary derivation of the Britons ex Armoricano tractu, extends it to all of them; while Mr. Carte confines and appropriates it to the Aborigines.—Did not the Gomerians alſo, even according to Mr. Carte's own repreſentations, come equally with his fancied Thracians from Gaul, and (as he himſelf extends the words to all the ſea-coaſt of France) ex Armoricano tractu? And are not all the Belgæ in Britain, as I have mentioned above, denominated Broges and Brigantes?

P. 17. "Mr. Camden ſeems entirely of opinion, that the firſt "inhabitants of this iſland came from the Gomarians, the pro- "per and peculiar name of the Britons, being called (as the "Welſh, their genuine remains, call themſelves at this day) "Kumero, Cumero, Cymro, and Cumeri, like as a Britiſh or "Welſh woman, Kumerae, and the tongue itſelf Kumeraeg: "This of itſelf is a ſtrong preſumption, and he enforces it "with ſeveral reaſons, to which I readily ſubſcribe."

The inconſiſtency of this extract, and indeed of the whole paragraph from which I have taken it, with all the preceding account, is very apparent. The firſt coloniſts of the iſland are derived, before, from the ſons of Tirax, and now from the deſcendants of Gomer. Their Thracian or Phrygian deſcent is endeavoured to be proved, before, from the name of Brigantes, the teſtimony of Cæſar, and the tradition of Bede. Now, all theſe arguments are ſet aſide by Mr. Carte himſelf, and the author readily ſubſcribes to an opinion the very reverſe of his own. He here aſſigns reaſons and expreſſes a belief, entirely ſubverſive of all the former parts of his ſyſtem. And, what is as remarkable, this is no accidental and occaſional deviation from his ſettled opinion; and he perſiſts ever afterwards in this new belief.

P. 17—21.

P. 17—21. In theſe pages the author endeavours to fix the firſt population of this iſland. And at the cloſe he ſays thus—"It ſeems impoſſible to conceive, but that Great Britain muſt "at the lateſt be planted in one of thoſe reigns [Pluto's or "Mercury's]—, which took up together the ſpace of a century. "It was probably in the former, that the firſt Gomerian or "Celtic colonies were ſettled in this iſland, which muſt con- "ſequently have been planted 2000 years before the Chriſtian "æra."

In the former edition, and in anſwer to this very argument, I had obſerved, That the ſeries of Mr. Carte's own hiſtory pretty plainly oppoſes this notion of his; as it ſettles in p. 22. the firſt migrations of the Gauls of which we can aſcertain the period, migrations too occaſioned by populouſneſs, not till nearly 1500 years after the æra aſſigned here for the firſt inhabitation of Britain. And I had equally obſerved, That the hiſtory of population in England and Ireland ſeems ſtrongly to prove the country not to have been inhabited till about 1000 years before Chriſt. The latter argument I have ſince enlarged in the Hiſt. of the Britons aſſerted. And from the progreſs of population in the iſland and on the continent, the concurrence of one with the other, the coincidence of both with the notices of hiſtory, and the convergence of all to one common point of time, I have there ſhewn with as much certainty, I think, as the nature of the ſubject will admit, That Britain was not peopled till ten ages after the period ſet down by Mr. Carte for the fact. See p. 29—32 of the Hiſt. of the Britons.

P. 21—23. "About 150 years before Chriſt, the Belgæ— "croſſed the Rhine, and took poſſeſſion of the maritime pro- "vinces of Gaule,—tranſported over forces to Britain, and— "reduced at laſt all the ſouthern parts of this iſland from Kent "to the Land's End."

This

This invaſion of Gaul by the Belgæ muſt have happened much earlier, as they even invaded Britain 200 years before it. See ch. xii. ſ. 4. and Hiſt. of the Britons p. 64.

P. 23—24. The progreſs of the Cimbri here from the Palus Mæotis to the northern parts of Germany, and afterwards into the midland regions of it, is entirely falſe, I apprehend, and is certainly un-authenticated by Mr. Carte. The Cimbri of Jutland, like the Si-cambri on the Rhine, were aſſuredly derived, as they are in ch. xii. ſ. 4. above, and in The Hiſt. of the Britons p. 51—53, from the great ſtock of the Cimbri in Gaul.

P. 24. "Hither—the old inhabitants of Belgium came—; and "in all probability found the Britains willing to receive their "new gueſts, and to give them vaſt quantities of land, which "they did not cultivate.—Devonſhire and Cornwalle were all "in a manner a wild foreſt at the coming of the Belgæ, as they "continued to be in a great degree till within one hundred and "fifty years after the Conqueſt. Somerſetſhire was the ſame "for the moſt part.—Dorſetſhire too was full of the like foreſts. "And it is well known, how widely extended that of Ande-"rida was, and what a large tract of country it took up in "Kent and Suſſex. Theſe ſeem accordingly to have been the "parts where the Belgic Britanni firſt ſettled."

All this is plainly erroneous. There is a miſtake equally in the facts alledged, and in their application to the preſent ſubject.—The quiet ſettlement of the Belgæ in Britain is aſſerted in direct oppoſition to Cæſar. "Britanniæ—maritima pars (he ſays) ab iis [incolitur] qui, *prædæ ac belli inferendi causâ*, ex Belgis tranſierant; qui omnes,—*bello illato*, ibi remanſerunt. See alſo before ch. xii. ſ. 4.—And, though theſe counties had been in a manner a wild foreſt at the coming of the Belgæ, yet this would be no proof of their being uninhabited by the Britons before. The whole kingdom of the Coritani was nothing but one great foreſt, to the coming of the Romans (ſee ch. v. ſ. 3. before)—Kent, Suſſex, Devonſhire, Cornwall, Dorſetſhire, and Somerſetſhire were alſo inhabited by no leſs than ſeven tribes, and

three of them actually Britiſh, before and after the Belgæ came. And theſe three were the Carnabii, the Cimbri, and the Haedui; all equally ſubdued by the Proper Belgæ of Hampſhire, and the Damnonian of Devonſhire.—The ſix counties were ſo far from continuing in a great degree a foreſt to the Conqueſt, that they had each many Britiſh towns in them even before the Romans came, and many Roman cities afterward. And, if they had remained in a great degree a foreſt for ſo many ages after the Belgick ſettlements, then theſe muſt have made very little alteration in the ſtate and aſpect of the country; and the lands muſt have been almoſt as little occupied by the Belgæ now, as by the Britons before.—Nor could the Belgæ have ſettled, as they are here ſuppoſed by Mr. Carte, in theſe counties at firſt. Paſſing aſſuredly acroſs the narroweſt part of the ſea, and confining themſelves, as Cæſar informs us, to the ſouthern ſhore; they muſt gradually have extended their dominions from Kent to the Land's End. And their firſt poſſeſſions would be Kent, Suſſex, and Hampſhire; and Dorſetſhire, Somerſetſhire, and Cornwall, their laſt.—So pregnant with errours is this paſſage!

P. 25. "Theſe colonies from Belgium had been uſed to live "—, not—, like the Brigantes [or native Britons], in woods, "—but—in towns and villages; and—towns and cities now "began to be founded."

For a refutation of this wild opinion, which throws a ſhade over all the author's account here, we need only appeal to one authority, Cæſar's, and to his account of the only two Britiſh towns which he ſtormed. One was in the country of the Belgick Cantii, and the other in the dominions of Caſſivellaunus, a monarch of the aboriginal Britons. And they appear both the ſame. The former was no more a modern town or village, than the latter; but merely, like it, a fortreſs in the woods. And Cæſar expreſsly aſſures us, that there was no

other

other ſort of towns in the iſland. Oppidum Britanni vocant, quum ſilvas impeditas vallo atque foſsâ munierunt (p. 92).

—"Such were the numbers [of Belgæ] which came over "thither [into Kent], that, inſtead of mixing with the Britains, "as the others ſeem to have done, they formed a diſtinct people "known by the name of Nouantæ or New Inhabitants, or Nou "Cantæ or New Kentiſhmen, from whom Ptolemy calls the "Foreland of Kent Promontorium Noucantium."

The Nouantæ were not the inhabitants of Kent, but are placed in Eſſex by Ptolemy, and in Eſſex and Middleſex by Richard and the truth.—And, that they are ſometimes denominated Noucantæ, is a ſtrange miſtake. They are never called ſo.—And, that the Foreland of Kent is called Promontorium Noucantium by Ptolemy, is as ſtrange a one. It bears only the names of Cantion and A-Cantion in him and Strabo (p. 294 and 304); ſignifying Promontory and The Promontory.

P. 26. "As for the true Belgæ, they had no manner of taſte "for trade; their diſpoſition was entirely warlike. Their time "too was taken up in Gaule &c."

Such is the character here given of the Belgæ that migrated into Britain. And yet, the very page before, we have one given of them that is juſt the reverſe of this. In p. 25 it is ſaid of the Belgæ of Britain, that "*commerce* and husbandry had "been their chief employments in Gaule." How unguarded and contradictory!

—"Divitiacus aſſembling a large body of forces, compoſed "of his own ſubjects, the Bibroci in the Rhemois, the Attrebates, "and other Belgic nations,—paſſed the ſea into Britain; and "reduced a great part of it into his obedience. The chief ſcene of "his conqueſts lay in the counties of Berks and Oxford, where

"he

" he planted the Bibroci and Attrebates; and in thoſe of Hants, " Wilts, and the bordering parts of Somerſet and Suſſex, where " he ſettled the other adventurers, who went by the general " name of Belgæ; expelling the Regni and other clans of the " old inhabitants from their ſeats in thoſe countries."

Here is a variety of miſtakes, all reſulting principally from Mr. Carte's inattentiveneſs to that line of diſtinction, which facts point out and I have traced above, betwixt the Belgick and Aboriginal tribes of the iſland.—The Bibroces and Attrebates I have ſhewn in ch. v. ſ. 3. to have been both Aboriginal nations, and not Belgick. They could not therefore be tranſported into Britain at this period. And they could not have been ſettled in their dominions by Divitiacus.—Nor did theſe dominions extend into Oxfordſhire. They were all confined to the ſouth of the Thames.—And the chief ſcene of Divitiacus's conqueſts did not lie in Oxfordſhire and Berkſhire. Theſe counties were ſo far from being the principal theatre of his actions, that they were actually none at all. And in ch. xii. ſ. 2. I have ſhewn, in what part of the iſland his conqueſts probably lay.—They were not in Somerſetſhire and Suſſex. They could not be, even according to Mr. Carte's own repreſentation before. In p. 24 he has ſettled the firſt colonies of the Belgæ in Suſſex and Somerſetſhire. And thoſe countries were therefore poſſeſſed by the Belgæ before Divitiacus came over, and could not be conquered by them now.—In p. 24 Mr. Carte has alſo fixed the earlieſt colonies in Kent, Suſſex, &c., as lying all waſte, and being unpoſſeſt by the Britons. But here it appears, that ſome part of Suſſex, particularly, did not lie waſte, and was actually poſſeſſed by a whole nation of the Britons, the Regni.—And theſe Regni inhabited not merely thoſe parts of Suſſex that border upon Hampſhire. They extended over the whole of it (ſee ch. iii. ſ. 2.).—And the conqueſts of Divitiacus could have as little to do with Hampſhire, as with Suſſex. This, as I have ſhewed before, muſt naturally have been a part of the firſt poſſeſſions of the Belgæ, as they ſpread ſucceſſively from Kent into Cornwall. And therefore it could not be conquered now.—Nor

were

were the Regni expelled from their poſſeſſions at this period. They continued in them, and were maſters of all Suſſex, even to the period of the Roman ſettlement among us (ſee ch. iii. ſ. 2).—Nor were the Regni likely to be expelled by the Belgæ. They were Belgæ themſelves. Maritima pars (ſays Cæſar) ab iis [incolitur] qui ex Belgis tranſierant. And ſee ch. xii. ſ. 2.

P. 26—27. "It is very probable, that—he [Divitiacus] ſub-"dued a good part of the Iceni."

This is a ſuppoſition not at all probable in itſelf. And it is certainly not true. In ch. v. ſ. 3. I have ſhewn, that it is not; and that the Caſſii, the great enemies of the Belgæ, and the ſubduers of the Belgick Trinovantes, lay betwixt them and the Iceni.

P. 27. "That great prince's ambition [Divitiacus's] had in-"volved them [the Belgæ] in wars with the natives; in which "the Attrebates and Trinobantes, lying upon the borders, "ſuffered moſt; and—the Iceni and Cattivellauni found it no "difficult matter to recover their liberty. Had it not been for "that reigning paſſion in Divitiacus,—the Belgæ might probably "have continued much longer in amity with the Britons—."

The Belgæ, as I have already ſhewn in theſe remarks, had been previouſly engaged in wars with the natives. And they had been ſo from the firſt moment of their deſcent on the country. Prædæ ac belli inferendi causâ ex Belgis tranſierant, et bello illato ibi remanſerunt (Cæſar p. 92).—In theſe wars the Attrebates and Trinobantes could not ſuffer more than any other Belgæ. The Attrebates were not of the Belgæ. They were Aboriginal Britons.—The Cattivellauni are now firſt mentioned by Mr. Carte. And they are here repreſented as throwing off the yoke of the Belgæ, when we have yet had no account of their reduction by them.—But the reduction of either them or the Iceni, and the poſterior recovery of both from the yoke, are

incidents

incidents forged only in the fancy of the hiſtorian, contrary to the teſtimony of authentick hiſtory, and indubitably untrue.

N. B. From p. 27 to 71 is a hiſtory of Druidiſm, and, in general, a good one; but marked in many places with thoſe ſtrokes of the conjectural and fanciful, which it is perhaps difficult to avoid in a work of this nature. And from p. 71 to 77 is an account of the Gauls.—I have little to do with either. And I ſhall note only two or three paſſages, that contradict my former accounts.

P. 43. "Gildas informs us, that the Britons in his time had "very ill-favoured ſtatues, and paid divine honours to moun-"tains, hills, and rivers."

This is very inaccurately ſtated. Gildas ſays only, that the Britons worſhipped theſe objects, and had ill-favoured ſtatues, before they were converted to Chriſtianity; and that ſome of the latter remained to his own time. He will not enumerate (he ſays ch. 2) patriæ portenta ipſa diabolica, pœnè numero vincentia Egyptiaca, quorum nonnulla lineamentis adhuc deformibus intra vel extra deſerta mœnia, ſolito more rigentia, torvis vultibus intuemur; neque—montes ipſos—vel fluvios,—quibus divinus honor a cæco tunc populo cumulabatur. Here, we ſee, he ſpeaks not of any idolatrous worſhip remaining to his own time. He only ſays, that ſome monuments of it continued till then. And theſe were not, as Mr. Carte has made them, the images formed and worſhipped by the primitive Britons; but thoſe of the Roman only. They were ſeen, he obſerves, intra vel extra deſerta mœnia, at the ſites of the Roman-Britiſh cities that had been recently deſtroyed by the Saxons. And ſeveral of them have come down to the preſent times."

P. 73. "Some fleſh-meat, — but chiefly milk, — and bread, "were their ordinary food; though the Gauls regaled them- "ſelves—with cheeſe, which the Britons had not learned to "make."

Mr. Carte has before repreſented the high degree of civility to which the Britons had arrived, by giving them regular towns. But he here makes a large deduction from that account, and denies them even the art of making cheeſe. The panegyrick was exaggerated. And the deduction is unjuſt. They had no regular towns. And they actually made cheeſes. Some of the Britons, ſays Strabo, know not how to make cheeſe, ενιοις μη τυροποιειν δια την απειριαν, p. 305. Many of them therefore did; and all aſſuredly that underſtood agriculture, the Belgæ, and even ſome of the neighbouring Britons.—And, as to bread, it is highly probable that it was not the ordinary food of one half of the Britons. Where agriculture was practiſed, as among the Belgæ and ſome of the adjoining Aborigines, there bread undoubtedly would be uſed. But where the former was unknown, as among all the other Britons, there the latter could not ordinarily be had. And it was moſt probably not had at all. Barley indeed ſeems to have been brought into the northern kingdoms from the ſouth, for the ſervice of the breweries. But it would naturally be appropriated to them. The want of bread might be ſupplied by the miniſtery of roots. But there could be no ſubſtitute for a cordial, exhilarating, and animating liquor. And the latter would, in every ruder age and colder climate, be infinitely preferred to the former. That therefore would be kept up by barley expenſively fetched from the ſouthern regions of the iſland, while this would be neglected or overlooked.

P. 74. "In Cæſar's time neither they [the Gauls], nor the "Belgæ of the ſouth parts of Britain, painted their bodies."

This

This aſſertion concerning the Belgæ is directly contrary to Cæſar's own account of the Britons. Longè ſunt humaniſſimi qui Cantium incolunt (ſays he), quæ regio eſt maritima omnis, neque multùm a Gallicâ differunt conſuetudine: interiores plerique frumenta non ſerunt: *omnes verò ſe Britanni vitro inficiunt.* Here the Belgæ of the ſea-coaſt are expreſsly declared to have been equally painted, with the interiour or Aboriginal Britons.

—"The Gauls had a like advantage, in the largeneſs of their "houſes, over the Britains, whoſe cabins were very mean, "made up of reeds and wood, or of ſods and hurdles."

To this falſe account there needs no other reply, than to obſerve, that Cæſar expreſsly contradicts it. The houſes of the Britons, he remarks, were almoſt exactly the ſame with thoſe of the Gauls: Ædificia ferè Gallicis conſimilia. The latter therefore could have little or no advantage over the former, either in the ſize or the nature of their houſes.

P. 75. "The Celtæ deſpiſed death ſo much, as often to fight "naked; the Gauls doing that out of a bravado, which the "Britons were forced to ſubmit to out of neceſſity."

This is in the general ſtrain of our hiſtorians But I have ſhewn before, ch. vii. ſ. 5, in oppoſition to them all, that the Britons were as regularly cloathed as the Gauls; that they appeared naked only in the hour of battle; that ſome even of the Gauls retained the cuſtom to the days of Diodorus; and that, ſtill more wonderful, the Highlanders even partially preſerved it to the reign of king William, throwing off their plaids and ſhort coats, and fighting in their ſhirts, as late as the battle of Killicranky.

—"The Britains—had the broad ſword without a point, as "well as the ſhorter dagger, and ſuch javelins and arrows as "they uſed in their hunting; but the common people were "ill provided in this reſpect, their darts being generally ſticks

"of

"of wood, burnt and ſharpened at both ends, and a long ſtaff "edged towards the end with flint or headed with a piece of "copper, inſtead of halberts: theſe were their offenſive wea- "pons. A light round target — was all they uſed for their "defence; having neither coats of mail nor helmets, as Tacitus "aſſures us."

In the lines immediately preceding this extract we are told, that the Gauls had coats of mail, helmets, broad long ſwords without points, and ſhort ones; darts, javelins, and battle-axes. And if this repreſentation of the Gallick armouries be, as it is, juſt and true, the Britiſh muſt have been better provided than they are here deſcribed to be. The weapons of all the Celtæ would naturally be the ſame, with only thoſe ſmall and incidental variations which commerce might have introduced among them. And, that the Britiſh and Gallick arms were exactly the ſame, we are expreſsly aſſured by Mela; who ſays, that the Britons were Gallicè armati (ſee ch. i. ſ. 2. before).—Nor does Tacitus's account contradict this, even as applied by Mr. Carte. He ſays, that the bulk of the Caledonians had no coats of mail or helmets. And this is very conſiſtent with the other. The principal warriours only wore them, as I have ſhewn in ch. i. ſ. 2. And thoſe only muſt have worne them in Gaul, as only ſuch were clad in them even to theſe later times.—The Britiſh halbert, or Celt, in Mr. Carte I have ſhewn above, ch. i. ſ. 2, to have been the ſame inſtrument that he here aſſigns to the Gauls, a battle-axe. And the agreement of the Britiſh and Gallick weapons is an additional evidence in favour of the opinion.—That the darts of the Britons were generally ſticks of wood burnt and ſharpened at both ends, is all an aſſertion without proof. And it is clearly unjuſt. The Caledonian ſpears (ſays Dio) had a brazen apple at the end (ſee ch. i. ſ. 2). And, if they had this at one end, they were certainly pointed with metal at the other.—Nor was the Britiſh target always round. Generally it was ſo. But we have one upon a coin of Cunobeline, which is in the form of a lozenge; as I have remarked in ch. ix. ſ. 2.

P. 76. "Before that time [the Roman conqueſt], the greateſt "part of Britain lay uncultivated—; the old Britons not under- "ſtanding huſbandry—. The Belgic colonies—firſt began to— "build houſes ſubſtantial enough to laſt for a conſiderable time, "as well as contiguous to each other, and to live together in towns "and villages. The Britains ſtill went on in their old way."

All the old Britons, without exception, are here declared not to underſtand huſbandry. But the declaration is not true. Some of them did. Plerique interiores frumenta non ſerunt, ſays Cæſar.—The houſes alſo of the Britons and Belgæ were exactly the ſame. They were built in the ſame manner with the Gallick. And they were, conſequently, of one and the ſame nature, alike in materials and form.—And that the Belgæ firſt began to build houſes contiguous to each other, and live together in towns and villages, has been already refuted. They had juſt ſuch towns as the Britons, at the period of the Roman conqueſt.

"The Britains ſtill went on in their old way—. Their "cattle—they drove from place to place, according to the ſeaſon "of the year and the nature of the ſoil—. Thus Weſtmoreland "and Somerſetſhire, being moiſt and moraſſy countries, ſerved "the Brigantes and Dumnonii for the ſummer paſtures, as "Cumberland, Cornwall,—having a dryer ſoil, did for their "winter."

That the nations of the Britons, in general, did drive their cattle from one county to another in ſummer and winter, is impoſſible to be fully true. Few of them poſſeſſed little more than a county or two. And many of them had only a ſingle one.—Nor could the Brigantes have uſed Weſtmoreland and Cumberland for their ſummer and winter paſtures. Weſtmoreland is far from being a moiſt and moraſſy country, or Cumberland from being remarkably dry. The hills of the former muſt have been as good a winter paſture, as any lands in the latter. And the Brigantes could have nothing to do with either, till their reduction of them; which was only about the beginning of the Chriſtian æra. Nor did they then find them deſolate.

Cumberland

Cumberland was even then inhabited by a nation, that had extended itself over half Westmoreland.—And all the change of pastures, that was made by the Britons, was the same undoubtedly as is made to this day by the Highlanders; driving the cattle to the valleys in the summer, and re-driving them to the hills in winter.—Somersetshire therefore, as such, could not be the winter or summer pastures of any tribe of the Britons. And it did not belong to the Dumnonii. It was inhabited by the whole nation of the Hædui, and a part of the Cimbri. And only a very small portion of it, to the south-east, was possessed by the Dumnonii.—A great part of Cornwall was equally inhabited by the whole tribe of the Carnabii, and the rest by the Cimbri and Dumnonii.—And it is remarkable that Mr. Carte, in speaking of the mode of living among the *old Britons*, instances in a couple of tribes, the Dumnonii and Brigantes; when one of them, the former, is according to truth, and even his own accounts both before (p. 23 and 24) and after (p. 103), a tribe of the *Belgæ*.

—The old Britons "had no cities or towns, except such "transitory ones as are described by Strabo, who says that "woods served them instead of cities, "for cutting down a "number of trees, they inclose a circle, and put up huts in it "for themselves and stalls for their cattle to serve them for a "little time." These cabins were only for a present shelter, "whilst their cattle fed in a certain place."

That the old Britons had cities, and such as the Belgæ had, has been convincingly shewn before. They had, neither of them, any but towns in the woods. And they both had them equally.—The transitory cities founded on Strabo's authority are only the fancies of his mis-informed criticks. And his words are these. Περιφραξαντες δενδρεσι καταβεβλημενοις ευρυχωρα κυκλον, και αυτο. ενταυθα καλυβοποιουνται, και τα βοσκηματα καταςαθμευουσιν, ου προς πολυν χρονον. And here is no account of the Britons shifting their habitations, and much less of their changing their cities. The whole is a description of a British town. And Strabo says, that it was composed of cabins for the garrison and hovels for

the cattle, ε προς πολιν χρονον, built of no durable materials; being not conſtructed, like thoſe of Italy, with ſtone or bricks, but with timber and plaiſter. I have ſhewn already from Cæſar, that they were of the ſame materials generally with the Gallick houſes. And they were mean habitations, ſays Diodorus expreſsly, becauſe they were compoſed principally of timber and reeds (p. 346).—Strabo's words alſo, which are here confined by Mr. Carte to the old Britons, are extended in the original to all of them, the Belgæ as well as the Aborigines. And, as they are deſcriptive of a Britiſh town, they ſhew the old Britons and the Belgæ to have equally had towns among them, and equally the ſame ſort of towns; and ſo defeat the very deſign for which Mr. Carte has produced them.

P. 77. "Colonies, from a corruption of which word that of "clan is derived."

How is this poſſible! How could the appellation of clan, which is retained to this day in the un-romanized regions of Caledonia and Ireland only, be derived to them from the Romans! The word indeed is purely Britiſh. And it has no relation to colony, either in its origin or import. It ſignifies only a progeny or family.

P. 80, Mr. Carte cloſes his account of the Britons with theſe remarks: "The old Britons were "without military ſkill or ex-"perience, the neceſſary conſequence of a long courſe of peace, "interrupted nowhere except on the borders of the Belgic colo-"nies; in a country generally—open, without any incloſure, "without a ſingle town or fortification from one end of the "kingdom to the other."

That the old Britons had no military ſkill or experience, is ſaid, becauſe it is ſuppoſed that they had no wars, except with the Belgick colonies. And, as this is not true, the other muſt be falſe. Diodorus, indeed, ſays ſomething like it; taking notice, that the kings of Britain were generally at peace one with another (p. 347). But then he extends the obſervation equally

to

to the old Britons and the Belgæ. And hiſtory and fact concur to diſprove both his and Mr. Carte's aſſertion. Cauſas ac bella contrahunt, ſays Mela of the Britons in general, ac ſe frequenter invicem infeſtant, maximè imperitandi cupidine, ſtudioque ea prolatandi quæ poſſident (lib. iii. c. 6). And I have, accordingly, ſhewn the old Britons of Yorkſhire and Durham to have reduced the Siſuntii and Velabtri, the Selgovæ, and Carnabii; the Iceni to have ſubdued the Coritani; and the Caſſi the Dobuni, &c.—Nor was Britain generally open and without incloſures. It could not be, when the face of the country was ſo greatly interſected with woods, as Strabo aſſures us that it was (p. 305). And, that there was not a ſingle town or fortification among the old Britons, is a continuation of the errour refuted above, and the unjuſteſt repreſentation that ever was given. Mr. Carte indeed appears to have *nodded* over this part of his hiſtory. For does not he himſelf give us an account in p. 94, of Caſſivelaun's town being fortified by the old Britons "very "ſtrongly both by art and nature," and actually ſtormed by the Romans? Does he not in p. 101 ſpeak of Camulodunum, the capital of Cunobeline, a monarch of the old Britons? And do we not meet with an infinite variety of towns, both in Britain and in Ireland, among the geographers and hiſtorians of Rome?

P. 94. "Caſſivelaun ſent inſtructions to Cingetorix and Taxi-"magulus, two Kentiſh potentates, Carvilius, chief of the Car-"vilii in Wilts, and Segonax, a prince of the Segontiaci in "Hampſhire, to aſſemble all their forces and ſurpriſe the naval "camp of the Romans."

The making Carvilius chief of the Carvilii, a tribe exiſting only in imagination, and Segonax prince of the Segontiaci, a nation much too remote to be concerned in an attack upon Cæſar's naval camp, is borrowed from the very fanciful, and generally miſtaken, Mr. Baxter. And Dr. Stukeley in his Stonehenge, to the affront of his better judgment, has adopted the

ſame wild notion. Cæſar expreſsly declares them all to have been of Kent; Cantium—quibus regionibus quatuor reges præerant (p. 92).

P. 103. "In all thoſe territories of the Dumnonii [Cornwall, "Devon, and the adjoining parts of Somerſetſhire] there is not "the leaſt veſtige of any Roman ſtation or encampment [and "therefore, it is argued, that no ſtations were ever ſettled "there]."

There were Iſca Damnoniorum, Moridunum, Cenia, Voluba, Durius, Tamara, &c. Theſe Ptolemy and the Itineraries mention. And there were various others without queſtion, of which they give no account. One or two of theſe laſt are actually deſcribed in Dr. Borlaſe's Cornwall.

N. B. In p. 91, 98, 100, 104, 114, 119, &c. &c., are great miſtakes concerning the poſition of the Britiſh tribes. And I do not wonder at it. The Roman-Britiſh geography of the iſland has never yet been ſatisfactorily ſettled, unleſs it is perhaps in the preſent work.—But I wonder at one thing. That is the inconſiſtency in the accounts of the tribes. The Dumnonii I have remarked before to be repreſented as Belgæ in p. 23, and in p. 76 as old Britons. The Trinobantes, who are always very juſtly noted before as Belgæ, are all at once in p. 114—117 transformed into old Britons. The Regni in p. 16 are placed in the adjoining parts of Suſſex and Hampſhire, and made old Britons: but a part of them in p. 96 is fixed in Surry, and converted into Belgæ; and all of them make their appearance as Belgæ in p. 100, and again in p. 107. And the Caſſii or Cattivellauni are Aborigines in p. 17, Belgæ in p. 90 and 94, and Aborigines again in p. 100.

P. 129. "The inhabitants of the Lowlands of Scotland were, "before the Romans came hither, either dependants or vaſſals "of

"of the Brigantes properly so called, or at least confederates "with them and of their race; having the same divinity for "their particular patroness, as appears from the inscription on an "altar dug up in Scotland, and inscribed to the Goddess Bri-"gantia."

I have touched upon this subject in ch. iv. s. 2, and have there shewn, that the statue (not the altar), which was dug up in Scotland, was found in Anandale, and is answered by a correspondent stone discovered in Cheshire. And I have observed from both, that the Brigantes in Yorkshire and Durham appear, not have conquered or confederated with all the nations of Valentia, but on their subjection of Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland, to have crossed the Solway and Mersey, and reduced the Carnabii of Cheshire and the Selgovæ of Anandale. This the inscriptions prove. And they prove nothing more. Because the Selgovæ of Anandale appear to have been conquered by the Brigantes, it will not follow that the Damnii, the Ottadini, the Novantes, and the Gadeni had been equally conquered. And we might as well argue, that all Flavia had been likewise reduced by the same enterprizing tribe; because Cheshire had.

P. 130. "Whether they [the Novantes of Valentia] were a "colony of the Belgic Britains (and they should be Britains, since "Al-cluid, their capital, was called Dun-Briton), or of any "other Celtic nation settled there upon the old inhabitants re-"moving into Ireland,—they certainly spoke a different language "from that of the Irish, Caledonians, and other Britains; and "the Lowland Scots are, in the Irish language, to this day, "called Gallduch na Halbain, from Gall, a stranger."

The hint here, concerning the Belgick origin of the Novantes in Valentia, must appear very ridiculous to any one that knows the interiour geography of Britain. There were no Belgick colonies within 300 miles from Valentia.—And the proof, that the Novantes were Britons, is almost as ridiculous as the hint before it. Alchuid or Dunbriton was never the capital of the Novantes. It was not even any town of theirs. And

their dominions did not reach within eighty or a hundred miles from it.—But the aſſertion, that they ſpoke a very different language from the other Britons, and the evidence produced in favour of it, is more ridiculous than either. Though the Iriſh do call the Lowland Scots Gallda-ch na Halbuin, and though they meant to call them Strangers by that name; would this prove any particular and ſmall part of the Lowlanders to be peculiarly ſtrangers? And, ſtill more, would it argue them to ſpeak a different language from the reſt of the iſlanders? It certainly would not do either. The Lowlanders might in general be ſtrangers, and yet a particular part of them not be ſo. And they might even all be ſtrangers, and yet not ſpeak a different language. The Belgæ of Middleſex and Eſſex were equally denominated Nevantes, and were actually ſtrangers: and yet their language was the ſame with the Britiſh. But the Lowlanders might be called ſtrangers by the Iriſh, becauſe they are Saxons; as the Engliſh in Ireland are ſaid to be equally called ſo by the natives. And even the Highlanders call themſelves to this day by the ſame name of Caeldoch or Galldach. Do they therefore acknowledge themſelves to be ſtrangers in their own country? Or do they ſpeak a very different language from the South-Britiſh, Caledonian, and Iriſh? The real truth is this. The name Galldach na Halbuin ſignifies ſtrangers, no more than the inhabitants of the moon. And all our etymologiſts are miſtaken about it. It means only the Gauls of Albion; as the Iriſh call themſelves the Caelich Eirinach or Gauls of Ireland, and the Engliſh in Ireland the Ghaill, and the French the Gallta and Galltach. And ſee alſo ch. xii. ſ. 4, and the Hiſtory of the Britons aſſerted againſt Mr. Macpherſon p. 120—121.

This obſervation concerning the original meaning of the word Gael, Gallt, and Galltach, is the more proper to be inſiſted upon; as not only Mr. Carte, but even Mr. Macpherſon, a native Highlander, and Mr. O'Halloran, a native Iriſhman, have equally miſtaken the meaning, and built ſchemes of fictitious hiſtory upon it. And the laſt gentleman, in his new Introduction to the Hiſtory and Annals of Ireland, has even gone ſo

far,

far, as to draw a line of diſtinction betwixt two words that are one and the ſame, Gael and Gathel; and made them, becauſe the Iriſh (he ſays) popularly make them at preſent, to ſtand Gathel for a Gaul or Iriſhman, and Gael for a ſtranger (p. 192). Gathel, however, I have ſhewn before to be pronounced like Gael in the language equally of the Highlands and of Ireland to this day, and to be equally with it the generical appellation of all the Britons (ch. xii. ſ. 4. and Hiſtory of the Britons aſſerted p. 77—78 and 120—121). And this Introduction to the Iriſh hiſtory, though it is animated with an uncommon ſpirit of patriotiſm, and has actually vindicated Ireland from many groſs and eſtabliſhed mis-repreſentations, is not written in a ſtrain of cool and judicious argumentation. I am ſorry to ſay it, becauſe I eſteem the patriot and honour the vindicator in Mr. O'Halloran. But in reaſoning he is often impertinent, in etymology generally ridiculous (ſee p. 199, &c.), and in early hiſtory aſtoniſhingly credulous, as viſionary as a winter's tale, and as fantaſtical as the dream of a feveriſh brain. And I force myſelf to ſpeak thus ſtrongly againſt the Introduction, in order to check (if I can) that torrent of ridiculous and imaginary hiſtory, which the Iriſh are now buſily diſcharging upon us; as I have recently endeavoured to dam up that for ever, which their brethren and antagoniſts of the Highlands have equally let looſe upon the nation. True hiſtory can only ſubſiſt upon the deſtruction of both. And to beat down that wretched ſpirit of credulity, which has been in every age the fixed and hereditary feature of all the remains of the antient Britons among us, is abſolutely neceſſary, in order to maintain the dignity of the national hiſtory, and to vindicate the honour of the national underſtanding.

HUME.

Vol. I. 8vo.

P. 1—2. Mr. Hume appears in his hiſtory to be frequently ſeduced from the truth by purſuing a ſplendour of ſentiment, and led away by an affectation of ſingularity into wildneſs and extravagance. And he ſometimes appears adapting his ſentiments to his ſituation, and throwing out ſuch obſervations as will beſt ſerve the preſent purpoſe. And both theſe principles ſeem to have concurred in the production of his remarkable preface. There he advances a poſition, convenient perhaps for himſelf, but certainly unjuſt in its nature; That the hiſtory of nations in their infancy is not worthy a recital; as if the commencement of civil life, the dawn of the arts, and the riſe of literature, were not incidents as important and intereſting, as the poſteriour account of them, their occaſional eclipſes or accidental illuminations. And on this falſe principle he propoſes to run briefly over the events, which attended the Roman conqueſt of Britain.—He aſſigns alſo this additional reaſon for it, That they "belong more to Roman than Britiſh ſtory" (p. 2). For the ſame reaſon he muſt as briefly run over the Saxon, the Danish, and the Norman invaſions, the irruptions of the Scots into our borders, and the deſcents of the French upon our coaſts, as belonging rather to the hiſtory of Saxony and Denmark, Neuſtria, Scotland, and France. And in writing the annals of France, Scotland, or Ireland, he would take very little notice of the Engliſh tranſactions in thoſe countries.—Such are the trifling arguments adduced, for giving us ſo ſhort an account of the Roman hiſtory of Britain. And Mr. Hume adds, in proſecution of the former principle, what (as I have obſerved above) the latter would equally have led him to, That he ſhall alſo "haſten through the obſcure and un-intereſting period of the

"Saxon

"Saxon annals" (p. 2). By this means, that whole portion of our hiſtory, which (as I have formerly remarked) is the moſt important in it, is conſigned over to neglect and careleſſneſs, as unworthy a man of genius for its writer, and incapable of affording entertainment and inſtruction to the reader. And a ſtrong brand is fixed upon that period of our annals, which is (as I may ſay) the great ſeed-plot of our national hiſtory, as it gives us the origin and inſtitution of all our government, all our civility, and all our religion; and is therefore fraught with infinite variety of inſtruction and pleaſure to the man, the Chriſtian, and the critick.

The extravagance of ſentiment in theſe poſitions, and, what as ſtrongly marks them, the faſtidious affectation of delicacy, muſt have been very manifeſt to a gentleman of Mr. Hume's ſtrong and maſculine judgment. And his ſeverer reflections muſt have been diſguſted with both. But it was not convenient for him, to travel properly through the period preceding the Conqueſt. And yet it was neceſſary in itſelf, in order to give a ſeeming and ſaleable compleatneſs to his hiſtory. In this dilemma, not furniſhed with the requiſite knowledge, and yet obliged to engage in the work, he naturally reſolved to ſkim lightly along the ſurface, and throw an air of propriety over his conduct by ſome general reaſons at the beginning. Theſe, however ſlight and flimſy in themſelves, would engage attention from their novelty, and perhaps convert even a deficiency into a grace. And, that this was actually the reaſon for the preface and the practice of Mr. Hume, is plain (I think) from the innumerable miſtakes which he has made, even in his method of writing hiſtory, in the Britiſh, Roman, and Saxon periods of it. Some of theſe I ſhall now point out, and nearly tranſcribe the whole of his general account of the Britons.

P. 2. "All antient writers agree in repreſenting the firſt in-
"habitants of Britain as a tribe of the Gauls or Celtæ, who
"peopled that iſland from the neighbouring continent. Their

" language was the ſame, their manners, their government, " and ſuperſtition; varied only by thoſe ſmall differences, which " time and a communication with the bordering nations muſt " neceſſarily introduce."

Mr. Carte p. 7. ſays thus. And Mr. Hume ſets out the mere abridger of him. " That they [the Britons] were a Celtic na- " tion, and came hither from Gaule, is no longer doubted by " any body: the perfect conformity between them and the old " Gaulois in their manners, cuſtoms, habits, buildings, temper, " warlike genius, ſuperſtitions of religion, and above all in their " language, joined to the ſituation of the two countries, not al- " lowing on this head the leaſt room for diſpute." And Mr. Hume appears to have judiciouſly compacted what had been diffuſively ſaid by Mr. Carte, and to have given us his argument in a better form.—But he has varied a little from his original, and thereby fallen into miſtakes. Mr. Carte ſays, that the Gallick derivation of the Britons is no longer doubted by any one; and Mr. Hume, that it is unanimouſly aſſerted by all the antient writers. Theſe are very different propoſitions. And the former is generally true, but the latter entirely falſe. There are only two antient writers, I think, that ſpeak of the Gallick deſcent of the Britons. One is Cæſar, who does not agree with Mr. Hume. And the other is Tacitus, who directly oppoſes him. Cæſar ſays not, whence the great body of the iſlanders was derived; and he ſpeaks only of the ſouthern Britons as Gallick Belgæ. Britanniæ pars interior ab iis incolitur quos *natos in inſulâ ipsâ memoriâ proditum* dicunt; maritima pars ab iis qui—ex Belgis tranſierant (p. 88). And Tacitus expreſsly affirms the origin of the Britons to be a thing unknown. Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint, indigenæ an advecti, ut inter barbaros, parum compertum (Agric. Vit. c. xi). He then advances ſeveral conjectures, that the Caledonians were of German origin, and the Silures of Spaniſh; or rather upon the whole, that they were all of Gallick. But he advances theſe only as conjectures, as problematical reaſonings from the aſpect of the men, the vicinity of the ſeveral parts of the continent, or a conformity of religious

ligious principles. And "all the antient writers, that agree in "representing the *first* inhabitants of Britain as a tribe of the "Gauls," appear to be only one, who merely *conjectures* that they were so, but asserts their real origin to have been utterly unknown.—I mention not this, to destroy or render dubious the Gallick origin of the old Britons. I do it, merely to vindicate the truth. The argument is a good one in itself. And I have endeavoured to improve it into a demonstration, in ch. xii. s. 4 and History of the Britons asserted p. 28—29.

— "Their language was the same, their manners, their go-"vernment, their superstition; varied only by those small dif-"ferences, which time and a communication with the bordering "nations must necessarily introduce."

This account is evidently taken from Tacitus, though neither Tacitus nor any other historian is quoted for it. His words are these. Eorum [Gallorum] sacra deprehendas, superstitionum persuasione. Sermo haud multùm diversus; in deposcendis periculis eadem audacia, et, ubi advenerint, in detrectandis eadem formido. And Mr. Hume appears to have added to Tacitus's account, and thrown in a circumstance that is not true. Tacitus says not, that the governments of the Gauls and Britons were the same. And they were not. The Gauls had nothing but a kind of aristocratical republicks among them, in the days of Cæsar and Strabo. And the Britons had none at all. The magistrates of the former, therefore, were always elective and generally annual; and those of the latter hereditary and for life. See Cæsar and Strabo for the Gallick republicks; Cæsar p. 2, 3, and 5 for the Helvetian, p. 9 and 34 for the Æduan, and p. 32 and Strabo p. 301 for all.

P. 3. "The Greek and Roman navigators or merchants "brought back the most shocking accounts of the ferocity of "the people, which they magnified, as usual, in order to excite "the admiration of their countrymen. The south-east parts, "however, of Britain had already, before the age of Cæsar,

" made the firſt and moſt requiſite ſtep towards a civil ſettle-
" ment; and the Britains, by tillage and agriculture, had there
" encreaſed to a great multitude (Cæſar lib iv)."

Where are theſe moſt ſhocking accounts of our anceſtors to be found at preſent? I remember nothing but the Britannos hoſpitibus feros of Horace, which is not very ſhocking, and could not have been much magnified. And the quotation here from Cæſar is the firſt in the hiſtory, and is greatly miſapplied.—That only the *ſouth-eaſtern* parts of Britain were acquainted with tillage, is not ſaid by Cæſar. His words are theſe. Britanniæ pars interior, ab iis incolitur, quos natos in inſulâ ipsâ memoriâ proditum dicunt; maritima pars ab iis qui—ex Belgis tranſierant: and, Ex his omnibus longè ſunt humaniſſimi qui Cantium incolunt; quæ regio eſt maritima omnis, neque multùm a Gallicâ differunt conſuetudine; interiores plerique frumenta non ſerunt (p. 89). Here we ſee, not merely the ſouth-eaſtern, but all the maritime Britons, all on the ſouthern coaſt of the iſland, expreſsly declared to practiſe agriculture. And not only theſe, but ſome of the inland tribes, are equally declared to have practiſed it. So groſsly erroneous is this account of Mr. Hume's! And another paſſage in Cæſar coincides with this, and two in Tacitus and Dio confirm both. Maritima pars [Britanniæ] ab iis [incolitur] qui ex Belgis tranſierant, *qui omnes* bello illato ibi remanſerunt, atque *agros colere coeperunt*. And we find the Britons under Boadicia, the Trinobantes, a Belgick tribe, and the Caſii and Iceni, two Aboriginal ones, and running up to the north as far as Lincolnſhire at leaſt, all well acquainted with the arts of agriculture; and the more northerly of them, the Iceni, even before their reduction by the Romans. This appears with regard to the laſt from the notice given us by Tacitus concerning them, That previouſly to their inſurrection under Boadicia, and while they were meditating it, they had been ſerendis frugibus meturion (Ann. lib. xiv. c. 38). And it appears equally with regard to all from Boadicia's addreſs to them all, That they were obliged to cultivate their lands, γεωργεῖν, with heavy taxes upon them (1004).—Nor had the *ſouth-eaſtern* Britons, merely,

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increaſed to a great multitude. Mr. Hume had before reſtricted to the *ſouth-eaſt* of Britain, what Cæſar had applied to all the ſouthern coaſt; and even to ſome of the interiour parts of the country. And he now advances farther, and confines equally to the *ſouth-eaſt* what Cæſar has ſpoken of all the iſland. So inaccurate and careleſs is he, merely in copying the notices of Cæſar! The latter having divided the iſlanders more preciſely than any other of his countrymen, into Belgæ and Aborigines, and aſſigned them their reſpective poſſeſſions in general; he proceeds to an account of both, and begins with this remark; That both Aborigines and Belgæ were exceedingly numerous, Hominum eſt infinita multitudo. And Diodorus accordingly calls Britain the well-peopled iſland, πολυ-ανθρωπος νησος (p. 347). —But Mr. Hume, even in the compaſs of this very extract, has fallen into two other inaccuracies. Cæſar's Hominum infinita multitudo he tranſlates into "a great multitude"; words much below the ſtandard. And this populouſneſs he aſcribes to the practice of agriculture; when the facts appear not with the ſmalleſt connexion in his author, and could not poſſibly have any at all. The practice of agriculture was confined to the more ſoutherly parts of the iſland. And the populouſneſs extended over the whole of it.

—"The other inhabitants of the iſland ſtill maintained themſelves by paſturage: they were cloathed with ſkins of beaſts: they dwelt in huts, which they reared in the foreſts and marſhes, with which the country was covered: they ſhifted eaſily their habitations, when actuated either by the hopes of plunder or the fear of an enemy: the convenience of feeding their cattle was even a ſufficient motive for removing their ſeats: and being ignorant of all the refinements of life, their wants and their poſſeſſions were equally ſcanty and limited."

This general account of the Britons is all one accumulation of errours, formed partly by a repetition of the preceding miſtakes, and partly by an addition of others.—The preceding have occaſioned

ſioned Mr. Hume to repreſent all but the ſouth-eaſtern Britons, as maintaining themſelves by paſturage, all but the ſouth-eaſtern as cloathed with ſkins, and all but them as dwelling in huts reared among the foreſts and marſhes, eaſily ſhifting their habitations, and having few wants and ſmall poſſeſſions. And we muſt once more produce the often-cited paſſage of Cæſar, in oppoſition to this ſtrange account. Interiores plerique, ſays he, —lacte et carne vivunt, pellibuſque ſunt veſtiti. They were not all but the ſouth-eaſtern Britons, they were not even any of the weſterly Belgæ, and they were not even ſome of the more inland natives; they were only the generality of the Aborigines; who lived upon milk and fleſh, and cloathed themſelves in ſkins. —Nor did all but the ſouth-eaſtern dwell in huts conſtructed amid the foreſts and marſhes. Strabo p. 306 informs us, that the Britons lived in cabins among the foreſts. But then he confines not the remark to all except the ſouth-eaſtern. He applies it to all the Britons of the ſouth. He extends it to all of the inland country. And he carries it over all the iſland.—That all but the ſouth-eaſtern eaſily ſhifted their habitations and ſeats, is alſo equally falſe. Strabo, I think, is the only author that has been quoted by others (for Mr. Hume quotes nobody here), in proof of this opinion. And I have already ſhewn, that his words carry no ſuch meaning with them. And, even if they did, they are not reſtricted to the ſouth-eaſtern Britons, but equally ſpoken of all.—Such are the many miſtakes in this ſmall extract! And there are ſtill more.

None of the Britons ſhifted their habitations and ſeats eaſily, as the hope of plunder or the fear of being plundered, or as the want of paſturage for their cattle, led them. Nor were all but the ſouth-eaſtern ignorant of every refinement of life.—Mr. Hume has erred throughout this whole paſſage, from a ſtrange indiſtinctneſs and confuſion of ideas concerning the Britons. The other inhabitants were equally with the ſouth-eaſtern divided into tribes and kingdoms. Their poſſeſſions were equally fixed and known among both. They roved not, any more than theſe,

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over the face of the country, ſettling ſometimes in one place and ſometimes in another. Each tribe had its diſtinct territory. And ſome of their dominions were not ſcanty and narrow. When they were alarmed by the plundering inroads of their neighbours, they drove off their cattle before the invaders. And they left their houſes. Many of them were alſo employed in looking after the herds, the droves, and the flocks of their lords, along the woods or heaths of the country; and gradually moved from the hills to the vallies, and from the vallies to the hills, for the ſake of paſturage. But the tribe never ſhifted its poſition. And nothing but a total inattentiveneſs to what appears manifeſt upon the face of Mr. Hume's own hiſtory, the regular diviſion of the iſland into principalities and kingdoms, could have ſeduced the author into this extravagant repreſentation of the natives. The Britons did not live, as Mr. Hume deſcribes them; like ſo many hords of Tartars or tribes of wild Indians. They were formed into regular kingdoms. They had aſcertained poſſeſſions. And they were governed by ſtated laws.—This account will ſerve of itſelf to demonſtrate the fallacy of the other aſſertion in Mr. Hume, That all but the ſouth-eaſtern Britons were unacquainted with every refinement of life. Where a regular frame of polity had been erected, and where property was regularly aſcertained, there many of the refinements muſt neceſſarily have been known. And, that they actually were among the Britons, I have already ſhewn in the preceding chapters. The labours of the pottery, the loom, and the furnace, were ſucceſsfully practiſed among them. The arts of the turner, the carpenter, the miner, and the architect, were ſtudied and known. And many of the ruling principles of mechanicks, many of the more myſterious truths of geometry, and various ſecrets in medicine, botany, aſtronomy, and religion, were familiar to the ſcholars of the iſland. And were ſuch men ignorant of all the refinements of life? Common ſenſe is ſhocked at the ſuggeſtion. And we need only appeal againſt it to a ſlight but remarkable fact, known to every reader, and of which we have demonſtra-

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tion remaining at preſent. I ſpeak of the piles at Conway, which the Britons contrived to drive into the hard bed of the Thames, ſeveral feet under the ſurface of the water; and to fix ſo firmly in the ground, that they have continued amid all the waſte of time, the violence of floods, and the plunder of intereſt or curioſity, the admiration of every age. And, even if Mr. Hume's repreſentation of the Britons had been as generally true as it is falſe, his extenſion of the cenſure to all but the ſouth-eaſtern muſt have deſtroyed the whole of it. All the *ſouthern* Britons were equally Belgæ, equally engaged in trade, and equally converſant with foreigners. Cæſar indeed ſpeaks of the Cantii as the moſt humanized tribe of the iſland. But Diodorus ſays the ſame of the Britons in the moſt ſouth-weſterly parts of it. And, even according to Cæſar's account, agriculture particularly was practiſed by all the Belgæ, and alſo by ſeveral tribes of the Aborigines. The refinements of life, that I have ſhewn to have been cultivated in the iſland, were all cultivated equally by the Britons in the ſouth. And moſt of them were known to all the Britons.

—"The Britains were divided into many ſmall nations or "tribes; and being a military people, whoſe ſole property was "their ſword and their cattle, it was impoſſible, after they had "acquired a reliſh of liberty, for their princes or chieftains to "eſtabliſh any deſpotic authority over them."

We have been told immediately before, that all but the ſouth-eaſtern Britons roved over the country, and ſhifted their habitations as the hope of plundering or the fear of being plundered led them. And yet here, in the very next words, we find all the Britons as I have before repreſented them, formed into regular kingdoms and ſubject to regular governments. Both however, as I have obſerved above, cannot be true. Regular kingdoms and governments, in an iſland eſpecially that was infinitely populous and full of buildings, neceſſarily involve

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in their ideas a permanent reſidence and defined poſſeſſions. And, if the point wanted any additional proof, we might remark that Mela deſcribes Britain thus: Fert populos regeſque populorum, ſed, ut longiùs a continenti abſint, ita, aliarum opum ignari magis, tantùm pecore ac *ſpinibus* dites; and, bella contrahunt, ac ſe frequenter invicem infeſtant,—ſtudio *prolatandi* ea quæ poſſident (l. iii. c. 6). So inconſiſtent is Mr. Hume with himſelf, even within the compaſs of two ſucceeding ſentences!

Nor was the ſole property of the Britons their ſword and their cattle. It was not, either as they were nations or individuals. The ſoil muſt neceſſarily have been property with both. And the numerous houſes of the Britons muſt have been equally ſo with all. So vague and unmeaning is Mr. Hume's hypotheſis, all the airy ſpeculation of a mind that has taken a haſty view of the iſland, and never attended even to the conſequence of his own notices and repreſentations.—And Mr. Hume ſays further, That it was impoſſible, after the Britons had acquired a reliſh of liberty, for their chieftains to tyrannize over them. But how were the Britons to acquire this reliſh? By roving with their cattle over the country? Mr. Hume's argument plainly intimates this. And yet he cannot mean it. For this reliſh is attributed to all the Britons without exception: and the ſouth eaſtern are expreſsly excepted from the roving. And how could the rovers obtain the reliſh, when even they, as appears from this very quotation, were in regular communities and under regular governments? But let us ſuppoſe the Britons poſſeſſed of this reliſh, and then ſee the reſult. It was then impoſſible, ſays Mr. Hume, for their princes to tyrannize over them. And why was it impoſſible? Is the Genius of liberty, like ſome of the knight-errants in antient ſtory, caſed by the Gods in a coat of impenetrable armour? And has that heroick ſpirit, which bluſters and bullies in theſe our days, never crouched under the feet of our kings? For the ſafety of liberty, I wiſh the one could be imagined without credulity. And, for

its credit with the world, I ſhould be glad that the other could be aſſerted with truth.

—" Their governments, though monarchical, were free " (Diod. Sic. l. iv, Mela lib. iii. cap. 6, Strabo lib. iv), as " well as thoſe of all the Celtick nations; and the common " people ſeem to have enjoyed more liberty among them (Dion " Caſſius lib. 75), than among the nations of Gaul."

This paſſage is full of miſtakes. And I ſhall endeavour to point them all out.—Mr. Hume ſays, that the Britiſh government was monarchical. And yet in p. 2. he tells us, that it was the ſame with the Gallick, which I have ſhewed before not to have been monarchical.—Mr. Hume alſo ſays, that the Britiſh monarchies were free governments; and quotes for it Diodorus, Mela, and Strabo. All that the laſt ſays, is this: Δυναςειαι δ' εισι παρ' αυτοις, there are many monarchies among the Britons; and immediately afterwards he ſpeaks of their monarchs, των Δυναςων τινες των αυτοθι (p. 306). And here is evidently not a ſingle ſyllable concerning the free nature of the Britiſh monarchies. But perhaps we may find the proper notices in Diodorus or Mela. What the former ſays is this, Βασιλε[illegible]αι Δυναςας πολλας εχειν, that the iſland had many kings and monarchs in it (p. 347). And here therefore is as little as in Strabo, concerning the freedom of the Britons under their kings. If it is found any where, it muſt appear in Mela. And his words are theſe: Fert populos regeſque populorum, there are many communities in the country under their diſtinct princes. All theſe evidences, we ſee, prove nothing more than the monarchical nature of the governments. And the freedom enjoyed under them, for any thing that yet appears, is all an additional touch from Mr. Hume's pencil.—But perhaps Dion Caſſius, quoted afterwards for the greater freedom of the Britons than the Gauls, may at leaſt prove the poſitive point. And his words ſeem likely to do it. Among the Caledonians and Mæatæ, ſays he, δημοκρατεσθαι ως πλειστα (p. 1280);

the generality of their tribes are under republican governments. This is a very extraordinary aſſertion. And it deſerves to be conſidered.

The words, we ſee, are reſtricted by Dio to the Mæatæ and Caledonians, and applied by Mr. Hume to the Britons in general. But we have a teſtimony equal to Dio's, even his own, That the Britons in general were not under republican governments. They were, he expreſsly aſſures us in p. 957, under kingly. And therefore, as Mr. Hume has applied the words, there is a direct contradictoriness in Dio, which neceſſarily deſtroys his credibility. This takes off at once the whole weight of his teſtimony here. And as the one intimation, concerning the greater liberty of the Britons than the Gauls, is entirely built upon him; they both fall with him to the ground. — It may be proper, however, to obſerve in addition to this remark, That Dio ſpeaks not of the Britons enjoying a greater ſhare of liberty under their kings, as Mr. Hume interprets him. And, even if his account had not been ſuperſeded by himſelf in another place, it would not prove the point for which it is adduced by Mr. Hume. It would not ſhew the freedom of the monarchical government in Britain. It would only prove the exiſtence of a popular one. And conſequently, even if its teſtimony was of any moment, it would be in direct oppoſition to Mr. Hume's repreſentation. — But Dio's account is not only contradicted by himſelf, but by every other writer. As applied by Mr. Hume to the whole iſland, it is encountered equally by the very Diodorus, Mela, and Strabo, whom Mr. Hume quotes immediately before, and by Cæſar (p. 74, 92, &c.), Tacitus (Agric. Vit. c. 15), and others. Each of theſe is an authority fully equal to Dio's. And the concurrence of all forms an irreſiſtible weight of evidence againſt him. And, even in their natural ſignification, and as applied only to the generality of the Picts, the words of Dio are directly confronted by a paſſage in Martial; which of itſelf is perhaps not an in-

ſeriour teſtimony to Dio's, and, by its coincidence with all the other accounts of the iſland, becomes greatly ſuperiour to it:

> Turpes, humiles, ſuppliceſque,
> Pictorum ſola baſiate regum. Lib. x. E. 73.

I have gone over this extract from Mr. Hume the more circumſtantially, in order fully to open the extravagance of it. I have ſhewn in the body of this work, that the monarchies of Britain were founded on a regular ſyſtem of liberty. And ſo far I have aſſerted the intereſts of freedom and of man. But the ſpirit of the times, if not properly checked, would carry us into abſurdities that diſgrace the cauſe. We ſhould ſee the Tartuffes of liberty, like thoſe of religion formerly, throwing a diſcredit over it by their follies. And antient hiſtory would be gradually dreſt up in the cropt hair, the cloak, and the band of political puritaniſm. And there is the more reaſon for this apprehenſion, when we ſee ſo philoſophical a ſpirit as Mr. Hume's carried away by the civil fanaticiſm of the times, and ſacrificing truth at the ſhrine of freedom.

P. 3—4. "Each ſtate was divided into factions within itſelf "(Tacit. Agric.): it was agitated with emulation towards the "neighbouring ſtates: and while the arts of peace were yet "unknown, wars were the chief occupation, and formed the "chief object of ambition among the people."

All this implies a fixedneſs of poſſeſſion and dominion among the Britons, which very ill agrees with the account before of their roving over the face of the iſland. But indeed all this deſcription of our forefathers, ſhort and ſcanty as it is, is little more than a maſs of groſs contradictions. And the lines are like the Britiſh kingdoms in the preſent extract, almoſt each of them in a ſtate of hoſtility with its neighbour.—But that each kingdom

kingdom was divided into factions within itſelf, is not true, as deduced from the work here quoted for it, Tacitus's Life of Agricola. That indeed proves juſt the reverſe. *Olim*, ſays Tacitus, regibus parebant, *nunc* per principes factionibus et ſtudiis trahuntur (c. 12).—And, that the arts of peace were not unknown to the Britons, is plain from Mr. Hume's own words, which allow tillage and agriculture to have been known to the ſouth-eaſtern natives; and ſtill plainer from Cæſar's, which ſhew them to have been familiar to all the ſouthern and ſome of the inland Britons. And in the preſent work I have even ſhewn all the mechanical arts to have been practiſed in every part of the iſland.

So groſsly inaccurate as Mr. Hume is in his general repreſentation of the civil ſtate of the Britons, we cannot expect him to be commonly preciſe with regard to their geographical diviſions. If he has erred in a plain path and at noon-day, he muſt be ſure to deviate upon a winding one and in the ſhade of the evening. And to criticize upon theſe miſtakes would perhaps be cruel; like arraigning a perſon for the breach of laws with which he was never acquainted. I ſhall therefore paſs them all over. Only let me obſerve, that there is a capital abſurdity both in Mr. Carte's and Mr. Hume's hiſtories, which appears manifeſt upon the face of them. And that is the relating the military tranſactions of the iſland, without any previous information concerning the names, the poſition, and the power of the reſpective tribes in it. In this mode of writing hiſtory, the reader is introduced into a ſort of fairy land, where beings ariſe with whom he has no previous acquaintance, and kingdoms are mentioned of which we have never yet heard the exiſtence. Thus the Trinobantes are mentioned for the firſt time in p. 6 of the one, and the Iceni and Cattivellauni in p. 27 of the other, without one note of their ſituation and ſtrength. And the reader is left entirely in the dark, whether they reſided in Kent or Cornwall, in Middleſex or Cathneſs.

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